

TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE LITERARY SOCIETY
OF
BOMBAY.

TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE LITERARY SOCIETY
OF
BOMBAY.

WITH ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1823.

PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE.

* ADVERTISEMENT.

IN laying before the public this Volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, it seems unnecessary to make any remarks on the Papers inserted in it, except on the two containing the accounts of Lony and Jambusir; which, though apparently descriptive merely of a small village in the Deccan, and a small district in Guzerat, contain in fact remarks which are, with a few obvious exceptions, applicable to the whole of those provinces. The gentlemen who favoured the Society with these Papers were placed in situations the best adapted for acquiring information on every point connected with the domestic manners, agriculture, and interior government of the people; and they have judiciously been of opinion, that their description of these subjects would be rendered more graphic and precise by confining to a single township and district the result of their more extended observations. But the habits and mode of living, the system of agriculture and produce of lands, the castes, and institutions civil and religious, the public and private taxes, and that village government which has always effectually diminished in India the evils of arbitrary power, as exemplified in the township of Lony and district of Jambusir, will be found to prevail equally in the whole of the Deccan and of Guzerat. The varieties, however, in the soil and the circumstances of the inhabitants, and the changes which have taken place in the original population, institutions, and government, appear to be more considerable in Guzerat than in the Deccan.

* It has been often remarked, that scarcely any information has been hitherto published respecting the private life * vi of the Hindus. The habits, the pursuits, and perhaps national character, of the British, are in general ill adapted for obtaining such information, as it must depend entirely on an unreserved and familiar intercourse with the Natives. But Mr.

Coats resided for seventeen years at Poonah, during which period he successfully extended the benefits of vaccination in the surrounding country, and thus became well known to the inhabitants, by whom he was equally loved and respected. Mr. Marshall has also been employed as vaccinating surgeon in Guzerat, and in other situations which rendered him well acquainted with the Natives. Hence the established character and professional duties of these gentlemen afforded them the best opportunity of acquiring an intimate knowledge of every minute circumstance of the private and public economy of the people. Engaged in conferring on them the most essential benefits, and not in making inquiries for the purpose of an assessment of revenue, or in attempting to change the established religion—circumstances which naturally raise suspicion and produce concealment,—they excited no alarm; and the Natives had no interest in assuming, in their intercourse with them, either reserve or dissimulation. Nor did any prejudices bias the minds of the gentlemen themselves. However different, therefore, their description of the character of the Hindus may be from other accounts, their observations, from the very favourable circumstances under which they were made, are entitled to the greatest credit; and the Society have particular pleasure in giving them publicity, both on this account, and because they contain new and interesting information respecting the actual state of the agriculture, society, and polity, of a very important part of British India.

* It requires to be added, that the “Notes on Pan-chayat,” contained in the second Volume of the Society’s Transactions, were intended by Mr. Coats to form part of his description of the Township of Lony; and that in this last Paper the prices of articles are stated at higher rates than those which prevail in other parts of the Deccan, in consequence of Lony being situated within thirteen miles of Poonah, which was then the capital of the Peishwa’s Government.

The Society particularly regret, that the printing of their Transactions in England unavoidably occasioned numerous errors of the press: they have therefore determined, in order

to remedy this defect as far as possible, to affix to each volume a List of the Errata that have taken place in the preceding one. It is obvious, however, that as the press is not corrected by the Authors of the different Papers, mistakes may occur, which under their revision would evidently have been rectified in the course of publication. For such mistakes, whenever they may be observed in their Transactions, the Society must request the indulgence of the public.

Bombay, 4th August, 1821.

OF

THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY.

I. THE Society is constituted under the name "THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY," and consists of Ordinary and Extraordinary Members and Subscribers.

II. Every gentleman desirous of becoming a Member of the Society must be proposed by one of the Members, and seconded by another, at a Meeting of the Society; and the ballot shall take place at the next Meeting after that in which he was proposed.

III. In all ballots for the election of Members, one black ball in ten of the Members present shall prevent the reception of the gentleman proposed.

IV. Every gentleman desirous of becoming a Subscriber to the Library must be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, when he shall be admitted accordingly.

V. Every Subscriber and Member resident in Bombay, Salsette, and Caranjah, shall pay in advance on the 1st of January of each year the sum of 100 rupees; and every Member not resident in Bombay, Salsette, or Caranjah, the sum of 30 rupees.

VI. Every Member or Subscriber resident in Bombay, Salsette, and Caranjah, who shall not have paid his annual Subscription (if demanded) on or before the 15th of March of each year; and every Member not resident in Bombay, Salsette, or Caranjah, who shall not pay his Subscription within three months after the same be demanded,—shall be considered as having withdrawn himself from the Society; and his name shall accordingly be struck out of the List of Members and Subscribers.

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VII. Such Subscribers to the Library as are not permanently resident at Bombay, Salsette, or Caranjah, shall be permitted to pay their Subscriptions quarterly.

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IX. On the last Monday of November, being the Anniversary of the Society, there shall be annually held an Extraordinary Meeting, for the purpose of electing the Office-bearers and Committees of the Society for the ensuing year.

* X. The Office-bearers shall be chosen from among
* x the Ordinary Members, and shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

XI. Two Committees shall be elected annually from the Ordinary Members: the one to be denominated The Committee of Papers; and the other, The Committee of Library, Museum, and Accounts.

XII. A Meeting of the Society shall be held on the last Tuesday of every month, or oftener if it may appear necessary.

XIII. The Committee of Papers shall decide on the propriety of publishing all communications which may be made to the Society at such Meetings.

XIV. The collection and superintendence of the Funds of the Society shall be intrusted to the Committee of Library, Museum, and Accounts.

XV. Should any question arise, not provided for by the Rules of the Society, it shall be determined at a Meeting of the Society, by the majority of the Members present; the President having in this, as in all other cases, a casting vote.

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32. Any Member, or Subscriber, may propose publications to be added to the Library, by inserting their names in a book kept for that purpose.

33. Any gentleman not usually residing in Bombay, Salsette, or Caranjah, may have admittance to the Library upon the introduction of

a Member; but no person shall be considered a non-resident more than three months.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY.

I.

REMARKS ON THE STATE OF PERSIA FROM THE BATTLE OF ARBELA IN † A.C. 331 TO THE RISE OF ARDASHIR BABEGAN IN A.D. 226.

By Major VANS KENNEDY.

Read 31st August, 1819.

In a former paper, which I did myself the honour of laying before the Society, I observed that the supposition, that the Parthians were not Persians, and that they had attempted to extirpate the religion of Zoroaster, rested on no sufficient grounds. It may not, then, be devoid of all interest to inquire how far this remark may be considered as correct. I am at the same time well aware of my own inability to throw any new light on a subject which has been frequently and ably discussed, or to divest it of that dryness which must always be occasioned by a minute criticism of names and dates. But this subject seems to have acquired an additional importance from some late conjectures, which suppose that the Hindoos might have derived much of their science from the Greeks of Bac*triana.

An inquiry, therefore, into the actual state of Persia * 2 during the 557 years which elapsed between the conquest of Alexander and the rise of Ardashir Babegan, may possibly contribute to the rectification of some errors which have been admitted into ancient history. That it will tend in any

† A.C. is retained throughout in this paper, as in the original. A here evidently means *ante*, and not *anno*.—ED.]

degree to supply defects, or to elucidate disputed points, I do not expect: but even when truth cannot be attained, the refutation of error may be considered desirable.

As I shall be obliged again to call into question the correctness of the accounts given by ancient writers of the countries which are situated to the east of the Tigris, I may be permitted to support my own doubts by the opinion of so judicious a writer as Strabo. That author had the opportunity of consulting many books which are now no longer extant; and his own work will best evince that the remarks contained in the following quotation are deserving of every attention. "But neither (observes Strabo) has the truth respecting the Massagetæ been ascertained by any author, nor can even much credit be given to what any authors have related of the ancient history of the Persians, Medes, and Syrians, on account of their simplicity and love of fable: for, observing that the writers of fables were highly honoured, they too thought that they would render their works agreeable, if, under the form of history, they related what they never had seen or heard; and on this account they studied only how to communicate wonder and pleasure: for one would sooner give credit to the heroic numbers of Hesiod, Homer, and the tragic poets, than to Ctesias, Herodotus, Hellanicus, and similar writers. Nor is it altogether safe to trust the most part of the authors who have written concerning Alexander: for they exaggerate both on account of the glory of Alexander, and of the difficulty there is in refuting relations of events which occurred at the extremity of Asia†." But he adds, that the domination of the Romans and Parthians opened a more accurate knowledge of their history than had been formerly attainable; and that consequently the authors who wrote concerning them were entitled to greater credit than those who had preceded them.

- * It is much to be regretted that the works to which
- * 3 Strabo alludes have been long lost, and that so far from the empire of the Parthians being at this day a subject

† Strabo, ed. Amsterdam, 1707, pp. 507 and 508.

of authentic history, it is, on the contrary, so involved in doubt and uncertainty, that it is almost impossible to form any correct opinion respecting it. There is now but one ancient author extant who has professedly treated of the Parthians; Justin, who flourished about the middle of the second century, and who epitomized the work of Trogus Pompeius written about 45 years B.C. All else which is known of their earlier history is derived from the incidental mention of them which occurs in a few passages contained in Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus. Defective as these materials are, it will be the object of the following remarks to compare them together, and also with such brief notices as have been preserved by Eastern writers, in order to ascertain, as far as possible, the actual state of Persia during a period of five hundred and fifty-seven years.

But previous to entering into this subject, it seems indispensably requisite that some correct idea should be formed of the geographical knowledge which the ancients possessed both of Persia and Transoxiana. On this point Major Rennell has observed; that "Herodotus's account of the distribution of the Persian empire into twenty satrapies is particularly curious, and no less useful, as it points out the particulars, as well as the extent of the geographical knowledge of the times; and although there are some errors in the description, yet it is on the whole so remarkably consistent that one is surprised how the Greeks found means to acquire so much knowledge respecting so distant a part." After such high praise from a writer so distinguished for his knowledge of geography, it is not a little curious to refer to the original passages, as far as they regard Persia, from which this opinion has been formed.

The seventh satrapy, says Herodotus, contained the Satagydæ, Gandarii, Dadicæ and Aparytæ.

The eighth, Susis and the rest of the country of the Kissii.

The ninth, Babylonia and the rest of Assyria.

The tenth, Ecbatana and Media, the Parycanii and Orthocorybantii.

* The eleventh, the Caspii, Pausicæ, Partimathæ and Daritæ.*

The twelfth, from the Bactriani to the Oghi.

The fourteenth, the Sargatii, Sarangai, Thomanai, Utii, Myci, and the islands of the Persian Gulf.

The fifteenth, the Sacæ and Caspii.

The sixteenth, the Parthi, Chorasmii, Sogdii, and Arii.

The seventeenth, the Parecanii and Ethiopians of Asia.

The eighteenth, the Mantieni, Sarpires, and Alarodii.

I will now ask, What possible information can be derived from this list of names? Not a single one of these tribes or places is distinguished by any one circumstance; nor is even their relative position to each other described. On what authority, then, according to Herodotus, is any one of them placed rather in the east than the west, rather in the north than the south? Later writers, it is true, have fixed with greater certainty the limits of the principal divisions of Persia; but even to ascertain these, in most instances, must now depend entirely on conjecture: nor, may I safely affirm, can the ancient state of the countries to which some of the following remarks will particularly apply, the modern Khorasan including Bakh and Mawera'nahr, be pointed out with any degree of certainty. It must indeed be impossible, when both Strabo and Ptolemy describe the Oxus and Jaxartes to have flowed into the Caspian Sea. It is also to be observed that, besides the tribes enumerated in these satrapies, the following are also mentioned by Herodotus. In the first book, the Achæmenides, the Arteatæ, the Pasargadæ, Marophii, Maspîi, Panthiælai, Derusiæi, Germanii, Dai, Mardi, and Dropici; and in the seventh book, the Hyrcani: making altogether 42 distinct races of people who inhabited the country between the Euphrates and the Jaxartes. In Strabo scarcely any of these names are to be found, but he enumerates upwards of thirty different tribes.

It will no doubt appear singular that with the exception of Fars, Kirman, and Soghd, or Persis, Karmania, and Sogdia, not a single name of any province or town men-

• tioned by Greek authors can be traced in the present
 * 5 language of Persia, and that not even the most skilful
 etymologist * can torture a single one into even an

apparent agreement with the native name. † That this has not been caused by any invasion of the Tartars is proved by geographical and historical works written before the time of Gengis Khan; but whether or not it may have been occasioned by the Arabian conquest might perhaps be a subject of dispute. The native names, however, of the provinces, districts, and places in Persia, with the exception of the two Iraks, are evidently not derived from the Arabic, and they may therefore be with the greatest probability referred to a period anterior to the invasion of the Arabs: when that may have been, may perhaps appear more clearly in the course of these remarks. But it may at present be observed, that the Persians have always believed that their proper country has from the days of Feridun been one undivided empire extending from the Tigris to the Oxus; and that the only provinces of which it consisted were (commencing from the west) Irak, Arabi, Khuzistan, Irak Ajemi, Azerbaijan, Shirwan, Gilan, Mazenderan, Kohistan (sometimes included in Irak Ajemi), Fars, Kirman, Scistan and Zabul, and Khorasan including Balkh. ‡ It does not clearly appear whether Kharezm was considered by the earlier geographers as belonging to Persia or to Mawera'n-nahr; and the present Mazenderan seems anciently to have been divided into Tabaristan, Dilem, and Jurjan. But native authority, being comparatively modern, will not perhaps be considered as conclusive. It must, however, be acknowledged that it is more consonant with probability, if any credit be given to the accounts of the ancient power of Persia, to suppose that it was inhabited by a single race of men professing the same religion, living under the same laws, and holding the same customs and manners; rather than that it was divided into at least thirty distinct tribes, which varied in every essential circumstance which can give to an empire either unity or power.

† I ought perhaps to except Chorasnia or Kharezm; Hari, a name sometimes used for Harat, or Aria; and Bakhter the East, a name applicable to Balkh or Bactria, although I am not certain that it was ever applied to it.

‡ Kurdistan is included in Irak Ajemi by Ibn Houkal, but described as a distinct district by Hamd Allāh Mustafī.

Nature herself also *deposes strongly in favour of the
 * 6 native opinion; for never did her hand trace out more distinctly the peculiar boundaries of any country.

To this may perhaps be objected the circumstance of the several principalities which arose in Persia towards the end of the third and commencement of the fourth century after the Arabian conquest, and the still more numerous ones which succeeded to the invasion of Hulaku Khan. These cases, however, evidently originated, in the same manner as it also occurred after the death of Alexander, from there being no sovereign who had power or ability sufficient to maintain, in subjection the governors of the different provinces; to whom, as has always been the custom in Asia, such authority was intrusted as rendered it easy for them to throw off all dependency on a weak or inactive prince. But according to Greek writers, if they are to be considered the most credible, Persia was after the conquest of Media by Cyrus in a very different situation. From that period the kings became absolute monarchs, and were enabled to employ the resources of their dominions so effectually as to subjugate Egypt and the whole of Western Asia. That the means which could be afforded by the provinces of Persis, Susiana, and Media, were perfectly inadequate to produce such results must be obvious, and it must therefore be concluded that the whole of Persia was subject to their absolute authority. But in this case it becomes impossible to understand how any kingdom which was governed despotically for upwards of two hundred years could remain disunited in customs, laws, religion, and even language. It therefore seems by no means improbable that the geographical accounts of Persia which have been given by Greek writers are far from correct, as, when carefully examined, they do not agree with each other, and as they are not only inconsistent with the opinions of the natives, but also with probability.† The necessity of these remarks will appear hereafter, and I shall now proceed to the immediate subject of this paper.

The battle of Arbela, which preceded the invasion of Persia Proper, * took place in the year B.C. 331 ; and * 7 Alexander survived this important victory only seven or eight years. In the account given of the events which occurred during this period by Diodorus Siculus and Arrian there is a considerable disagreement ; but they both nearly coincide in what they have related respecting the state of the Persian people after this conquest. From Arrian it would appear that the civil administration of the country was in general intrusted to natives ; and both authors concur in mentioning that Alexander encouraged marriages between his own troops and the Persians, and that he received at least thirty thousand of the latter into his army. Arrian, in particular, relates the following circumstances, which convey the fullest information respecting the effects produced by this conquest :—" Cleander and Situlus were accused by the Medes, as well as by the army, of spoiling their temples, removing their ancient ornaments, and committing many other acts of avarice, lust, and cruelty ; and, the crimes laid to their charge being fully proved against them, they were ordered to be put to death, that other governors who should succeed them might be deterred from treading in their footsteps, for fear of meeting with the same punishment : and such instances of justice were one great means of continuing the nations under Alexander's command firm in their allegiance, whether they were subdued by force of arms or yielded voluntarily, notwithstanding they were so many and lay so remote from each other ; for he never would suffer any governor of a province to injure the people committed to his care. Heracon at that time baffled his accusers ; but being soon after seized by the Susians, and accused of demolishing a temple of theirs, he also suffered death."† Rapine and destruction, it hence appears, sometimes occurred ; but so far from their being carried on either systematically or with the permission of Alexander, he on the contrary used every means to prevent them. So far,

† Arrian's *History of Alexander's Expedition*, book vi., chap. 27.—I quote Booke's translation, not being able to procure the original.

also, from the people being oppressed, or their customs, laws, and religion, being attempted to be subverted, the conquerors intermarried with the conquered, and many of the latter were raised to posts of trust and dignity.

* If the strength of Alexander's army be considered, it
 * 8 will be evident that this was the only policy which he could adopt with safety. All ancient authors, I believe, concur in stating that this army, when Alexander passed over into Asia, did not amount to more than 35,000 men. After which he subdued Asia Minor and Egypt, prosecuted the celebrated siege of Tyre, and fought the battles of Granicus, Issus, and Arbela. But what the casualties were during these operations, or what reinforcements were received, cannot be ascertained from any ancient writer. It does not, however, seem probable that all the losses of the army could have been replaced, particularly such as fell on the troops of Greece. Nor can it well be supposed that after the battle of Arbela the army of Alexander amounted to more than 30,000 men; and admitting that he received, as Diodorus relates, shortly after, a reinforcement of 15,000, the total strength of the force with which it would seem that Alexander invaded Persia Proper would amount to 45,000 men. If his ambitious designs be also considered, it will be evident that he could not with prudence weaken this small army by placing detachments in all the places which he conquered. He was thus obliged to trust the natives; and, according to Arrian, his plans were more than once interrupted by rebellions, which broke out as soon as he and his army were removed to a distance. The country, then, was not occupied, nor could it be occupied, by the small number of troops which invaded Persia under Alexander. The road through which they marched, the spot on which they encamped, and the places immediately adjacent, might suffer all the calamities which too frequently attend the progress of an enemy; but into the far greater part of Persia they did not penetrate, and there the inhabitants could scarcely have experienced any of the misfortunes of war.

* It likewise appears that the conquest of Persia was not effect-

ed without considerable opposition, particularly in the mountainous districts. In Bactria also, Sogdiana, and among the Scythians, the Greeks were exposed to many difficulties; nor did these diminish as they advanced into India. When the army therefore, in consequence of the hardships which they had undergone, mutinied on the banks of the Hyphasis, the following *passage in the speech ascribed by Arrian† to Cæsus can scarcely be accused of exaggeration: "Others, who * 9 have run through all dangers with the army, are either fallen in battle, or rendered unserviceable by wounds, or left behind in divers parts of Asia; but the far greatest part of all have perished by diseases. And lastly, the few which still survive out of so great a multitude are neither so strong nor healthy in body, nor sound and vigorous in mind, as heretofore." But when to this are added the miseries which the army suffered in their return from India, and the circumstance of Alexander's having dismissed, after the death of Darius, the stipendiaries amounting to at least 16,000 men; and his sending to their homes, previous to his arrival at Ecbatana, 10,000 veterans, it becomes difficult to understand what could be the strength of his army when he returned to that city. It seems at least probable that the number of Greek troops which remained after an incessant warfare of six years, and being exposed to the pernicious influence of frequent change of climate more destructive than war itself, must have been very inconsiderable. That Alexander, if he had lived, would have been soon joined by strong reinforcements from Greece, there can be no doubt; but his death, which occurred so immediately after his return from India, and the wars which in consequence took place between his generals, did most effectually prevent the further entrance into Persia of any considerable number of Greeks.

On the death of Alexander, his immense conquests were divided amongst his chief officers; and the provinces of Persia were, according to Diodorus Siculus, distributed in the following manner: Media was given to Python: the country con-

† Book v., chap. 27.

tiguous to the Paropamisian Mountains to Oxoartes, the Bactrian king; Arachosia and Gedrosia to Tiburtius; Aria and Drangiana to Stasanor the Solian; Bactriana and Sogdiana to Philip; Parthia and Hyrcania to Phrataphernes; Persia to Peucestas; Karmania to Tlepolemus; Media Atropatia to Atrapas; and Babylonia to Archon. In this division, as appears from a subsequent passage, Susiana and Sittacena are included in the province of Persis. It would hence follow, that * the whole of Persia Proper, excepting perhaps the northern part of Azerbaijan and Sherwan, had either been subdued by the Greeks, or had voluntarily submitted to their authority. But Strabo, in direct opposition to Polybius and Diodorus Siculus; whose opinions have been adopted by Arrian, states that Persis had continued till his time (A.D. 24) independent, and governed by its own kings: *Και γαρ ει βασιλευνται μεχρι νυν' ιδιον βασιλεια εχοντες οι Περσαι*: although he admits that their dominions had been much encroached upon by the Macedonians, and particularly by the Parthians†: *ατε και της Περσιδος ηλαττωμενης υπο των Μακεδωνων, και ετι μαλλον υπο των Παρθυναιων*. Strabo also mentions that Media Atropatia had successfully resisted the Macedonian arms‡: *τωνομα δεσχεν απο τω Ατροπα τω ηγεμονος, ος επωλυσεν υπο τοις Μακεδοσι γενεσθαι και ταυτην, μερος ουσαν μεγαλης Μηδίας*. And before him this circumstance had been also mentioned by Polybius§: but it is positively contradicted by Arrian, who is supported by Diodorus Siculus. These strange inconsistencies on a point which must have been generally known and easily ascertained, must alone, I should think, detract very considerably from the credit which is so implicitly given to ancient writers.

Nor can their authority be admitted as sufficient to establish that the Greeks had ever effected the conquest of the country which lies between the Oxus and Jaxartes. This country, it would seem, has been considered by ancient authors, from Herodotus downwards, to have formed part of the Persian empire. But their ignorance of its extent and limits is so

† Strabo, ed. 1707, p. 728. ‡ Id., *ibid.*, p. 523. § Ed. Casauboni, p. 400.

evident from the works of Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, that any accounts which they have given of it must be entirely disregarded. The opinions and traditions, therefore, of the Persians, which have been collected and preserved by Muhammadan writers, ought not, on such authority, to be too inconsiderately rejected. In this instance particularly they cannot be accused of improbability; and it may consequently in conformity to them be admitted, that this country once constituted the principal part of a mighty empire named Turan, and that it was inhabited by a kindred race of people to the Persians, and who differed from them but little either in * language, customs, laws, or religion. And to this cause it may perhaps be justly ascribed, that ancient * 11 writers have always represented the Arii, Bactrii, Chorasmi, and Sogdii, as bearing a strong resemblance to each other. Herodotus mentions in his 7th book, that these people were armed in a similar manner; and Strabo observes that the Bactrii and Sogdii did not anciently differ much from the nomad tribes, either in their customs or mode of living. But if Alexander had even effected a conquest of Transoxiana, it does not seem to have been maintained by the Greeks, as it is said to have been afterwards subdued by the kings of Bactriana.†

From the few and unconnected accounts of the events that occurred in Persia after the death of Alexander, which have been preserved by ancient writers, scarcely any information can be derived respecting the actual state of that country. The first circumstance, however, mentioned by Diodorus, and which happened immediately after, is of considerable importance, although it is far from being distinctly related.‡ But the Greeks, says that author, who had been stationed by Alexander in the satrapies called the Upper, being attached to the customs and mode of living of the Greeks, and considering themselves banished to the extreme limits of the empire, although they had remained submissive through fear during the life of the king,

See Note B at the end of this communication.
Diodorus Siculus, lib. xviii, c. 7.

immediately on his death revolted. "They then assembled together, chose a leader, and formed an army amounting to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, all men long experienced in war and distinguished for bravery." But they were defeated by the troops sent against them by Perdiccas, and all slain excepting three thousand. Neither the satrapies which were called the Upper, nor the place of battle, are mentioned by Diodorus: and Wesseling in his notes affords no information, but merely with regard to the first point refers to a subsequent passage, from which it appears that all the satrapies situated to the east of the Tigris were included under the denomination of Upper. If this were the case, it would follow that all the Greek troops which were left by Alexander, on his returning to Babylon, in Persia * Proper, must have been engaged in this revolt, and that, as they were all destroyed except a small number who went over to the army of Perdiccas, scarcely a Greek could have remained in Persia. But to understand the term Upper in this extensive sense does not seem consistent with several other passages of Diodorus. It will however be evident, if any credit is to be given to this account, and the weakness of Alexander's army on his return from India be at the same time considered, that the Greeks who still continued to hold the government of the country must have been far from numerous.

The next event of any consequence connected with Persia which is related by Diodorus is the war which took place between Eumenes and Antigonos, seven or eight years after the death of Alexander. This contest was decided in favour of Antigonos by a battle fought in Fars between two armies, the one consisting of 42,000, and the other of 33,000 men. But what requires particular remark is the troops of which the army of Eumenes was composed. Diodorus mentions that Peucestas, who had long governed Persis, and had endeared himself to the people by adopting their dress, led 20,000 Persian archers and slingers, 3,000 men of other tribes armed and disciplined in the Macedonian manner, and only six hundred Greek and Thracian horse. He does not particularize whether the troops

of the other governors were natives or Greeks; but it may be justly inferred, that if so distinguished a character as Peucestas, who was so much more conveniently situated for receiving men from Greece, had only a small body-guard of Europeans; the other governors, who were more remotely situated, were not likely to have a greater number of Greeks under their command. Neither this war nor the victory of Antigonos would seem to have occasioned any change in the state of Persia. The chiefs, who were too firmly secured in their governments to admit of their being removed without force, as Diodorus observes, were allowed to retain them. But the governors of Media, Aria, Persis, and Susiana, were displaced, and natives were appointed to the civil administration of Media and Susiana. Antigonos, then, after leaving only 3,500 troops in the former province, immediately returned to Asia Minor.

*At this period the loss of ancient writers occasions a
 * 13 chasm of fifty or sixty years in the history of Persia, and not the slightest information can be derived from any work that is now extant respecting the events which might have then occurred. If, however, the preceding circumstances be considered, it will be perhaps admitted that no material change took place in the state of Persia during the seventy or eighty years which elapsed between the death of Alexander and the revolt of Arsaces: to have effected this, it was absolutely requisite that the Greeks should have occupied the whole of the country in considerable numbers. I have therefore endeavoured to ascertain what might have been the probable strength of Alexander's army, and what the casualties which it might have sustained. The latter, indeed, must rest principally on conjecture; but from Diodorus it clearly appears that Alexander had, during his lifetime, dismissed at least 30,000† men, and that after his death 20,000 were slain in consequence

† Diodorus Siculus, p. 633, says that the number of Macedonians alone who had been discharged amounted to upwards of 30,000: "Οὗτος (κρατερος) γὰρ προσηπταλμῶς εἰς Κιλικίαν ἠμέλλε καταγεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους τῆς στρατείας Μακεδόνas, οὐκ ἔπερ τρισμῆριους."

of their revolt against Perdiccas. If to these be added 10,000 on account of casualties between the battle of Arbela and Alexander's return from India to Ecbatana,—a very small number, considering the wars and hardships which the army had experienced; and it be supposed that the seven generals after his death took from the troops at Babylon only 3,000 men each, there will be a sum total of 81,000 men, who, it seems, did not remain in Persia. Nor ought the army which continued with King Philip and under the command of Perdiccas to be omitted; the strength of which, when they marched against the chief of Cappadocia, cannot well be estimated at less than 23,000 men. There will thus be an aggregate of more than 100,000 men, who were employed in Persia during the eight years which elapsed between the battle of Arbela and the march of Perdiccas from Babylon, not one of whom continued in that country.

This number, it will be observed, exceeds the strength of Alexander's * army, which I before mentioned, by
 * 14 59,000 men; and it can require no observation to point out that it was impossible for Greece to have afforded such reinforcements. The preceding numbers, therefore, must be liable to considerable suspicion. But whatever deductions it may be thought necessary to make from them, it will equally follow that the occupation of Persia by the Greeks must have been partial in the extreme. Irak Arabi, the western parts of Irak Ajemi, Khuzistan, and Fars, appear to have been the only provinces which acknowledged any submission to the Syrian kings. The governors of the other provinces, although they might not declare themselves independent, virtually acted as if they were not subject to any superior authority.

It hence seems obvious that the conquest of Persia by the Greeks differs materially from every other conquest which is recorded in history. The lands of the vanquished were not divided amongst the principal leaders of the victorious army, nor was even the country occupied and its possession maintained by large bodies of troops. The government alone, which had previously existed, was in appearance subverted;

but to the people this change was scarcely perceptible. The kingdom of Persia, like the rest of Asia, had been always divided into large provinces, the governors of which exercised unlimited authority. The great body of the people, therefore, were little acquainted with their sovereign; and their hopes and fears all centred in the governor of their particular province. In this mode of government the Greeks made no alteration; nor does it appear that any took place in the general administration of the provinces. The life of Alexander was too short to admit of his introducing any such changes; and constant wars and consequent weakness prevented Antigonos and the Syrian kings from attempting any innovations. To the governors, therefore, was intrusted, as formerly, absolute authority over their provinces; and as they were not supported by any considerable number of foreign troops, it became their interest to conciliate the natives by every means in their power. Under such circumstances, it cannot be supposed that they would attempt to subvert their customs, laws, or religion: on the contrary, it seems far more probable *that the few Greeks who were scattered over the wide extent of Persia would assimilate themselves as much as * 15 possible to the natives, and that they would by inter-marriages become, in the course of the second or third generation, entirely blended and identified with them.

If there be any justice in these remarks, it will follow that Bactriana, after Theodotus in B.C. 255 declared himself independent, cannot in any sense of the word be considered as a Greek kingdom. It was situated in the remotest part of Persia, about 21 degrees to the east of Babylon, and it is only from an incidental passage in Arrian that it is even known that any Greek troops were stationed in that province.† He mentions that on Alexander's march to India, Amyntas was left governor of Bactria with 1,500 horse and 10,000 foot; but he does not state of what nation these troops were. It is, however, evident that Alexander's army was too small to admit of his weakening it by leaving behind so strong a detachment, if it

† Book iv., chap. 23.

was composed entirely of Greeks ; and it may therefore be concluded that a considerable part of it were natives. Yet, admitting that the whole of these troops were Greeks, the course of events which occurred after they were stationed in Bactriana will sufficiently evince the improbability of their ever having maintained any intercourse with Greece. They were thus left entirely to their own resources ; and, as they were not accompanied by their wives, it cannot be doubted that they would intermarry with the natives, and that in the course of seventy years their descendants, however they might distinguish themselves by the name of Greeks, would differ in no one essential from the Persians.

Not having it in my power to consult the learned work of Bayer, I am unacquainted with the authorities on which Bactriana is described to have been so flourishing and extensive a kingdom. But, if I be not mistaken, the only ancient writers who have mentioned anything respecting it are Polybius, Trogus Pompeius (if correctly epitomized by Justin), and Strabo ; and most certainly the information which can be derived from them is far from justifying the description of Bactriana

which is given by Mr. Maurice, the latest writer on this * 16 subject. The passage contained in * Strabo, as it is short, I may be permitted to quote : † “ Bactria is an extensive country, producing everything except the olive ; and the Greeks who rebelled so strengthened themselves by means of the excellence of this country, that they conquered Ariana, and also the Indians, as is related by Apollodorus, subduing more nations than Alexander, particularly Menander, if he passed the Hypanis, and proceeded as far to the eastward as Isamus. The Bactrii also possessed Sogdiana.” Such is all the information which is given by Strabo ; and little respecting the state of Bactriana can be learned from the short extracts of Polybius ‡ which have been preserved. But it may from them be presumed that the power and resources of the Bactrian king must have been very considerable, as they enabled him to prolong the contest with Antiochus the Great, after a sanguinary

† p. 517.

‡ pp. 620 and 651.

and unsuccessful battle, until Antiochus was glad to conclude a peace with him, and even to promise his son one of his daughters in marriage.

It is hence by no means improbable that the Bactrian kingdom might have been both extensive and flourishing. But it seems scarcely possible that the Greek troops who were stationed in Bactriana could have been in the slightest degree instrumental in diffusing either knowledge or science. It must always be recollected that they were left there in B.C. 327; and that from the remoteness of their situation they were cut off from all communication with Greece. Nor does it appear from any ancient writer, that after Alexander's transient invasion, any other Greek or Syrian army than that of Antiochus the Great ever penetrated into Khorasan. The descendants of the Greeks in Bactria, therefore, could possess no peculiar knowledge except such as they derived from their fathers; and any observation must be superfluous to show that the rude soldier and the as rude officer were little likely to be acquainted with either literature or science. War was the only science in which they were skilled; and it was no doubt by this knowledge that they were enabled to maintain themselves in so remote a country. But with regard to all other arts and sciences, it is most probable that, so far from being able to *instruct either the Persians or Indians, they might have derived from them much more information than * 17 they could possibly communicate.

In consequence of a short passage contained in the 11th book of Strabo, it seems never to have been doubted that this kingdom was destroyed by the Scythians; and M. de Guignes has attempted, in a very curious memoir†, to support this opinion by Chinese histories. But his arguments, ingenious as they are, depend entirely on conjecture. It is certainly possible that Ta-hia may mean Khorasan, Chiu-to the Sind-kipin Sogdiana, Goei the Jihon, and Gan-ki the Parthians: but it

† *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. xiv., pp. 17 et seq.

must be obvious, that when such names are attempted to be applied to places situated at so great a distance from China, the supposed resemblance must depend principally, if not entirely, on the imagination of the writer; and the circumstances must be much more striking and peculiar than any mentioned by M. de Guignes before they can carry any conviction to the reader. A numerous people, more addicted to commerce than arms, who possessed the arts of engraving upon metals, of embroidery, of fabricating vessels of gold, silver, and copper, who used coins of silver and gold, on one side of which was stamped a horseman, and on the other a man, and who wrote horizontally, and not vertically, might surely have been found in some country much nearer to China.

But Justin differs entirely from Strabo respecting the causes which led to the subversion of the Bactrian kingdom; for he observes, "*Eodem ferme tempore, sicuti in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt: sed Parthorum fortuna felicioꝝ, ad summum, hoc duce, imperii fastigium eos perduxit. Bactriani autem per varia bella jactati, non regnum tantum verum etiam libertatem amiserunt, siquidem Sogdianorum, Dranganitanorum. Indorumque bellis fatigati, ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis, velut exangues, oppressi sunt.*"† In this passage the Scythians are not mentioned; and yet can anything be more probable, than that rebellions should arise in the Bactrian kingdom, and

* 18 that, exhausted by the wars which ensued in consequence, it should fall an easy prey to the Parthians, who had been in the mean time increasing in power? This is precisely the history of the various dynasties which arose in Persia after it was conquered by the Arabs. I may also observe, that native writers do not notice any invasions of Turan by any Tartar tribe until it was finally subdued by the Haiatelah, or White Huns, about the commencement of the second century. But if the authority of Strabo be in this instance considered, from its particularity, to be the most conclusive, it must be still

† Justin, lib xli., c. 8.

recollected that he at the same time intimates explicitly that this irruption of Scythians occurred long after the establishment of the Parthian kingdom.

The term Scythian is the opprobrium of ancient writers, as from its vagueness and latitude of application it never conveys any distinct information. Yet, without adverting to this obvious circumstance, it has been generally admitted that the Parthians were Scythians; and Gibbon not only assumes this position, but in more than one passage ascribes customs and modes of acting to the Parthians merely on the strength of this conjecture. But if the country which these supposed Scythians inhabited, and not the name only, be considered, it will be evident that the generally received opinion rests on no sufficient grounds. Strabo† says, that “Arsaces, a Scythian, having under his command a few men of that nomad tribe of the Dai which is called Parni, and which inhabits the banks of the Ochus, invaded and subdued Parthia.” In another place he observes‡,—and nothing can show more fully the very indistinct nature of the geographical knowledge possessed by the ancients than this remark,—“They say that the Dai called Xanthii and Parii (although it is not entirely agreed that the Dai were any of the Scythians who were situated on the Maëotis), and from them they say Arsaces descended, but others mention that he was a Bactrian.” But it is not doubted that Bactria was the modern Balkh, and that the Ochus was a river of the modern Khorasan; and it must hence follow that both Arsaces and the band of which he was chief were Persians. Justin says§, that his origin was uncertain; but he clearly intimates that he must have been an inhabitant of Persia and a subject of the Syrian * 19 king at the time when he invaded Parthia. He at the same time agrees with Strabo in stating that the number of men with which Arsaces effected the reduction of that country was very inconsiderable: “*cum prædonum manu*” is his expression, and Strabo’s, τῶν δαῶν τῶας ἐχὼν. It is also not

† p. 515.

‡ *ibid.*

§ lib. xli., c. 4.

disputed that the Arsacidæ, after being established in Parthia, gradually reduced under their authority the whole of Persia.

On what grounds, then, has it been supposed that the Parthians were Scythians? The only two ancient authors, it appears, from whom any information is derived respecting their origin, clearly represent Arsaces to have been himself a Persian, whatever his descent might have been; and it is as evident that the men with whom he conquered Parthia were inhabitants of Persia. No writer describes him to have led, like Teimur and Huláku Khan, immense armies from the wilds of Tartary to the banks of the Tigris: nor is even a partial invasion of the Scythians at the time when he founded the Parthian empire mentioned by any author. It is singular, therefore, that the circumstances related by Strabo and Justin should have been entirely disregarded; and that a mere name, which it was impossible to define, should have been considered as sufficient, by even eminent writers, to authorize the opinion that the Parthians were Scythians. And it is the more singular, because it is evident that although these two authors concur in mentioning that the Parthians were originally Scythians, yet they at the same time intimate most explicitly, that they had been settled in Parthia long before they were subdued by Arsaces. "*Hi,*" says Justin†, *et Assyriorum et Medorum temporibus, inter Orientis populos obscurissimi fuere. Postea quoque cum imperium Orientis a Medis ad Persas translatum est, veluti vulgus sine nomine, præda victorum fuere. Postremo Macedonibus, triumphato Oriente, servierunt.*" The Parthi also are expressly mentioned by Herodotus; and there is neither authority nor reason to suppose that after his time their country had been occupied by any Scythian tribe.

*According to ancient writers, then, it may be justly
 *20 concluded, that Arsaces was one of those active and turbulent men who have at all times so frequently arisen in the badly governed countries of Asia; that he was a native of Kherasan; that he collected around him a band of men of

the same country and of the same character as himself; and that taking advantage of the weakness of the Syrian government, he rendered himself master of a small and mountainous district on the north-western frontiers of Khorasan. In this statement, all of which is supported by the authority of Strabo and Justin, every circumstance is probable, and consistent with experience. But on the supposition to which I object, all is uncertainty and conjecture. Whence, may I ask, came these Scythians? And, most particularly, if they passed through the countries adjacent to Parthia, why did they not effect a settlement in those fertile districts; but rather prefer establishing themselves in a country which Strabo describes to have been of small extent, woody, mountainous and poor, and consequently unadapted for the residence of any nomad tribe? It must also be remarked, that the acknowledged slowness with which this kingdom rose into power and consequence, must be of itself sufficient to evince that the troops of Arsaces could not have been numerous, or his resources extensive. It must then irresistibly follow, that as the kingdom which he established was at first inconsiderable, and afterwards aggrandized by conquests only in Persia, the people who formed in process of time the Parthian empire must have been Persians, and not Scythians.

I have in vain endeavoured to ascertain from what particular circumstances the contrary opinion could possibly have originated. Every author concurs in placing Parthia between Aria, Hyrcania, and Media; and no writer mentions that the troops led by Arsaces were ever increased by any influx of Scythians. Nor does it appear from any authority that the Parthians, considered as a people, ever adopted the nomad mode of living. Ancient writers were probably induced to form this conclusion from the Parthian kings being continually engaged in war, and from their armies being accompanied by that numerous train of all descriptions of people which has invariably followed an Asiatic army; and * which to the well-disciplined Romans must have appeared much more like the emigration of a Scythian * 21 tribe, than troops intended for battle. The manners

and customs of the Parthians also, which are mentioned by Justin, are, as far as their generality admits of a particular application, strictly applicable to the Persians. "Next in rank (he observes) to the king are the people, from whom are selected rulers in peace and leaders in war." From the change which was effected in the government of Persia by the Arabian conquest, it may be doubted whether anterior to it there existed a distinct and hereditary nobility.† But as such an institution is incompatible with the despotic authority which the Persian kings enjoyed, as is admitted by ancient and native writers, the observation of Justin seems to be both striking and correct. He further remarks that their dress was Median; and that their language was partly Median and partly Scythian, as were likewise their arms. Here again the term Scythian is perfectly indefinite, as it is impossible to ascertain to what particular tribe of that people it ought in this instance to be applied; or whether, as is most probable, it is only intended to distinguish by it some slight difference in the arms and dialect of the Medes and Parthians. He adds, that they did not bury their dead, but exposed the corpse to be devoured by dogs or birds, and then merely buried the bare bones; a custom which has never been ascribed to any Scythian tribe.

But the circumstance which seems particularly to have attracted the attention of the Romans, and the later writers among the ancients, and to have led them to conclude that the Parthians were a different people from the Persians, was the skill of the former in archery and horsemanship. Justin, or rather Trogus Pompeius, appears to have been very forcibly struck with their being continually on horseback. "*Equis omni tempore* (says he) *vectantur; illis bella, illis convivia, illis publica ac privata officia obeunt: super illos ire, consistere, mercari, colloqui.*" Yet Xenophon, more than three hundred years before, had described the constant attention which was given to instruct the Persian youth in archery; and had expressly mentioned, that after Cyrus had introduced horseman-

• See Note C at the end of this communication.

• † lib. xii., c. 3.

* ship among the Persians, it became an invariable custom with them that no one of any consequence ever * 22 allowed himself to be seen walking on foot†: ὥστε ἐτι καὶ νυν ἐξ ἐκείνω ὅτῳ χρωῖται Περσῶν, καὶ ὡδεὶς ἀν τῶν καλῶν κάβαθων ἐκὼν οἴσθῃη Περσῶν ὠδαμῶ πεζὸς ἰών.† And more than seventeen hundred years after Trogus Pompeius, Chardin as forcibly describes the same custom. “*Pour les hommes (says he) ils vont à cheval, mais ils ne marchent jamais.*” Sir John Malcolm also observes, that the practice of the Parthian warrior taking his unerring aim while his horse was carrying him from his enemy, is an usage which has always been as common to Persian as to Tartar tribes. Nor is the introduction of these modern authorities to be thought impertinent and foreign to the subject; for it is evident from the Shah Nameh, and from different native writers, that archery and being constantly on horseback had been familiar to the Persians long before the invasions of Huláku Khan, and consequently before these customs could have been introduced by the Tartars, who then for the first time overran Persia.

It may at the same time be remarked, that no correct judgment can be formed on this question, unless the actual state of Transoxiana be also taken into consideration. But, unfortunately, as I have before observed, no satisfactory information respecting this subject can be derived from any ancient writer: it would, however, appear from Arrian and Curtius, that at the time Alexander invaded this country it was neither inhabited by, nor considered to belong to, the Scythians; who are placed by both these authors beyond the Jaxartes. Nor is this opinion controverted by Strabo, who evidently admits that Sogdia was inhabited by a distinct race of people, previously to its being occupied, considerably subsequent to the time of Arsaces, by the Sacæ, and afterwards by the Scythians. It would hence seem obvious, that when the Parthian kingdom was established, there was no Scythian tribe conterminous to Persia; and that if the troops led by Arsaces were Scythians,

† Xen. Cyr. 4th.

† See Note D at the end of this communication.

they must consequently have emigrated either from the Palus Maotis or from beyond the Jaxartes ;—a supposition too improbable, and too inconsistent with the acknowledged weakness of * the Parthians for many years after their empire was * 23 founded, to be seriously maintained. It may, then, I presume, when all these circumstances are considered, be justly concluded that there are no grounds whatever for supposing that the Parthians ever were a Scythian people.

The Parthian kingdom was founded in B.C. 250, and subverted by Ardashir Babegan in A.D. 226, after having flourished 476 years. But the whole of this long period is involved in an obscurity which has been but transiently and dimly illuminated by any ray of historic light. Nor can even the limits and extent of the country which was originally held by the successful opposers of the victorious legions of Rome, be now traced with any certainty. It is undoubtedly a point more of curiosity than importance, as it is evident that even after Arsacës had subdued Hyrcania, his territories must have been far from considerable. Were it, however, admitted, on the authority of Justin, that his son led an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse against Antiochus the Great, it would be indisputable that the Parthians must have in a few years extended their authority over the greatest part of Persia. But the more sober page of Polybius contradicts such a supposition. That author states, that when Antiochus marched into Persia in consequence of Molo's rebellion, thirty-three years after Arsaces conquered Parthia, the provinces of Irak Arabi, Khuzistan, Irak Ajemi, and Fars, were still held by Syrian governors. Kirman and the greatest part of Khorasan, or Aria and Margiana, are not mentioned, but seem to have still remained under their own governors ; Azarbaijan was independent, and Bactria had been for some time formed into a separate kingdom. Seven or eight years later, however, as appears also from Polybius, the Parthians had conquered nearly the whole of Irak Ajemi ; but on Antiochus again marching into Persia, they were obliged to retreat with considerable loss as he advanced, and even to sacrifice their capital. But the strength of their

country, and their mode of warfare, seem to have rendered his progress so difficult, that he was glad to conclude a peace with them, and to restore the country which he had overrun. Polybius finishes his account of this memorable expedition of Antiochus by observing, that he returned from India by Drangiana, and wintered in Karmania; and that the result of this expedition had been the reduction of all the upper * 24 satrapies—that is, the provinces of Persia. But from this period it would seem that the authority of the Syrian kings over the east of Persia entirely ceased; and that even in the west it was scarcely acknowledged.

Oppressed by the Romans, and enervated by their own vices, it was impossible that the Syrian kings could oppose any effectual resistance to the encroachments of the Parthians. But the successes which attended the arms of the latter, and the gradual aggrandizement of their empire, are so briefly and obscurely described by Justin, that their exact nature cannot be ascertained. He however mentions, that under Mithridates the fifth king, but the fourth in descent from Arsaces, the Parthian territories extended from the Parapamisan Mountains to the Euphrates; and consequently included the whole of Persia Proper. Mr. Playfair places the death of Mithridates in B. C. 135, and M. Langlès, on the authority of M. Visconti, in B. C. 136. It therefore follows that Justin's relation is directly contradicted by Strabo, who distinctly states that at the time when he composed his work (A.D. 24) the provinces of Persis, Media Atropatia, and Elymais, still continued independent and governed by their own kings. This statement best agrees with the opinion of the natives, but that of Justin is more consistent with probability. For it seems unlikely, when the actions of the Parthians are considered, and particularly the line of their operations, which were generally carried on in the direction of Armenia, that the rich and populous provinces of Fars and Azarbaijan should have remained unsubdued.

But it is not my intention to enter into any examination of the great military events which occurred during the existence of the Parthian empire; for all these took place

either beyond or immediately on the western frontiers of Persia Proper: and were they even related in a more detailed and connected manner, they would convey no information whatever respecting the interior state of that country. It will, however, be perhaps admitted, that it has been established by the testimony of ancient writers, that the Macedonian conquest effected no material change either

* in the customs, laws, religion, or government of Persia; that the authority which the Syrian kings exercised over it was more nominal than real; and that even this nominal authority almost entirely ceased after the return of Antiochus the Great, or about B.C. 209, and a little more than one hundred years after the death of Alexander. Nor will it perhaps be any longer disputed that the Parthians were Persians, and not Scythians.

In all these conclusions the authority of ancient writers coincides with the few brief notices of Persian history which have been collected and preserved by Muhammadan writers. On their credibility I have remarked fully in a former paper; and I need only now add that, as far as my inquiries enable me to judge, there is no reason to suppose that any ancient historian was ever translated into either Arabic or Persian; and that the extreme ignorance of all events that have taken place in foreign countries which is displayed by Muhammadan writers, must alone show that they had not the means of acquiring more correct information. But these notices, it must be acknowledged, neither tend to supply the defects which exist in the history of the Parthians, nor convey any continued or connected account of their empire. At the same time it will not perhaps be disputed that they contain the traditionary opinions of the natives respecting the state of Persia after the death of Alexander, and that they therefore ought not to be altogether rejected. Firdausi in few words declares, that at the time when he composed his poem there was no longer extant any detailed account of the Parthian kings: "When both their root and branches (he observes) ceased to flourish, their deeds remained unrecorded by any experienced historian; and no-

thing but their names have I either heard or perused in the annals of the Persian kings."—But every Muhammadan historian concurs in stating that the names of the kings had been preserved; and in a list of twenty kings there is no instance where there is any difference of opinion with regard either to the number or to the relative succession. In the names, however, there is some difference; and in the length of the respective reigns there is a complete disagreement, as scarcely any two writers ascribe the same * number of years to the same reign. But this circumstance appears to me to * 26 have proceeded entirely from their possessing no correct knowledge of the exact period which elapsed between the foundation of the Ashkanian monarchy, and its subversion by Ardashir Babegan; and, as a great difference of opinion existed on this point, every writer, without attempting to alter the order and succession of the kings, contented himself with giving to each reign such a number of years as best suited the system which he had adopted. It will also, I think, be admitted, that there is nothing improbable or inconsistent with experience in ascribing twenty kings to a period of 476 years.

Few, therefore, as the circumstances are which have been related by native historians, they deserve at least to be considered as an authentic record of what the natives thought and believed on the subject. The credibility of the historians is at the same time strongly corroborated by their uniform agreement on every material point; for an agreement in the exact length of the reigns of any race of kings does not seem to be deemed an essential requisite by chronologists. I may then observe, that all native writers concur in mentioning, that after Alexander had conquered Persia, he divided it into several provinces, over which he appointed distinct governors; and that he survived this conquest but a short time, most of which was employed in his expedition to and return from India. On one point there is a disagreement; for most writers, with true Muhammadan zeal, praise Alexander for having destroyed the books and pyramids of the Magi: but Firdausi vindicates him from this aspersion. They also state, that after Alexander's

death his army was withdrawn from Persia, and that the governors of the different provinces assumed independency; and, as it is emphatically expressed, they neither acknowledged submission nor paid tribute to any sovereign. It need scarcely be remarked, that Persia could have borne no other appearance to the natives; for, if they were but slightly acquainted with their own monarchs when they resided at Istakhr, they must have been entirely ignorant of a prince who issued his mandates from the towers of Antioch.

Respecting the exact time when Ashak founded the monarchy known * to the ancients by the name of Parthian, as I * 27 have before observed, there is the greatest difference of opinion. But the period which Tabari states to have elapsed between the conquest of Persia by Alexander and the rise of Ardashir Babegan, 563 years, is strikingly accurate; although the particulars which he relates respecting the number and succession of Ashkanian kings are very incorrect. The results, however, of three lists of their reigns, compiled from different historians, give 363, 375, and 391 years, as the duration of this dynasty. But were the longest reign which is mentioned by any historian assigned to each king, this duration would be extended to 474 years, and thus remarkably coincide with that which is established by ancient authors.†

On this point alone is there any difference of opinion among native writers. They all concur in relating, that Ashak was a native of Persia, and that he put to death the Greek governor of Khorasan previously to assuming independency; and that when the Greek king marched against him in order to avenge the governor's death, he was entirely defeated, and all his army destroyed or taken prisoners. It has been supposed that Seleucus Callinicus was taken prisoner by Arsaces, and that he died in captivity. But Justin ‡ seems to me to state directly the contrary; for his words are, "*Nec multo post cum Seleuco rege, ad defectores persequendos veniente, congressus victor fuit (Arsaces).*" And afterwards: "*Revocato deinde Seleuco novis*

† See Note E at the end of this communication.

‡ lib. xli., cap. 4 & 5.

motibus in Asiam." From these words it certainly appears that Seleucus, after being defeated, returned to Syria : and how the passage in the 3rd chapter and 27th book—"*Seleucus quoque iisdem ferme diebus, amisso regno, equo precipitatus, finitur*"—is made to contradict the preceding one, and to signify that Seleucus died while he was the prisoner of Arsaces, is not quite intelligible, nor at all consistent with the concluding words of this chapter : "*Sic fratres, quasi et germanis casibus, exules ambo post regna, scelerum suorum pœnas luerunt.*"—From the context, on the contrary, it is evident that Seleucus had been deprived of his territories by either Eumenes or Ptolemy. In this instance, then, there is no reason to conclude that the Persians have failed to * celebrate the glory of Ashak in having taken prisoner a king of * 28 the Greeks.

In the works of Justin, Tacitus, and Josephus, is contained some account of the events which occurred during the first 320 years of the Ashkanian dynasty. But their memory has long ceased among the Persians ; and, with a single exception, all the circumstances which have been recorded to their shame or their glory have been long obliterated from the page of Persian history : for Tabari mentions, although in very few words and in an incorrect manner, the expedition of the Parthians against Jerusalem, and the capture and plunder of the holy temple. The passage is as follows : " In the reign of Shapur the children of Israel slew Zacariah (on whom be the peace of God!) ; and God gave to Shapur dominion over them until they were all either slain or taken prisoners, and the holy temple utterly destroyed, so that one stone remained not on another." With this single exception, the native accounts of the Ashkanian dynasty contain nothing but the names and deaths of the kings, and very few unimportant particulars. Nor could this be otherwise, if Muhammed Amir Khond be correct in stating that the most ancient record of these kings was merely a list of their respective names and titles, in the order in which they succeeded to each other.

But there is at the same time one striking coincidence in the

accounts given by ancient and native writers of one particular circumstance. For all the latter concur in mentioning that there were two distinct dynasties of princes who reigned in Persia between Ashak and Ardashir; and that the twelfth descendant of Ashak, who is named by some writers Ardavan and by others Palash, was defeated and slain in battle by Ardavan Ben Ashagh, who had rebelled against him. This Ardavan is said to have been a descendant of Feriburz the son of Kaus, a former king of Persia, and to have been a prince of one of the petty states into which the country was then divided. An event similar to this is related by Tacitus, who mentions that the Parthians, becoming disgusted with Vonones on account of his effeminacy and fondness for foreign manners and customs†,—

* *igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine, apud Dahæ adultus, excitur; primoque congressu fusus, reparat vires, regnoque potitur.*” And Josephus relates the same circumstance more fully ‡:—“So they (the Parthians) presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at first the multitude of Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in array; but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones and beat him: whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback with a few of his attendants about him to Seleucia (upon the Tigris); and so Artabanus now reigned over the Parthians.” In these accounts there is but the slight difference of Artabanus being said to be a descendant of Arsaces, although neither Josephus nor Tacitus states in what manner; and of Vonones having escaped from the last battle, instead of having been slain in it. But these circumstances are unimportant; and the material fact, that a change in the reigning

† Tac. Ann., lib. ii., c. 8.

‡ Whiston's Josephus, vol. iii., p. 132.

family then took place, remains unaffected; and this coincidence must therefore considerably strengthen the credibility of native writers.

Admitting, then, that no correct history of the actions of the Ashkanian and Ashghanian kings might have ever been composed, still there is evidently every reason to believe that some traditionary knowledge of the actual state of Persia after the death of Alexander must have been preserved amongst the people. To question, however, on such grounds, the authority of Tacitus, or even Justin, must, I am aware, appear very ridiculous: but I shall nevertheless proceed to make a few remarks on two points, one of which is defective in information on account of its extreme vagueness, and the other inconsistent with probability. Justin relates† that Phrahates, king of Parthia, when about to be attacked by Antiochus Sidetes, had obtained the assistance of the Scythians on the promise of a stipulated remuneration: but, having finished the war before their arrival, he, on pretext of their having arrived too late, defrauded them of the pro*mitted reward. The Scythians, therefore, in revenge, commenced to ravage the * 30 Parthian territories: Phrahates hastened against them, and in a sanguinary engagement was completely defeated and slain. With this event, which took place about B.C. 126, is generally connected the fall of Bactriana; as it is supposed that these Scythians were the very same who, according to Strabo‡, subverted that monarchy. This author appears to intimate that they established themselves in Bactria, and mentions that they made incursions into Hyrcania, Parthia, and Media; and that the people were happy to avert their depredations by the payment of tribute. Who these Scythians were and whence they came, Justin does not explain; nor does Strabo attempt to fix the period when they commenced their emigration from beyond the Jaxartes. The utmost, then, that can be admitted on this authority, is the simple fact of Khorasan having been invaded by some people who came from

† lib. xlii., cap. 1.

‡ p. 511.

Transoxiana; for I have before observed that Strabo and Justin disagree entirely respecting the causes which occasioned the subversion of the Bactrian kingdom.

But of the invasion of any Tartar tribe previously to the time of Hūláku Khan in A.D. 1255, the natives of Persia have not the slightest tradition or the slightest belief; nor is there any one circumstance which can render it probable, unless the vague and indefinite term Scythian is to be considered as such. But can this be a sufficient reason for rejecting the universal and long established opinion of the Persians, that such an empire as that of Turan once existed? It is certainly not mentioned by any ancient author; but no ancient author knew any thing whatever regarding the countries to the eastward of the Oxus, as is most clearly evinced by the works of Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, Arrian, and Curtius, the principal writers who have mentioned them. Let it be admitted that the kingdom of Turan once flourished, and nothing can be more probable than the events mentioned by Strabo and Justin. The Persians believe that the possession of Balkh and its adjacent territory has been often an object of contest between Iran and Turan: that the kings of the latter, therefore, should avail themselves of the first opportunity to reduce it under their

* authority, is most probable: and it can only excite
 * 31 • surprise that they did not sooner take advantage of the weakness of Persia after its conquest by Alexander.

Prabability and tradition, therefore, if not direct testimony, will authorize the conclusion, that the Scythians, who were the conquerors of Bactria (if this circumstance be admitted), were no other than the people of Turan; and that they held uninterrupted possession of this country until, as may be inferred from native writers, they were finally expelled by Ardashir Babegan.†

On the other point, not even the authority of Tacitus can, in my opinion, render it at all probable that the Parthians were in the habit of sending frequent embassies to Rome. Had these been restricted to the Roman governors of Syria, they

† See Note F at the end of this communication.

might be admitted to have taken place ; but that the principal men of Parthia should, in all their difficulties and dissensions, endeavour to obtain support and assistance by a distant embassy to Rome, is so contrary to the rapidity with which all insurrections in Asia have burst forth, and so inconsistent with the information and customs of the people, that its credibility is more than dubious. Nor does the slightest tradition of such a communication, or the slightest knowledge of Italy, now exist amongst the Persians. The picture, however, which Tacitus has drawn of the Parthian government is striking, and most probably correct. The power and influence of the provincial governors, the insurrections and rebellions of the people, the murders and crimes of the royal family, the vices and weakness of the monarchs, have in later times been frequently exemplified in every kingdom of Asia. It is much to be regretted that this masterly hand had not at the same time delineated the country and the people in all their features ; as it is impossible to derive from his works, at least from such as are now extant, any information respecting the polity and religion of Persia.

I am apprehensive that some of the preceding remarks may be considered to be both tedious and superfluous ; but I have been anxious to establish, on as strong grounds as possible, that the Macedonians effected no material change in the state of Persia ; and that, with this single exception, no other foreigners ever established themselves in this country, * 32 or exerted the slightest influence over it : for I conceive that if these positions be once ceded, it must necessarily follow that no probable cause can be assigned by which such a change could have been produced. Admit that the Ashkanian dynasty were Persians, and what possible motive can be imagined which could have led them to subvert or undermine the customs, laws, government, and religion of their ancestors ? But that the Parthians were a rude people, averse to the customs and manners of the Persians, hostile to literature and science, and the oppressors of the faith of Zoroaster, are assumptions which rest on no other grounds whatever than the

mere assertion of ancient authors, that the Parthians were Scythians. If, then, this assertion be not only unfounded, but proved to be so by these authors themselves,—for not one of them has ever represented the Parthians to be nomads, the peculiar characteristic of the Scythians,—it must follow that the consequences which have been drawn from it, and the systems which have been built upon it, must all be equally unfounded.

Of the actual state of the polity and religion of Persia during the Ashkanian dynasty, I acknowledge that no satisfactory accounts exist; but I must contend that every incidental mention of them which is contained in ancient writers, and every tradition which has been preserved by the natives, fully controvert the opinion to which I object, and support the one which I have attempted to maintain in these remarks. With regard, therefore, to the polity of Persia during this period, little or no doubt can be entertained. In Asia, government has always been of the simplest kind; and there, the authority of the state being vested entirely in the sovereign, no wars or dissensions have ever arisen in order to establish a democracy, an aristocracy, or a limited monarchy. The people themselves, from the earliest times, seem to be perfectly incompetent to form even an opinion on the possibility of restricting the kingly power: from their infancy they are taught implicit submission to all who are in authority over them, and they never presume to question the propriety or justness of the orders which they receive. In Asia, also, with the exception *

* 33 of a few persons raised to dignities and offices by the mere will and caprice of the monarch, there exist no distinctions amongst the people, nor does even property communicate either consequence or power: there, likewise, taxation is reduced to one simple tax on land, and a few duties and customs. In such a state of society it is evident that the system of government can neither be complicated nor subject to variation.

In Persia, consequently, from the remotest times government has always borne one uniform appearance; nor is there any

reason to suppose that it suffered any material change under the Ashkanian dynasty : the contrary might be concluded with greater probability ; for these princes, being continually engaged in war, could have had no leisure to introduce political innovations, and must have found it their interest to conciliate their subjects by every attention to ancient usages and customs. But in the earliest times, if credit may be given to Firdausi, the authority of the monarch, although absolute, was in some degree restrained by a council of nobles. Under the six princes, however, who preceded Alexander, this institution seems to have been falling gradually into disuse ; and it may be justly supposed that, in the course of a conquest, such of these distinguished families as might still exist would be either destroyed or reduced to poverty. When Ashak, therefore, eighty years afterwards rendered himself master of an inconsiderable kingdom, the nobility and the custom of consulting them on state affairs must have equally disappeared. But the Persian people, liable to oppression as they were, seem at all times to have enjoyed the privilege of making their wishes not only known, but even attended to, in the choice of the head men of villages and the wards of large townst;—a privilege which must have been to them inestimable, as all the details of government were conducted by these head men. The great body of the Persian people were, consequently, little sensible of the evils which spring from despotism, as they had personally little or no intercourse with their rulers ; and, inhabiting a delightful country, they, unagitated by ambition or a desire of changing their situation, centred *all their happiness in the spot where they were born, and in the peaceful cultivation of their * 34 fruitful fields. To these, therefore, the changes of governors and kings were of little importance, as they never disturbed the long established course of civil administration ; and if later times may be admitted as examples, it is evident that in all the numerous invasions, conquests, foundations of new and subversions of old dynasties, which have taken place

† See note G at the end of these Remarks.

in Persia, the general state of the country, and of its interior government, has still continued invariably the same.

That the preceding conclusion, when applied to the Ashkanian dynasty, rests on probability and inference rather than on any direct testimony, must be admitted. Nor can it be denied, that after a lapse of sixteen hundred years, and a complete revolution in the religion of Persia, it is now impossible to ascertain whether or not these princes were the encouragers or the despisers of science and literature. But this is a question which, as far as I am aware, admits not of discussion; for there are no circumstances on which an argument, or even an opinion, either on the one side or the other, can be now founded. The pages of the historian, the speculations of the philosopher, the numbers of the poet, the conceptions of the painter, and the images of the sculptor, if they ever during this period contributed to the amusement, the instruction, or the glory of the Persian people, have long sunk into oblivion, and not a trace remains which can at this day even indicate that they might have once existed. With what justice, then, can it be hence inferred that such works might have been created by the command of the Ashkanian kings? or, on the other hand, that in consequence of their contempt and discouragement, the genius which might have once animated the Persians became mute and inglorious? Yet this last conjecture is generally admitted; although, as I have before observed, it rests merely on another conjecture, that the Parthians were Scythians, and consequently hostile to literature and science. But the preceding remarks will have perhaps shown that this supposition is incorrect; and that, consequently, no inference can be drawn from it respecting the actual state of science and literature in Persia during the Ashkanian dynasty. This point must therefore still remain un-

* certain, as there exists neither tradition nor testimony

* 35 which could authorize its decision.

But I am surprised that it could ever have been supposed that this dynasty oppressed the priests and followers of Zoroaster, or attempted to subvert their religion. It is by no means improbable that, in consequence of the Macedonian conquest,

the power, the splendour, and the riches of the priesthood were greatly diminished; and that, in consequence of the divided state of Persia which afterwards took place, they never again acquired the same influence or the same consequence. It is also probable that the Ashkanian kings, being constantly engaged in wars and conquests, neither treated the priesthood with that deference and attention, nor conferred on them those dignities, with which they had been distinguished under former dynasties. But it does not seem to be disputed, nor can it be doubted, that the faith of Zoroaster continued during the whole of the monarchy to be the religion of the great body of the people. Strabo†, two hundred and fifty years after Ashak had rendered himself independent, and when consequently it might be expected that, had he and his descendants ever wished to subvert this faith, their plans must have in a great measure succeeded, describes the religion of the inhabitants of Persis in the same words as Herodotus. But he mentions, that he had been himself an eye-witness to the ceremonies of the Magi; and adds two remarkable circumstances,—their holding small rods of the tamarisk in their hands while sacrificing or reciting prayers, and their covering their mouths when standing before the sacred fire.‡ Plutarch also, about a hundred years later, in his Isis and Osiris displays a knowledge of the Persian religion; and Lucian in more than one place in his works alludes to Zoroaster and the Magi. But the Abbé Foucher, in one of his *Mémoires* on Zoroaster, has expressed himself so strongly on the notoriety of the existence of this religion during the Parthian monarchy, that I shall beg leave to avail myself of his erudition and his words §: “ *Je conclus qu’au moins dans le siècle qui précéda la naissance de J. C., et dans les* * 36 *trois suivans, il passait pour indubitable que Zoroastre avait laissé des livres, et que ces livres étoient entre les mains des Mages. On pouvoit bien rejeter comme apocryphe tel ou tel de ces livres; mais on ne doutoit point qu’il n’y en eut en Perse d’originaux. Sur cela point de dispute entre les Chrétiens et les*

† p. 783.

‡ See Note H at the end of this communication.

§ *Histoire de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.* tom. xxvii. p. 302.

Payens, entre les orthodoxes et les hérétiques." He observes also in another place† : "*Mais depuis Darius fils d'Hystaspe, rien de semblable (que le vainqueur avoit renversé les temples, chassé les prêtres, livré aux flammes les monumens de l'ancien culte, pour y substituer de nouvelles loix et de nouveaux usages) n'étoit arrivé dans la Perse. Alexandre n'avoit eu ni le temps ni la volonté d'y détruire le culte national. Les rois de Syrie, ses successeurs, n'y conservant qu'une ombre de pouvoir, dont ils furent même bientôt dépouillés par les Arsacides, n'étoient point en état de forcer les peuples à recevoir les loix et les usages des Grecs. Les Parthes professoient la même religion que les Medes et les Perses.*"—I have been particularly induced to quote this passage, because the conclusion, which so strongly supports the opinion maintained in these Remarks, has been deduced by the Abbé Foucher from premises so diametrically opposite.

I must at the same time acknowledge, that although I find it assumed in several works that Magism was oppressed under the Parthian monarchy, still I have not been able to ascertain on what particular circumstances the conjecture is founded. Gibbon observes, and, what is very unusual with that eminent historian, without quoting any authority, that "during the long servitude of Persia under the Macedonian and the Parthian yoke, the nations of Europe and Asia had mutually adopted and corrupted each other's superstitions. The Arsacides, indeed, practised the worship of the Magi; but they disgraced and polluted it with a various mixture of foreign idolatry." And yet he gravely proceeds to relate, that "when the pious Artaxerxes summoned the Magi from all parts of his dominions, these priests, who had so long sighed in contempt and ob-
 * security, obeyed the welcome summons, and on the
 * 37 appointed day appeared to the number of about eighty thousand." It surely must have occurred to so correct a writer, that if there were eighty thousand priests in a country the population of which did not probably exceed fifteen millions of inhabitants, they themselves could neither have sighed in contempt and obscurity, nor could their religion have

been "derided by a crowd of infidels, who rejected the divine mission and miracles of their prophet:"† for although the priesthood was a distinct class, no one being received into it, as is observed by Hyde, except the son of a priest, it cannot be supposed that any but the principal priests would be admitted into an assembly held in presence of the king, and on so important an occasion. Their very great number, therefore, must alone, I should think, render it improbable that either persecution or innovation had introduced any material change into the religion of Zoroaster during the Ashkanian dynasty.

It must be hence evident, that this tradition of the Parsees‡ contradicts the opinion in support of which it is generally adduced. Gibbon also, it appears, admits, what cannot well be disputed, that the Arsacidæ practised the worship of the Magi; and if so, on what grounds can it be supposed that they would oppress or pollute the faith which they professed? The same answer, on which I have been already obliged to observe so often, again occurs: They were Scythians, and consequently, although ostensibly converted, indifferent to this religion, and decidedly inimical to the Magi. The Greek legends, likewise, on coins which are ascribed to the Parthian kings, have been adduced as a strong proof of their fondness for foreign customs and manners; and the omission on them of the sacred fire as demonstrative of the contempt into which Magism had fallen. But the very probable opinion that these coins were struck by the Greek cities of Assyria and Mesopotamia, has never yet been satisfactorily refuted. It seems, therefore, that the three circumstances on which the proof of the generally received opinion principally, if not entirely, rests, are perfectly * 38 inconclusive, and insufficient to justify such an opinion.

The preceding remarks, it will be observed, apply solely to the Ashkanian princes, and to that part of Persia which was subject to their immediate government. For if their authority did not extend over the whole of the country, and if it con-

† Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. i., p. 319.

‡ It is not mentioned by Firdausi, Tabari, or, as far as I am aware, by any Muhammadan writer.

tinued divided into several petty states, it must be obvious that not only the prosperity and splendour of the kingdom, but the purity and uniformity of the religion, might be materially affected. But on this point no satisfactory information now remains, nor can the exact extent of their territories at any one period of this dynasty be now ascertained. Strabo, as it has been before observed, states that Azarbaijan, Khuzistan, Fars, and Balkh, were independent in A.D. 24; and the Persians are so convinced that their country was from the death of Alexander until the rise of Ardeshir Babegan divided into several small states, that this period is generally known under the name of "The Age of the Kings of Tribes." As the rivers mentioned in the following passage of Tacitus are not noticed by any ancient geographer, as far as I am aware, I am not certain whether any conclusion can be correctly drawn from it: "*Atque interim Gotarzes pœnitentia concessi regni, et revocante nobilitate, cui in pace durius servitium est, contrahit copias; et huic contra itum ad amnem Erinden: in cujus transgressu multum certato, pervicit Bardanes, prosperisque prœliis medias nationes subegit ad flumen Sindem, quod Dahæ Ariosque determinat. Ibi modus rebus secundis positus: nam Parthi, quamquam victores, longinquam militiam aspernabantur. Igitur, extractis monumentis, quibus opes suas testabatur, nec cuiquam ante Arsacidarum tributa illis de gentibus parta, regreditur.*"† This passage displays a singular ignorance of the geography of Persia; for whether the Sindes be supposed to be the Ochus or the Margus, it is equally impossible to understand who the intermediate people could be that had never paid tribute to the Arsacidæ, and were subdued by Bar*danes; or what meaning can be attached to "*longinquam militiam,*" * 39 when applied to a war carried on at no great distance from the frontiers of Parthia.‡ It may, however, be perhaps inferred from it, that there prevailed, at the time when Tacitus composed his work, a general opinion that the eastern provinces of Persia were not subject to the Arsacidæ,

† Tac. Ann., lib. xi., c. 10.

‡ See Note I at the end of these Remarks.

and it is by no means improbable that the greatest part of Khorasan was never reduced under their authority.

But when the power of the Parthian monarchy at one time is considered, it can scarcely be supposed that it could ever have risen to such greatness had the provinces of Khorasan, Seistan, Kirman, Fars, and Azarbaijan continued, during the whole period of this dynasty, distinct and independent states. It may however be remarked, that the aggrandizement of their kingdom proceeded very gradually, as the battle of Carrhæ did not take place till 197 years after Ashak had rendered himself independent; and that its decline appears to have been very rapid, as it is generally supposed that the Parthians never recovered the sanguinary defeats which they suffered only fourteen years afterwards from Ventidius. It is at least evident, that from the period A.D. 18, when Tacitus commences to notice them, until A.D. 70, when his luminous page unfortunately closes on their history, the Parthian monarchy was far from powerful. Nor can there be a stronger instance of this than what is observed by Tacitus respecting the siege of Seleucia: "*Regressoque Bardani deditur Seleucia septimo post defectionem anno; non sine dedecore Parthorum, quos una civitas tandem eluserat.*" If also any credit be given to his description of the Parthian government, it must be obvious that it was weak, inefficient, and perfectly incapable of supporting its own authority. Its power, therefore, must have depended entirely on the character of the reigning prince; and as most of the Parthian kings do not appear to have possessed either abilities or vigour, their opposition to such an enemy as the Romans beyond their own frontiers, and their control over the governors of provinces, must have been equally ineffec*tual. That the latter, therefore, in the distant provinces should assume inde- *40 pendency, is by no means improbable. But no accounts have been preserved of the actual state of Persia during the last 156 years of this dynasty, and even the wars with Rome and Armenia are rather hinted at than described by any writer.

† Tac. Ann., lib. xi., c. 9.

of those times; it is therefore difficult to form any correct opinion respecting the existence of those petty states into which it is said Persia was at this period divided. It can scarcely, however, be supposed that they were so numerous as they are described in the following passage of Tabari; which I translate at length, as it contains the native account of the state of Persia under the last Ashghanian prince after a reign of 31 years, and as it may convey some idea of what its state may have been under this dynasty.

After having related how Ardashir rendered himself master of Fars, which belonged to one of the "Kings of Tribes," Tabari proceeds thus: "Ardashir then marched to Kirman, where there reigned a king named Palash, who advanced against him with a numerous army; and a mighty battle took place, in which many men were slain on each side. Ardashir himself joined in the engagement, and fought bravely until Palash was defeated and taken prisoner. Ardashir having then taken possession of Kirman, and established his son as viceroy over it, and given Palash into his charge, whom he (the son) put to death, marched against another prince, whose kingdom extended along the sea-shore and comprised part both of Fars and Kirman. This prince was named Aspiun, and the kingdom had continued in his family from the remotest times, and he was possessed of numerous troops and great riches. Ardashir having marched against him, the two armies met, and a severe battle ensued; during which Ardashir advanced from the ranks and engaged in single combat with Aspiun, whom he slew with his own hand after a hard-contested engagement. He then seized the kingdom of Aspiun, over which he placed one of his chiefs as governor. At this time there was in Persia another king named Mehrek (prince of Seistan and Cabul), to whom Ardashir addressed a letter summoning him to submit to him. But as Mehrek did not obey, Ardashir invaded his kingdom and slew him, and * then returned to Fars, where he refreshed his
 * 41 troops." "At this time there was also a prince who possessed Isfahan (the capital of Irak Ajemî) and Kohistan, named Ardavan, who addressed a letter to Ardashir to this

purport: 'Thou hast transgressed the bounds of respect due from one born in your situation; for was not your father a villager, who had not consequence sufficient to be permitted to enter into a town? who, then, told thee to seize Istakhr, and to slay the kings of Fars and Kirman? and what business hast thou with a crown and a throne? Now have I ordered the king of Ahwaz to march against thee, and to send thee to me bound in chains.' To this letter Ardashir replied, 'The Almighty God has bestowed the crown on me, and has given me conquest over kings; and I am hopeful that he will also enable me to vanquish thee, and to render myself master of thy life and riches.' Ardashir then established as governor at Istakhr one of his chiefs named Barsam, and marched into Kohistan; where he soon received intelligence from Barsam, that he had defeated and repulsed the king of Ahwaz, who had advanced against him. Ardashir in the mean time marched against Isfahan, of which he made himself master, and took prisoner the governor, who was of the race of Ardavan. He then proceeded to Ahwaz,—the king of which, named Dijur, fled on his approach,—and subdued that country. Ardashir then marched against the king of Hamadan, named Dinun, whom he also slew; and having made himself master of his kingdom, returned to Fars. Thence he sent a letter to Ardavan, the most powerful of all the Kings of Tribes, saying, 'I will fight with thee in the plain of Hormuzjan as long as the sun and the moon shall endure; be thou prepared. And Ardashir had a son named Shapur, and he sent him to engage in battle with Ardavan; and they fought and the army of Ardavan fled; and Ardashir collected some troops and pursued, and, having overtaken and seized Ardavan, dismounted from his horse and cut off his head. On that day was Ardashir proclaimed King of kings. He then rendered himself master of all Irak Ajemi, and marched into Azarbaijan, Aljezireh, and Irak Arabi; all which he also subdued. He then returned to Fars, and, having reposed himself a while, again collected his troops and *marched into Khorasan, and conquered Marv, and *42 Nishapur, and Balkh, and Kharezmi. Thus Ardashir

reduced all the Kings of Tribes, and sent their heads to Istakhr; and over the gate of its pyræum were they suspended, to the number of 300 heads."

From this passage, although entire credit be not given to the whole account, it may at least be concluded that the territories of the Ashkanian dynasty were latterly confined to the western parts of Persia, and that they comprised the greatest part of Irak Ajemi, Azarbaijan, Irak Arabi, and Mesopotamia; for no distinct kings of these provinces are mentioned. But if there were an independent state at Hamadan, the power of this very considerable kingdom must have been much diminished. Ahwaz, or Khuzistan, although governed by a king of its own, was dependent on Ardavan; and, according to other historians, Fars was in the same situation. The provinces extending along the shores of the Caspian Sea are not noticed by any writer: but although their position was most favourable to independency, yet, as they are not mentioned to have been subsequently reduced by any of the Sassanian princes, it is probable that they also formed part of the Ashkanian territories. The eastern provinces, therefore, of Kirman, Seistan, and Khorasan, only appear to have been entirely independent; and from their peculiar situation, and from the Ashkanian kings having always resided in the west of Persia, there is every reason to suppose that they never formed at any time any part of their dominions. Kirman had become a distinct kingdom, and Seistan, including Zabul, had been conquered by the king of Kabul; but it does not appear what was the exact state of Khorasan, although, from Tabari usually mentioning the capital instead of the province, it may be inferred that it had been divided into the independent states of Balkh, Marv, and Nishapur.

I have been induced to take this review of Persia, in order that, if possible, some correct opinion might be formed respecting the petty states into which it was divided under the Ashkanian and Ashghanian dynasties. The result will, I think, strengthen the remarks which I formerly made on the extreme improbability of the accounts which have been * given of the geography of this country by ancient writers.

For it seems scarcely possible that had the thirty tribes and distinct districts mentioned by Strabo, or the fifty different tribes mentioned by Pliny, ever existed in Persia, some trace of them should not be distinguishable in the names, limits, and positions of the several provinces into which it was no doubt divided at the time when Ardavan was conquered by Ardashir. Nor is it more probable that, had it been the case, the natives would not have preserved some recollection of the eighteen kingdoms into which Pliny says the Parthian empire was divided;—a simple circumstance, the relation of which is thus embellished by Gibbon: “The weak indulgence of the Arsacides had resigned to their sons and brothers the principal provinces, and the greatest offices of the kingdom, in the nature of hereditary possessions. The Vitaxæ, or eighteen most powerful satraps, were permitted to assume the regal title; and the vain pride of the monarch was delighted with a nominal dominion over so many vassal kings.” What a very different representation of Persia is exhibited in the plain and simple account of Tabari! It must be at the same time remarked, that the few words in Pliny*, “*regna Parthorum duodeviginti sunt omnia*,” were written before A.D. 79, and consequently at a period when the Parthian monarchy was still in a flourishing condition. That it afterwards declined in power is not disputed, and it might therefore have been expected that under Ardavan some of the descendants of these Vitaxæ, if they ever had existed, would have still retained the principalities the sovereignty of which their ancestors had been enabled to assume. But from every native account it appears highly probable that the whole of western Persia was subject to Ardavan, and that Fars and Khuzistan alone were governed by tributary princes. The eastern provinces, it has been observed, most probably never formed any part of the Parthian monarchy.

I have thus endeavoured to ascertain what was the actual state of Persia after the battle of Arbela. In discussing this subject, the want of any connected or detailed accounts of a

period comprising 557 years has *obliged me to collect
 * 44 and compare a number of detached and scattered passages
 which have been preserved in a variety of authors. But
 in drawing any conclusion from such brief and incidental notices
 I have been necessarily compelled to avail myself of inference and
 probability. Defective as such premises may be considered,
 the preceding remarks will perhaps render it by no means im-
 probable, that in the eight years during which the Macedonians
 occupied Persia, no material change took place either in its
 civil administration, or in the manners, customs, and religion
 of its inhabitants. It has also appeared, that if any credit be
 due to Diodorus Siculus, and to the probable and undisputed
 fact of Alexander's army having been withdrawn from Persia
 after his death, scarcely a Greek could have continued to reside
 in it. This invasion, therefore, merely destroyed the power of
 the former kings, and transferred the authority of the country
 to the governors of provinces; who either rendered themselves
 independent, or paid a constrained and uncertain submission
 to the kings of Syria. Such seems to have been the state of
 Persia for seventy years, until Arsaces or Ashak founded the
 monarchy which is known by the name of Parthian. That
 this prince was a Persian, and that the troops which he at first
 collected, as well as the inhabitants of the country of which he
 rendered himself master, were also Persians, it will perhaps
 be admitted has been established on very sufficient grounds.
 It will also seem probable, notwithstanding the testimony of
 Strabo, that after Antiochus Sidetes had been defeated and
 slain in B.C. 130, the Parthian kings were enabled to extend
 without opposition their authority over the whole of western
 Persia, although it is likely that the eastern provinces never
 acknowledged submission to them. Nor will perhaps the
 accounts of the numerous geographical, national, and political
 divisions of this country which are described by ancient writers
 be any longer considered as altogether correct.

But if there be any justness in the remarks on which these
 conclusions are founded, it will follow, that testimony, tradi-
 tion, and probability, all combine in establishing, that from

the battle of Arbela until the rise of Ardashir Babegan no material change took place in the state of Persia. *Never was this country possessed by any rude and hostile tribe, *45 and never did strangers exercise more than a short and transient authority over it. Its ancient throne was, indeed, subverted ; but its institutions were respected, and in process of time another race of native kings reunited most of the different provinces into one mighty monarchy. Until this took place, it cannot be denied that, as a kingdom, the power and splendour of Persia must have been greatly diminished. But it must be obvious, that as long as it continued divided into a number of independent provinces, the governors could not have introduced any innovations which could have had the slightest influence over the whole country, even if a regard to their own interest had not induced them to conciliate the natives by the strictest attention to their ancient usages. As no sufficient cause, therefore, can be assigned which could have effected any material change in the state of Persia during this period, it may be justly concluded that the customs, manners, and interior government remained unaltered ; and that although the riches, the power, and the dignities of the priesthood might have been diminished, the religion of Zoroaster still continued to be revered, unpersecuted and unpolluted by foreign superstitions. Nor, if these positions be admitted, can there be any reason to suppose that genius might not have been protected, and that science and literature might not have flourished, equally under the Ashkanian as under any former or subsequent dynasty.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

THAT the principal divisions of any country may be pretty accurately known from verbal information only, is probable ; but it seems scarcely credible that any other means than that of personal inspection could render the numerous minute divisions of Persia, which are described by

ancient authors, in the slightest degree correct. Yet it is not pretended that these descriptions, to which such implicit attention has been hitherto paid,* were ever derived from actual survey, or even

* 46 from any authentic source of information. And what Strabo† has observed with regard to India may with equal justice be applied to Persia: "For it is remote, and not many persons have viewed it; and those who have seen it have seen only a small part, and most of what they relate is from hearsay; and even what they have seen has been observed only while they were engaged in regular or forced marches; on which account they either do not write concerning these things, or, if they do write, as having attentively inquired into them: although some may have made the same campaign together in accompanying Alexander in his conquest of Asia, still their relations are often directly contrary to each other: and if they thus differ in what they themselves have seen, what is to be thought of that which they have only heard?" The concurring authority of ancient writers, therefore, is not sufficient to support their descriptions of Persia, unless their means of knowledge are at the same time proved to have been both adequate and authentic: but that they were directly the reverse, is, I think, clearly evinced by their inconsistencies and contradictions, and by the very little certainty which has been the result of the skilful labours of D'Anville and Rennell. Nor can any circumstance more forcibly demonstrate that some radical defect must exist in the ancient geography of Persia, than the difference of opinion which has prevailed respecting the limits of Parthia; for on this point ancient writers seem to be most agreed, as both Pliny and Ptolemy mention that it was bounded on the north by Hyrcania, on the south by the desert of Karmania, on the east by Aria, and on the west by Media, and Strabo, although he does not particularize its limits, appears to be of the same opinion. Yet Rennell extends its eastern limits, as far as the desert of Kharezm, and thus includes in it the country in which Abiwerd, Meshed, and Nishapur are situated, and which is thus described by Kinnier: "There is no district in Khorasan more fruitful or better inhabited than this; it is rich in corn, wine, silk and fruit." And he also observes, that one particular part of it was celebrated for its breed of horses. This certainly could not have been the ancient Parthia, which is described by Strabo to have been of small extent, woody, mountainous, and so poor that it was not sufficient for the support of the inhabitants. Rennell seems to have been led into this mistake by not sufficiently attending to what Strabo has said respecting the Ochus, the course of which he himself has never described, but merely observes in one place, "that Apollodorus, the author of the *Parthica*, says that the Ochus flows very near the Parthians," and in

† p. 685.

another place, "Some say that the Ochus flows through Bactriana, and others near it," Strabo at the same time clearly intimates that Arsaces marched from the banks of the Ochus to invade Parthia; but the whole of Persia is laid down so very inaccurately by ancient writers, that it is impossible that their descriptions should ever be made to correspond with the actual position of that country. I have, therefore, in these remarks not thought it necessary to pay any attention to the thirty or fifty tribes which are said to have inhabited Persia; and have contented myself with supposing generally that the principal divisions of Assyria

* corresponded with Irak Arabi; Susiana with Khuzistan; Media * 47 with Irak Ajemi; Media Atropatia with Azarbaijan; Hyrcania with the provinces on the Caspian; Persis with Fars; Karmania with Kirman; Drangiana and Arachosia with Seistan and Zabul; and Aria, Margiana, and Bactria, with Khorasan.

Any argument that rests merely on names is, I am aware, too inconclusive to deserve much attention; but in this instance they ought not to be entirely disregarded, as there is every reason to believe that no radical alteration has taken place in the ancient language of Persia; and consequently that no change has occurred in the names of its principal provinces. That the Greeks were in the constant habit of imposing any but the real name on countries and places is notorious; and that invariableness is the characteristic of the inhabitants of Asia will not be disputed. The authority of the Greeks, therefore, can prove nothing on this point; and, unless it can be shown when these names first prevailed, or that the language has been radically altered, it must necessarily be admitted that the names which occur in ancient writers were arbitrarily imposed by the Greeks, and that they never were used by the natives. I have observed that such as are known to the latter, with the exception of two, are evidently not derived from the Arabic; as is even evident from the names Fars and Kirman, which have been preserved in ancient authors, and particularly from those of Khorasan and Azarabadgan†, the one being derived from the Persian word *khur*, the sun, and the other from *azar*, fire. But that the two Iraks must have been so called by the Arabs cannot be denied, as the letters *ain* and *kaf* are unknown to the Persian alphabet. The ancient name of Irak Arabi seems to be entirely lost; but Ibn Haukal and the translator of Tabari, who both flourished in the fourth century after the Arabian conquest, and who are amongst the earliest Muhammadan writers, distinguish Irak Ajemi by the Persian name of Kohistan; although later writers have given this name to a particular district situated between Irak Ajemi and Khorasan. But if the present names of the Persian provinces were not

† Arabic, Azarbaijan. The Persian name, which signifies The Abode of Fire, is said to have been derived from a celebrated pyreum established at Tabriz.

NOTE E.

The following list of the kings of the Ashkanian and Ashghanian dynasties, with its variations, is extracted from the *Muntakhabul Tuvarikh*, a very valuable chronological work written in A.D. 1610 by Hassan ben Muhammad ben Khaki Shirazi :

| | YEARS. | | YEARS. |
|-----------------|----------|------------------------|--------|
| Ashak | 15 12 10 | Palash III. | 24 22 |
| Ashak II. | 20 7 | Ardawan † | 13 |
| Shapur | 42 61 60 | Ardawan ben Ashag..... | 23 |
| Bahrūm..... | 11 50 | Khosrou II. | 16 19 |
| Palash | 10 12 | Palash IV. | 12 |
| Hormuz..... | 19 12-16 | Gudarz | 30 |
| Narsi † | 14 40 2 | Narsi II. § | 20 |
| Firuz..... | 17 | Gudarz II. | 10 |
| Palash II. | 12 21 | Narsi III. | 11 |
| Khosrou | 40 7 20 | Ardawan III. | 31 |

* 50 * The following list of Parthian kings is according to the authorities annexed :

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Arsaces I. | Justin | Vonones..... | Tacitus. |
| Arsaces II. | | Artaban | |
| Priapatius..... | | Gotarzes..... | |
| Phrahatēs I. ... | | Bardanes | |
| Mithridates I. ... | | Gotarzes again ... | |
| Phrahatēs II. ... | | Vonones..... | Playfair's Chronology. |
| Artaban | Josephus. | Vologeses | |
| Mithridates II. . | | Pacorus | |
| Orodes | | Khosrou..... | |
| Phrahatēs III. . | | Vologeses II. ... | |
| Phraataces | | Vologeses III. ... | |
| Orodes | | Artaban..... | |

I must acknowledge myself unacquainted with the authorities on which the last five kings are admitted into this list.

Moses Choronensis gives the following list of the Parthian kings :

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| Arsaces I. | 31 years. | Artases II. | 33 years. |
| Artases I. | 26 | Darius | 30 |
| Arsaces II. | 77 | Arsaces IV. | 19 |
| Arsacanus | 30 | Artases III. | 20 |
| Arsaces III. | 31 | Perozes..... | 33 |
| Arses | 20 | Valarses | 50 |
| Acasvius | 46 | Artabanus | 31 |

† If the *Tarikh Jafari*, instead of Narsi is inserted Anush.

‡ In the *Lobbul Tuwarikh*, instead of Ardawan is inserted Balash.

§ In the *Habibus Sur*, instead of Narsi is inserted Bizhen.

which has much more the appearance of having been made by himself, than that those were the names of kings who actually reigned, and for the number of years which he has ascribed to each. Any attempt to reconcile such discordant lists to each other must be perfectly ineffectual; as there are no circumstances, even trivial, now known, on which any comparison could be founded. But it must always be recollected that the means of information accessible to the ancients cannot be now ascertained, and that there are many reasons to suppose that it was far from correct: the names also which they have given, except in two instances, Artabanus and Khosrou, and perhaps Gotarzes, or Gudarz, have not the slightest resemblance to any Persian words or names; nor can it be admitted that Mithridates might be derived from Mihr-dad, as there is no instance of a similar compound in any Persian name that is now extant.

NOTE F.

I may here perhaps be accused of having fallen into an inconsistency, as I have in a former passage contended that the account of the subversion of the Bactrian monarchy given by Justin was more probable than that of Strabo; but there is nothing inconsistent in supposing that Mithridates might have first subdued Bactria, and that his son Phra-hates might have been afterwards obliged to relinquish it to the Turanians; for chronologists ascribe a period of 48 years to the reigns of these two princes. It cannot, however, be now ascertained from any native writer what was the actual state of Khorasan during this period, although, as I have observed in these Remarks, there is every reason to suppose that it did not form part of the Parthian kingdom. It seems, therefore, by no means improbable that Balkh, from its peculiar situation, might have remained subject to Turan from this time until it was reconquered by Ardashir: but it must be added that there are no other grounds for this supposition than the passage contained in Strabo, and the circumstance of Balkh having been subsequently reduced by Ardashir.

NOTE G.

The name or title of these head men has been preserved in the following passage of Polybius: *εφυλαδευσε δε τους καλουμενους δειγανας* which last word Casaubon thus explains: *id magistratus apud illos (Seleucenses) est nomen*. This word, with very little variation, *dihgan*, is still used in the present language of Persia to signify the head man of a village; and although Seleucia was more a Greek than a Persian town, yet, as this word is not Greek or Arabic, it can properly be referred to no other than the Persian language. I cannot avoid noticing another Persian

word which I have observed while writing these Remarks : Strabo mentions that the Parthians plundered in Elymais a temple which was called Azara : and there can be no doubt that this must have been a pyræum dedicated to some planet, the name of which Strabo has either omitted, or translated by *Diana* ; but he has preserved the Persian word *asar*, fire, which seems to have formed part of the name of all pyræums, as Azar Keiwan, the fire or pyræum of Saturn ; Azar Bahrum, the fire of Mars ; and not improbably this one in Elymais might have been dedicated to Venus, and consequently called Azar Anahid †, which last is very evidently the goddess Anaïtes of Strabo. That the Parthians, however, at any time plundered or destroyed the pyræum of Persia, these Remarks may perhaps render very doubtful.

NOTE H.

These two customs are particularly remarkable, as they are peculiar to the followers of Zoroaster, and were never practised by the votaries of any other religion. They are fully described both by Hyde and Anquetil du Perron ; but it may not be superfluous to quote the description of these small rods which is given by the author of the *Firhang Jehangiri* : “ *Barsam*, a small twig, slender and without knots, of a span long, which is cut from the tamarisk or the hom, but, if these be not procurable, from the pomegranate tree.” He next describes the particular manner in which these twigs ought to be cut, and then adds : “ Whenever they (the Parsees) read a section of the *Zend*, or perform their devotions, or bathe, or eat, they take a certain number of barsams in their hand : thus, when they read one particular section, they take thirty-five ; when they read another, twenty-four ; when they eat, five ; and so on other occasions. It is to be observed, that they must bathe

*and put on clean garments before they can take the barsam in
 * 52 their hand, and that the same barsam must be used only once.

Hussain Anjee quotes as an example in this place the following three couplets from the *Shah nameh*, which I do not recollect to have read in any copy of it which I have examined : “ The worshipper of the fire of Zardasht proceeded devoutly silent with the barsam in his hand : and when from afar he beheld the place of worship, his face was bathed in tears (of rapture) ; while dismounting from his horse, the barsam in his hand, he pursued on foot his way, murmuring (his orisons) with lips fast closed.” But Firdausi mentions the barsam in many other places, and particularly relates that Yes-dijerd, the last king of Persia, after having escaped from the last battle in which he was engaged, and hav-

† This word is often, but incorrectly, written by Muhammadan authors without the initial *a'if*.

ing wandered for three days without being able to procure any food, took shelter in a mill, and requested some refreshment. But when the miller set before him all that he had, some barley bread, vegetables, and water, he would not touch them until he was furnished with a *bar-sam*: the miller accordingly proceeded to the city of Marv in order to procure one; but, in consequence of the proclamations which had been issued by Mahvi, governor of Khorasan, for the discovery of the king, the request excited suspicion. The miller was therefore carried before Mahvi, and on being strictly interrogated, confessed that a noble person richly attired had taken shelter in his mill. Mahvi, who had conspired against Yes-dijerd, rejoiced at his having been thus betrayed, and immediately compelled the miller to return, and assassinate his king.

NOTE I.

This description of Tacitus is perfectly irreconcilable with any accounts of the Arii and Dahæ which are given by other authors; nor can the real situation of the Dahæ be fixed with any certainty, as no writer has particularized the limits of the country which they occupied. If, however, Rennell's supposition be correct, and it be admitted that in Ptolemy the river which in fact represents the Ochus is named Margus, and, *vice versâ*, the Margus is named Ochus, Strabo and Ptolemy will agree in placing the Dahæ on the banks of the Ochus, and consequently in the north-western parts of Khorasan; and that Rennell cannot be correct in placing them on the shores of the Caspian, as all writers concur in mentioning that the Ochus flowed into the Oxus at a considerable distance from the Caspian, and Ptolemy expressly interposes between it and the Dahæ the Derbici and Massagetæ. It will be also evident that, if Rennell's position of Parthia be received, the Dahæ must have bordered on it, and that there could have been no intermediate people whom Bardanes could have subdued. But it never can be of any avail to attempt fixing the actual situation of any tribe or place in Persia which is described by ancient authors; and the more their accounts of that country are considered, the more will it appear that they do not rest on any personal inspection, or on any authentic information. Nor can any stronger proof be adduced in support of this remark than this very passage; for had any accurate description of Persia existed at the time when Tacitus composed his work, it cannot be supposed that so eminent a writer would have betrayed so complete an ignorance of its geography.

[NOTE.—This subject has been treated by Prof. G. Rawlinson, M.A., &c., in his "The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy," in so exhaustive and accurate a manner, according to all the sources at his command, that his work will for some time to come remain a standard authority, and has naturally superseded all others; and to that I must refer.—Ed.]

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* II.

ACCOUNT OF A BED OF NATIVE SUB-CARBONATE OF SODA FOUND IN MALWA.

[In a Letter addressed to the Secretary.]

By Captain JOHN STEWART. .

Read 31st August, 1819.

I have the pleasure to forward you the following memorandum of a bed of native sub-carbonate of soda which I accidentally discovered in this province some months ago.

In the course of our military operations we happened to encamp for a few days on the bank of the Chumbul, near the village of Peeplouda, situated where the Chaumlee and Chumbul rivers join and form one stream under the latter name. The banks of the river are here steep and broken, composed of a kind of friable clay rock, mixed with loose limestone; the bed of the river consists in many places of basaltic rock, sometimes forming a smooth surface, exhibiting the pentagonal form of the columns like a regular pavement. The tops of the bank are covered with a variety of brushwood common to other parts of the country, interspersed by a great number of date trees (*Phoenix dactylifera*). At this season (April) the river was very low, with scarcely any stream, and in many parts the water had formed large stagnant pools. In the course of a walk along the bed of the river, I observed that on the margin of one of the above pools the ground for a considerable space appeared beautifully white: on examining it closely, I found it covered with a fine pure saline efflorescence, in general about 2-10ths or 3-10ths of an inch in depth, covering a soft, wet, and slippery mud: the taste and appearance of this salt induced me to conclude that it was carbonate of soda, which I found to be

* 54 the case on taking some of it to my tent. I was *naturally anxious to make some search to discover the ex-

tent of this bed, and whether similar beds might not be found in other places of the river ; but an order, soon after received, to march at midnight, called my attention to objects of a different kind.

From the quantity and apparent purity of the salt on the surface (where I am convinced that with a little care a pound or two might have been collected perfectly clean), there is no doubt of the earth being very richly impregnated with it, and it would only require to be washed and filtered to produce the carbonated alkali in great abundance ; and there is every reason to believe that there are numberless places in the bed of the river, besides the one I have discovered, equally productive and of greater extent, which might be worked annually in the dry season. I may state that, from the remarkable whiteness of the bed I have mentioned, it is reasonable to conclude that the alkali is here in its native state uncommonly pure.

• J. S.
•

Camp, Mhow, 10th July, 1819.

[NOTE.—Soda is found in various places in India: see Report on the Soda Soils of Barramahal and the Kaolin Earth of Mysore, by Captain Campbell; Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, vol. VI., pp. 160-165; Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. III., p. 188; J. Stephenson on the Efflorescence of Khari Nun, Sulphate of Soda, as found native in the soil of Tirhut and Sarun, in Behar; id. vol. V., p. 314; id. vol. X., p. 939; Porcelain Clay at Mangalore, id. p. 969; vol. XI., p. 945; Bijapore to Bellary, Notes on, by Captain Newbold, id. Borax of commerce (a compound of boracic acid and soda) is found in large quantities in Tibet, China, Persia, Ceylon, and South America; as regards Tibet, see Records of the Geological Survey of India, vol. II., p. 90; id. vol. IV., p. 23; Soda in the Clays and Saline Sands in the Central Provinces, id. vol. IV., p. 80; Kalar-land in the N.W. Provinces contains sulphate, carbonate, and chloride of sodium: id. vol. VI., p. 12. Soda in the form of a carbonate is extensively used by the people of India in preparing their food. In Berar, soda is found in large quantities in the celebrated Lonarú lake, and in various other localities: see "Gazetteer of the Haidarabad Assigned Districts, commonly called Berar," 1870, edited by A. C. Lyall, Commissioner of West Berar, 1870, pp. 8, 10, 19, 20, 22, 23: here we have salt-soils, salt-wells, and a great salt-lake as one of the great mineralogical features of the

country. As regards the Central Provinces, soda-salts and salt-soils occur: see the "Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India," edited by C. Grant, Esq., second edition, 1870, pp. xlv., 300, &c. As regards Ahmedabad and Kaira, Captain Cruikshank and Lieut. P. M. Melvill's Reports [Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No. X.], p. 9: "Oosur or Soda found in Jungles;" also Selections No. XI., pp. 3, 4. In *Sindh* the *khurá-matti* (or salt-earth) efflorescence is well known. In the Madras Presidency soda-soil occurs in many districts, and common salt and carbonate of soda were manufactured extensively more than 60 years ago: see "Tracts Historical and Statistical," by Benjamin Heyne, M.D., London, 1814, pp. 2, 3, 45, &c. The washerman's earth is soda more or less pure, and is well known all over India. See "Gazetteer of Southern India," by Pharos & Co., Madras, 1855, pp. 125 [District Cadappá], 333 [Trichinapolly], 346 [Tanjore] 457 [Coimbatore], &c. &c.—Ed.]

* III.

* 55

NOTES RESPECTING THE PRINCIPAL REMAINS IN THE RUINED CITY OF BEJAPPOOR :

WITH TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS OF THEIR ORIGIN, ETC.

By Captain W. H. SYKES.

Read 28th September 1819.

Camp, Bejapoor, 26th June, 1818.

The trifling subjects which the following Notes embrace render any preliminary observations respecting the establishment, duration, and fall of the Bejapoor government unsuitable. Through the medium of Ferishta and others, every fact of importance connected with the Bejapoor dynasty is generally known. It will be sufficient, therefore, to give the names of the sovereigns who reigned over this kingdom, that an immediate reference may be made from the description of a royal building to its founder and its era.

The kingdom terminated in 1685 A.D., Aurungzebe taking prisoner the last of its kings, Secunder Adil Shah.

Whatever line of conduct may have marked the exercise of the sovereign power, and however subservient that power may have been to the worst passions of despot, the magnificent architectural remains at least testify that the resources of the state were in many instances expended in works of public utility ; but oftener, it must be admitted, in a taste for useless splendour and the desire of posthumous fame. The kings commenced their reigns in the following order :

| | A.D. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Yusuf Adil Shah | 1500, dynasty commenced. |
| Ismail Adil Shah..... | 1507 |
| Ibrahim Adil Shah .. | 1534 |

| | A.D. |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ali Adil Shah | 1557 |
| * 56 *Ibrahim Adil Shah II. | 1579 |
| Mahomed Shah | 1626 |
| Ali Adil Shah II. ... | 1660 |
| Secunder Adil Shah ... | 1672, reduced by Alimgir 1685. |

Within two hundred years, therefore, were finished those durable, extensive, and costly buildings, which cover many miles of country; the present appearance of which, also, cannot fail of impressing on the mind of the spectator the most lively ideas of the power, wealth, and taste of that short dynasty under whose government such stupendous works could be completed.

As the traveller approaches the city from the north, the great dome of Mahomed Shah's tomb is discerned from the village of Kunnoor, fourteen miles distant. A nearer view gives the idea of a splendid and populous metropolis, from the innumerable domes and spires and buildings which meet the eye; and though the road up to the walls leads through ruins, the illusion of a tolerably inhabited capital is still preserved, by the state of the walls, the guns mounted on the works, and the guards stationed at the gates: on entering, the illusion vanishes, and the most melancholy contrast is exhibited between the number and admirable state of repair of the buildings to the memory of the dead, and the total destruction of those formerly inhabited by a swarming population. Jungle has shot up and partially obliterated streets which were once thronged with a busy people in pursuit of their various avocations, and the visitor may now lose himself in the solitude of ruins, whose crowds formerly were the only impediments to a free passage.

The first objects of notice are undoubtedly the city walls; they extend fully eight miles, measuring by the counterscarp of the ditch; and, though decayed in many places, there does not appear a complete breach in any part. There are seven gates,—the Mecca, Shahpoor, Baminee, Padshahpoor, Allahpoor, and Futeh Gate, and one shut up. There were formerly a ditch, covered way, and glacis on the eastern face: but time

has scarce left a vestige of them. The rampart, contrary to the usual native practice, is extremely broad.

*The inner fort, formerly surrounded with a deep ditch, is fast crumbling away; within its inclosure is * 57 situated the palace, which must have been a splendid building, the remains of carved work and gilding indicating that no expense or art was spared.

There are two villages at present within the circuit of the outer walls.

My ciccrone, who was a descendant of one of the Hoozoors of the ancient kings, and apparently well informed, asserted that there are still existing 700 wells with steps (bowrees), 300 without steps (kooahs), 700 mosques and tombs of stone, and 700 of bricks and chunam; and really the number of buildings within and without the walls, and the amazing extent of ground they cover, give some credence to his assertion.

Previously to the foundation of the present city, the former site of which was at Toorrie, three miles west, there was a small village, of the name of Kejgunally, within the present inner walls and close to the palace. The inhabitants complaining of the injury they were exposed to from the works in progress, the king, with a whimsical affectation of justice, surrounded them with a high wall. The village in the course of time disappeared; but the wall remains, and is pointed out as a proof of the severe justice of the king, who chose rather to comply with the literal wish of the inhabitants, of being protected from injury, than remove them by force to a more desirable spot.

The object which next strikes the attention, from its magnitude, is the tomb of Sooltan Mahomed Shah: it was forty-two years in building, and is situated in the north-eastern part of the city; the tomb is a large quadrangular fabric of brick and chunam, surmounted by a dome the circumference of which inside is 139 paces; this would give about 116 feet for the diameter; it transmits sound in the manner peculiar to the dome of St. Paul's, and some few other places. At the corners of

the building are octangular minarets, or rather towers, divided into many stories, of one open arched room in each story : within these towers are spiral staircases for ascending to the dome. The body of the king lies immediately under the dome, and is covered with a mutilated common tombstone, over which is a wooden canopy ; a wooden railing, indifferently carved, *also surrounds it. The whole building has a
 * 58 heavy appearance : close to it, but separate from the tomb, is a handsome mosque, and at the distance of 100 yards, on the south face, is a vast nugara khana, built upon a large arch, which is intended for a gateway.

Over the south door of the tomb, and suspended by a long chain, is one of those meteoric stones the occasional fall of which has produced so much surprise and discussion : the natives call it *bijlee puttur* (lightning stone), and suppose it possesses the property of preserving the building from being struck by lightning. It hangs too high to be distinctly examined, but viewed with a glass it has the appearance of a grey metallic stone.

The next object is the tomb of Ibrahim Padshah, situate without the walls, near the Mecca gate. It was built in twelve years, and is a light highly finished structure, with a mosque adjoining ; the whole within a strong wall, through which is a handsome gateway. The buildings are of stone ; and the decorations in relief equal anything in India for infinite variety and elegance of design, and for the ability of the execution. The whole walls of the exterior of the tomb, and the ceiling of the open verandah which surrounds it, are covered with sentences from the Koran, mingled with wreaths of flowers, inclosed in compartments, and the border of each compartment differs in pattern from that of the adjoining. The letters were gilt and the ground azure ; the gilding and colour are yet preserved in some places, and the brilliancy of the azure is remarkable. The windows, instead of lattice- or fret-work, are composed of Arabic sentences cut out of stone tables, the space between each letter perforating the stone and admitting the light. Three or four ordinary tombstones inside are covered with tattered

silks. What is very curious in this tomb is, that the ceiling is quite flat, made of square slabs of stone, without apparent support : over this is a room with a convex ceiling, but the curvature so slight as to render it almost flat ; upon this is raised the admirably proportioned dome. The numerous stone minarets are all highly decorated and in good taste.

However infamous the lives of the kings may have been, on their deaths * they were honoured as saints ; and my conductor, who was a Moosulman, as well as my Moo- * 59 sulman attendants, all went through the ceremony of taking off their shoes, and knocking their heads against the threshold of the doors previously to entering the tombs.

The attendant Fuckeer possesses a grant from Aurungzebe on two neighbouring villages for $8\frac{1}{2}$ rupees daily, for the supply of oil, &c. for the tombs of Baree Ali, Mahomed Shah, and Ibrahim Shah, and the Jooma Musjed. He has also a Mah-ratta grant, confirming Aurungzebe's.

The Maitree Kujoos is a small but very elegant gateway and mosque about the centre of the city, built by a Hallalkhore. That an individual so debased should have the ability to raise such a work, is accounted for in the following manner : Ibrahim Shah I. was said to have been afflicted with a dreadful malady, and having in vain had recourse to medicine and human means, at last endeavoured to avail himself of planetary influence. A crafty astrologer, on being consulted, resolved to profit from the king's credulity : expounding the book of fate to him, he pretended that his recovery depended on his presenting a large and specific sum of money to the first person he saw on a particular morning, of course intending that person should be himself : unfortunately however for the astrologer, the king happened to rise much earlier than usual that morning, and the first person he saw was the sweeper (Hallalkhore) in the palace yard : to him therefore the king gave the money ; and the poor creature, overloaded with unexpected wealth, knew not better how to dispose of it than in building the Maitree Kujoos. From the angles of the building hang massy stone chains, which must have been cut out of solid blocks, as there are no joinings in the links.

The Maitree Kujoos has been built of a superior kind of stone, close-grained, admitting of a good polish, and with several shades of colours in it: my knowledge of mineralogy was too limited to enable me to class it. The buildings are in a good state of repair, although about 260 years old, Ibrahim Shah having reigned between 1534 and 1557.

The Taj Bowree is not far from the Maitree Kujoos, but nearer to the Mecca gate. The Bowree is a superb tank, or well, nearly 100 yards * square, and 50 feet deep, 60 * and is surrounded by a colonnade and gallery. The entrance to the Bowree is through a grand arch, on either side of which is a wing for the accommodation of travellers; the descent to the water is by a considerable flight of steps.

It was built by Mulik Scindal, a voluntary eunuch in Sooltan Mahomed's reign. The tradition of its origin is as follows:—The king having a taste for beautiful females, and Mulik being his intimate friend, the king resolved to despatch him to Sungul Deep for a Padmee. Mulik, knowing what a dangerous and delicate task was enjoined him, but resolved to make every sacrifice rather than to lose the king's favour, begged a month to make the necessary preparations. In the mean time he deprived himself of his virility, sealed the attributes of it in a casket, which he lodged in the king's treasury, and then set out on his journey. In due time he returned with the lady; but suspicions having been infused into the king's mind by Mulik's enemies that he had anticipated the king with his fair charge, Mahomed Shah, in the usual style of Eastern despots, ordered his head to be instantly struck off. "O king!" exclaimed Mulik, "order restitution of my deposit in your treasury ere the fatal blow is struck." The casket was accordingly brought, opened, and to the king's astonished eyes appeared the proofs of Mulik's imbecility, and his consequent innocence! Horror-struck at his injustice, he commanded Mulik to ask, and his wish should be granted even to the sacrifice of his kingdom. Mulik observed, as he could not have posterity, he was merely desirous of raising some work which, by its utility, might do that which was denied him in a natural way, namely, hand down his name to future

generations. The king supplied the money, and the Taj Bowree perpetuates Mulik's wish.

East of the inner fort are the remains of a work commenced by Ali Adil Shah, and consisting of many parallel rows of arches. The building was to have been of such magnitude as to have thrown its shade upon the tomb of Sooltan Mahomed, distant half a mile. Of course the undertaking was too vast to be accomplished, and the unfinished work remains a monument of the imbecile presumption of the projector.

*An isolated tower, eighty feet high, attracts attention from a very considerable distance. It is not very * 61 far from the Mecca gate, and is called the Oopuree Boorj (overlooking tower). It was built by Hyder Khan. When the king was completing the outer fort, he made each of his surdars build two towers and a connecting curtain. Hyder Khan was absent at the time; and on his return finding the fort finished, he said, "O king! what is my crime, that I am precluded from contributing to the honour of the work?" "You shall excel the rest," said the king; "do you build a tower in front of your house which shall overlook the whole." Hyder Khan did so; whence the Oopuree Boorj. On this tower is a gun of iron bars thirty feet long. The ascent is by a winding ramp outside the tower.

The Jooma Musjed, as in all Moosulman cities, is the largest and most splendid of those buildings consecrated to prayer. It consists of a large but light dome, supported upon parallel rows of lofty arches, open to the east, but enclosed on the other three sides; two rows of arches, perpendicular to the front, are each one hundred yards long; the ends are connected by a wall, in which is a handsome gateway: between the gateway and the front of the mosque there is consequently an open space, equal in length to the perpendicular rows of arches, and in breadth to the mosque itself; this space is occupied by a fountain and reservoir. The Mehrab, or altar-piece (if it may be so called), is very highly gilt, and covered with Arabic sentences in gold letters. • This mosque was the work of successive kings.

The Ashara Shureef is a considerable building adjoining the

ditch of the inner fort. In the ditch are the remains of a bridge which connected it with the fort wall. It must originally have been intended for a palace, but it is at present in the hands of *religieux*, and contains a Tubrook from Mecca—a consecrated trifle shut up in a box : but, as the profane are excluded from a sight of it, I could not form any very distinct idea respecting it. So sacred is it, however, that no woman can cross the threshold of the building ; no armed man can enter ; no music is permitted ; and the use of flambeaux within the limits of the enclosure is interdicted. The Ashara *Shureef is almost
 *62 the only ancient habitation in a good state of repair in Bejapoor.

The tomb of Buree Ali is a mean building, and only worthy of notice from its being to the memory of one of the confederated princes who destroyed the Beejanugger monarchy. The rising sun and moon are badly painted on the walls amidst clouds ; doubtless being typical of some event in the king's life.

Aurangzebe's brass gun, mounted on a tower near the Mecca gate, is a great curiosity. Four men were put into it and made to sit bending their heads. It would require an iron ball weighing upwards of 2500 pounds. Some stone shot were lying near, and they reach higher than the knee of a tall man. It is ~~called~~ Malik-i-meiden (the king of the plain). Although nearly fifteen feet long, its diameter is such as to give it the appearance of a vast howitzer.

The gun was once fired ; but it threw down so many buildings, and frightened so many pregnant ladies into premature labour, that the use of it was interdicted for the future. It was cast by order of Aurungzebe, in commemoration of his conquest of Bejapoor, and is covered with Arabic sentences in relief explanatory of that event.

The tomb of Moolana Hubeeb Oola is outside the walls. There is nothing particular in the building ; but the event in the good man's life, on which is founded the deep reverence for his memory, is worthy of notice, as it happily illustrates human credulity. Hubeeb one day engaged at chess with a disciple,

and the latter was surprised to observe his master of a sudden fixed like a statue, without motion, or apparent consciousness. Respect kept him silent until after the lapse of an hour, when Hubeeb roused himself. The disciple timidly ventured to inquire what had been the matter. Hubeeb readily replied, "While engaged at chess the prayers of a disciple, who was in danger of sinking in a storm in the Persian Gulf, had reached him, and he had flown to his assistance and saved the ship just as she was going down." "But," said the disciple, "you have been here all the time." "Thou wast deceived," said Hubeeb, "wring my garment." The garment was accordingly wrung, and found *saturated with sea water. The disciple, convinced, wrote down the day, the hour, the name of the ship, * 63 and the name of the disciple for whose sake such surprising exertions had been made. In due course the disciple arrived, confirmed the circumstances, and Hubeeb was acknowledged a saint of note. To the belief in similar infantine tales do the many thousand Moosulman saints (and possibly some Christian saints) owe the worship which is paid their memories by their respective followers.

The caravanserais, which generally consist of long lines of lateral arches, placed in the manner in which the arches of a bridge are, built up at one end, but open at the other to the street, are too numerous for particular description, as well as other buildings public and private.

With respect to general observation on the remains, it may be remarked that very little wood or brick work, and no marble, has been used. The buildings founded on arches, or composed of them, are commonly in excellent repair, while more massy works not arched have sunk under the ravages of time. The arched buildings have little to dread excepting from an evil of vegetable origin, namely the Peepul (*Ficus religiosa*), which is sprouting out from most of the domes in Bejapoor, particularly Mahomed Shah's. The roots of this tree, as they increase, never fail of displacing the most bulky stones. A trifling attention on the part of Government would remove the evil,

and preserve to future ages those splendid works, the inspection of which can never fail of gratifying even the most incurious.

(Signed) W. H. SYKES, Captain.

[NOTE.—See paper on Bijapura by James Bird, Esq., *Journal Bombay Br. R. A. Society*, vol. I., p. 367; Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Bijapura, by A. F. Bellasis, *Journal Bombay Br. R. A. S.*, vol. IX., Appx., p. xlix.; Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, vol. I., pp. 65, 77, 78, 83, 97, 98, and 341; *Photographs of Bijapur, Karli, and Ambarnath*, by Captain Lyons; *Architectural Illustrations of the principal Muhammadan Buildings of Bijapura*, by Captain P. D. Hart, London, 1859; *Architecture at Bijapura*, photographed from drawings by Captain P. D. Hart, &c., with an historical account by Captain M. Taylor, and notes by James Fergusson, London, 1866; Captain Siddons' account, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII., p. 432, 4th ed.; Great Gun at Bijapura, *Asiatic Journal*, 1840, vol. XXXII., p. 44; id. vol. VI., p. 245; *Bombay Geographical Society's Transactions*, vol. IV., p. 61; id. vol. IX., p. 16. Ed.]

* IV.

* 64

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE LIVING
GOD AT THE VILLAGE OF CHINCHORE, NEAR
POONA.

BY CAPTAIN W. H. SYKES.

Read 26th October, 1819.

ERE Sevajee had established the Mahratta empire, there lived in the village of Poona a humble but virtuous couple, whose only possession was resignation.

Their utmost exertions during a long life had been insufficient to ensure their declining years from the attacks of poverty ; and their happiness was otherwise incomplete from the want of children. These circumstances bore upon them the more severely, as their piety had been sincere : they had been zealous votaries of Gunputtee, and had never failed in paying the most trifling attention which was due to the god. At last their perseverance propitiated Gunputtee, and the husband was promised in a dream a male child. In return, the old man gratefully vowed to dedicate the child to the god, should he have the happiness to have his wishes fulfilled. It excited some wonder when his aged wife became pregnant, and in due course of time presented her lord with a fine boy. The child was named Moroba, a name of Gunputtee, in honour of the god. Some time after this event the family removed from Poona to Peepulgaun, within two coss of the present site of Chinchore. On the death of Moroba's parents, he quitted Peepulgaun and fixed himself in Tatoor, about half a mile from the present temple in Chinchore. From his youth he had been of a studious, contemplative, and pious turn of mind ; rigid in the austerities which he was lavish of practising, and never failing in a vow which he had made, to make a monthly

visit to a temple of Gunputtee, at Morgow, eighteen coss distant from Tatoor.

* He had continued these habits for nearly twenty-two * 65 years, without being sensible that his prayers and fasting and watching had made any impression upon the divinity, when a most surprising circumstance occurred.

The pious and inoffensive life of Moroba had from the first attracted the attention of the Patell of the village; and, in admiration of his virtues, it was his constant practice to furnish Moroba daily with a lota† of milk, on his concluding his morning devotions. One day the usual allowance of milk did not make its appearance; and Moroba, very properly resolving not to lose it for want of inquiry, bawled out to the patell to know why it had not been sent. After a good deal of vociferation, a little blind girl, a daughter of the patell, heard him, and replied that the whole of the family were out in the fields, and there was no one but herself to bring the milk; and she, being blind, could not attempt it. Moroba desired the girl to take up the lota, and come to him; which she did with the utmost alacrity and good humour. The instant her foot passed the threshold, she found her sight restored!

This miracle, for it was no less, extended Moroba's fame to Poona; and Sevajec, then rising into notice, was cured of a disorder in his eyes on presenting himself before Moroba, and being endowed with due faith. These circumstances occasioned many to flock to him for relief: till, finding the routine of his devotions interrupted by the importunities of his numerous visitors, he quitted the village, and returned into a jungle which grew on the site of the present Chinchore pagoda.

The performance of his vow to visit Gunputtee's temple at Morgow in the decline of his life became extremely painful to him; as he had imposed upon himself the necessity of setting out on his journey fasting, prohibiting himself also from breaking his fast until he had gone through the numberless ceremonies attendant on the Pooja.‡ About the period he was to

† A small vessel.

‡ Worship.

commence his journey one month, he fell sick. Resolved, however, not to fail in the execution of what he had voluntarily undertaken * to perform, and which he had fulfilled for so many years successively, he set out as usual; but, his * 66 strength failing, he did not arrive at the temple till night, long after the several votaries had presented their offerings and retired: the temple was consequently shut up, and Moroba was unable to gain admission. Worn out with sickness, fatigue, and fasting, he lay down close by the temple and soon fell into a slumber. He dreamed that Gunputtee appeared to him with a pleasant countenance, desired him not to sleep fasting; to rise, enter the temple, and pay his usual devotions: further telling him, that his time of probation was elapsed, that in consequence of his piety and virtue he was accepted, and that, to save him the trouble and fatigue of future journeys to Morgow, the divinity would incarnate himself in the person of Moroba and his descendants for seven generations, and would fix his residence in Chinchore, where Moroba was to build a temple. Moroba awoke, and was sensible that what he had witnessed was but a dream; yet, possessing sufficient faith, he immediately arose and approached the doors of the temple, which, to the infinite satisfaction of the votary, though locked, flew open and gave him ready admittance. He went in, removed the faded flowers which had been placed there by those who had preceded him, bedecked the image with fresh garlands, and, after the customary prayers and prostrations, returned contented and happy at the extraordinary mark of favour which had been shown by the divinity. He now satisfied his hunger and composed himself to rest, which was uninterrupted till after the usual hour for paying the morning orisons. The attendant Brahmins belonging to the temple had opened the locked doors; but accidentally observing that the image had been adorned with fresh flowers during the night, their wonder was naturally excited. But they were horror-struck when they perceived that a valuable pearl necklace was missing from the image: an exclamation of "Thieves! thieves!" burst forth, and a general search was instituted, but for a con-

siderable period without success. At last, approaching where Moroba was still asleep, they discovered the lost article round his neck. He was instantly awakened with no gentle violence and charged with theft; bound, beaten, handcuffed, and carried before the Hakim. The poor fellow * declared his utter ignorance of the manner in which he

* 67 became possessed of the necklace, and then gave a simple and unvarnished account of what had befallen him during the night; the whole of which was looked upon to be a fable, or originating in a disordered imagination, and Moroba was placed in confinement preparatory to meeting a proportionate punishment for the sacrilegious crime he had been guilty of.

In the course of the following night, however, Gunputtee appeared to the Hakim, giving him the belly-ache; and at the same time told him to understand that Moroba was a favourite of his, and at his peril to injure him, as the necklace had been placed round his neck by the god himself while Moroba was in the act of prayer. This intimation was sufficient to induce the Hakim to pay the most pious attention to it, and Moroba was consequently released, and permitted to return to Chinchore with all honour. In the night of Moroba's arrival at his former residence, a conical stone, which is sacred to Gunputtee, arose from out of the earth; and Moroba, thus satisfied that the god had performed his promise of taking up his residence at Chinchore, commenced building a superb temple; and, conscious also of the incarnation of the divinity in his own person, he performed numerous miracles, which spread his fame to the remotest parts of India.

After a long career, Moroba, perceiving his time had come, buried himself alive in a sitting position, with the Scriptures in his hand; leaving positive injunctions that his grave should never be opened or disturbed, and predicting the most terrible misfortunes to those who might disobey them.

Moroba Deo was succeeded by his son Chintamun Deo, who was equally sensible of the patronage of the god, a second stone having sprouted from the earth on his succeeding to his father's honours.

There lived in the neighbourhood at the village of Deous, about four coss from Chinchore, another living god of the name of Tookaram, who was in habits of composing moral and religious works, and promulgating them in the vulgar tongue, that the principles he professed might be comprehended by all. It appears the god at Chinchore was not on such so^cial terms with his brother god at Deous as such near neigh- * 68 bours ought to have been; and impelled by envy of the literary talents of Tookaram, not being gifted that way himself, or moved by resentment at the indignity offered to the gods by Tookaram's attempts to bring the divine institutes within the scope of lay comprehensions, Chintamun declared the works of Tookaram were fit only to be destroyed; and contriving to make himself master of the books, he had them tied up in a bundle and sunk with heavy weights in deep water.

This calamity so sensibly affected Tookaram, that he neither ate, drank, nor slept for seven days, but occupied himself incessantly in deploring the loss of his books, and in repeating sacred sentences to propitiate Wittoba (an incarnation of Vishnu) to occasion their recovery. The seventh day Wittoba lent him his aid; and, to the astonishment of all who witnessed it, the books rose to the surface of the water, quite free from damp or other injury, to the infinite delight of Tookaram.

Chintamun Deo, hearing of this, admitted the claims of Tookaram to some portion of the favour of Wittoba; and after this event they became tolerably good friends.

One day Chintamun civilly asked his brother god to dine with him, which invitation he thankfully accepted. But it is not to be supposed the usual vulgar means of dinner cards were had recourse to: no, the whole business was managed mentally; for while Chintamun was engaged in the worship of Gunputtee, he thinks to himself, "Tookaram, will you do me the honour to dine with me to-day?" at the same time thinking the period of an intended visit to Morgow was near, and his bridle wanted mending, he would therefore send it to the Moochey's†

† Leather-worker.

to have it set to rights. Finishing his devotions, which had taken up more time than usual, he came out of the temple into his house, and found Tookaram already there, half famished, waiting impatiently for his dinner. "What!" says Chintamun, "how came you here? and when did I invite you to dine?" "What!" says the other, "did not you *think* the invitation in the temple? and did you not intend sending to the Moochey's[‡] to get your bridle repaired?"

"Verily," says Chintamun, "I now give you full credit for supernatural intelligence. Come, sit down, and we will have dinner presently." Two paats[†] were accordingly placed. Tookaram, observing this, desired another might be brought; which was done without remark, and dinner was brought in.

The base passions of envy, jealousy, vanity, pervade every bosom: the gods themselves are not free from them. Tookaram was envious of Chintamun's fame, and vain at the same time of his own intimacy with Wittoba. "Now," says he, "that we may dine in good company, I'll persuade Wittoba, my god, to honour us; and do you bring Gunputtee." Chintamun agreeing, after the performance of the necessary prayers and ceremonies on the part of Tookaram, a little lad about five years of age suddenly appeared, and introduced himself as Wittoba. Tookaram's heart was elate at his success. Chintamun prayed and prayed and prayed again; but a deaf ear was turned to his entreaties; and, alas! no Gunputtee made his appearance. Almost in despair, Chintamun seized a panch-patra[‡], and rushed to the temple; Tookaram followed, smiling at the other's melancholy countenance. Chintamun, in the temple, dropped upon his knees, and in doleful strain uttered all the moving passages he could think of to induce Gunputtee not to abandon him, particularly as the honour of the god was concerned. After much ado, Chintamun began to think his nose had rather a curious feel, and presently it lengthened out into an elephant's trunk; and his ears increased to the size of those belonging to that beast; his stomach swelled out into

† Small tables with legs three inches high.

‡ Vessel used in the pooja.

a respectable pot-belly, and two additional arms shot out from his shoulders, thus exhibiting in his own person the god himself. So public a demonstration of the incarnation of the divinity had never been witnessed before ; and those about, amongst the rest Tookaram, whose vanity was a good deal abated, thought it behoved him to conduct himself with proper respect. Tookaram, therefore, knocking his head against the ground three times, observed, * that for the future he could only designate Chintamun by the appellation of * 70 *Deo* (god). In consequence, from this period Chintamun and his descendants have been honoured with the official title of *Deo*, before which they only possessed it by courtesy.

Gunputtee, Wittoba, and Tookaram now returned to dinner, which had necessarily been interrupted, and after some friendly chat took leave of each other ; Chintamun's trunk, cars, and extra arms disappearing, and his belly resuming its pristine shape ; Wittoba vanished, and Tookaram returned with as much speed as he had arrived.

Chintamun married eight wives, and had eight sons. He did not follow the example set him by his father Moroba of being buried alive, but rather chose to die a natural death, and his body was buried in the ordinary way. A stone, however, called Pashun, rose up amidst the ashes, as if to commemorate this event ; and these stones sprung up preternaturally for six generations, and then discontinued to pay such monumental honours to the deceased.

Chintamun *Deo* was succeeded by his son Narrain *Deo*, and his fame reached to Delhi. The emperor Alumgeer, to put his divinity to the test, sent as a present a piece of cow's flesh (the abhorrence of Hindoos) carefully wrapped up in many cloths. On its being brought into the presence of Narrain, who was at prayers, he desired the bearer to open the linen : the bearer replied he had not authority to do so, as he had been commanded to tell the god to do it himself. The plate, with its contents, was then placed on the ground, and Narrain, finishing his devotions, threw some of the water he had been

using in the pooja on the emperor's gift and then opened it. Lo ! there appeared a fine bunch of the fresh flowers of the jaees (jessamine) instead of the beef. Taking up the flowers, Narrain desired the person who had brought the present to convey them to his master. Alumgeer, on learning the miracle, as a recompense for the insult he had offered the god, presented him with eight villages in perpetuity, much to the satisfaction of the numerous dependents of the god, and doubtless without exciting any repugnant feeling in Narrain himself towards the donor.

* Narrain was succeeded by Chintamun Deo II., son
 * 71 of Narrain, who trod in the steps of his predecessor, and amongst many other miracles saved a ship which was sinking in a storm at sea.

Dhurmedhur followed Chintamun Deo II., and Narrain II. followed Dhurmedhur ; this last unfortunately drew upon himself a curse which ruined his family. Occasionally hearing the sounds of musical instruments from the spot where Moroba, his ancestor, had buried himself alive, with a curiosity perfectly mortal he resolved upon investigating the affair, in spite of the traditional denunciations of Moroba. He therefore had the stone which covered Moroba's grave removed, and they discovered the founder of the family in a sitting posture, with his hair loose and flowing on the ground, with a book in his hand, apparently totally absorbed in the contemplation of profound mysteries. Being disturbed by the noise they made, he turned his head, and seeing Narrain, exclaimed, " Degenerate wretch ! thou hast sealed thy own fate : a curse be upon thee and thy son, beyond whom thy name shall not exist ! " Hearing this, in the utmost terror and in all haste they closed up the grave again, and made the stone secure with melted lead. From that moment the divine spirit fled its earthly tenement, and left Narrain a mere mortal. He died, and was succeeded by his son Dhurmedhur II. The latter married three wives ; but, owing to the fatal curse, all his labours proved abortive : he died about nine years ago childless, having completed the seventh generation :—

Moroba,
Chintamun Deo,
Narain Deo,
Chintamun Deo II.,

Dhurmedhur Deo,
Narain Deo II.,
Dhurmedhur Deo II.

The imposture should have ended here; but the Brahmins, with a laudable determination to preserve the valuable bequests to the temple, and not without hopes of still further profiting from the credulity of the pious, have endeavoured to persuade the public that the god has abrogated his limitation, and is satisfied to continue the incarnation for some * time longer, and they have set up a boy of the name of * 72 Suckharee, a distant relative of Dhurmedhur.

The god will neither want votaries nor champions as long as his friends will admit of his continuing the practice of giving a dinner to a limited number of Brahmins once a month, and annual entertainments (Oochao) on the 4th of the decreasing half of the moon Margesheesh, and on the 4th of the increasing half of the moon Bhadrupud, to unlimited numbers. • It is believed by some that at these entertainments, however numerous, the guests, sometimes amounting to thousands, and however limited the provision made for them, there is never an insufficiency or superfluity, but just enough. This is the only miracle the god has now the power of working; and, as his means depend in some measure on his reputation, he will ultimately want both votaries and champions as his credit wanes, and will finally sink into merited oblivion.

The philosopher will lament the debasement of the mind, its weakness, its folly, and its credulity, which under any circumstances could produce the deification of a human being: will lament the blindness which should be unaffected by the recurring instances of mortality, and continue insensible for years to the incongruity of extensive donations being called for, and eagerly accepted, for the support of a being supposed above sublunary enjoyment. But let not the civilized European exult that the weak and unlettered Asiatic should allow his admiration of the practice of piety and virtue to mislead his judgment, and outrage the divinity by clothing a human being with divine at-

tributes, when our times bear testimony to equally monstrous credulity and superstition, in the case of Johanna Southcott's followers, without similar foundations for reverence and faith.

(Signed) W. H. SYKES, Captain.

[NOTE.— See Asiatic Researches, vol. VII., p. 383. The family of the Devas still exists; and the festivals are apparently celebrated as usual. But I am not aware of any special reverence being paid to the representatives now living, or any reverence at all beyond what may be usual to Bráhmans in general.—ED.]

* V.

* 73

ON THE INSTITUTION AND CEREMONIES OF THE HINDOO FESTIVAL OF THE DUSRAH.

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE KURRADEE BRAHMINS.

By Major-General Sir JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B. & K.L.S.

Read 28th December 1819.

Poonah, 24th Nov. 1799.

My dear —,

I was sorry that we arrived at Poonah too late to be present at the Dusrah feast. I must, however, describe it to you ; for it is one of the principal festivals of the Hindoos, and celebrated by the Mahrattas with peculiar ceremonies. Before noticing these, I shall give you a general account of the Doorgah-Poojah and Dusrah, according to the best authorities to which I have access ; but my knowledge is chiefly derived from some Brahmin friends possessing, or pretending to possess, the most correct information on the subject.

The Dusrah, according to the common acceptation of the word, lasts ten days : this term, however, correctly applies only to the tenth or last day. The first nine days, termed Now-ratree, belong to a distinct festival in honour of Bhownee, in her form of Doorgah ; and indeed, strictly speaking, is rather a time of fast, prayer, and penance, than of festivity : whilst the tenth day, as the name implies (Dusmee or Dusrah, the tenth night), is totally unconnected with rites to Doorgah†, being an annual commemoration of Rama's victory over Rawan, king of Lanka or Ceylon, and his numerous rakush, or demons.

The proper title of the Doorgah Poojah is Now-ratree, or

† The general belief, however, and the one most accordant to the Hindoo mythology, is, that all the ten days are sacred to Devi, an incarnation of Parvati.

Nine Nights ; * but if we include the Beeja Dummee, or * 74 tenth day of victory, it is termed Dusaratree or Ten Nights. Of this last, Dusra is by most people considered a corruption, though some Brahmins give a different derivation.

In the month of June there is a day of fast and ablution, termed Dushura (a compound word, signifying *ten* and *expiation*), it being ordained for the purpose of purification from the Dus-papa, or ten moral sins. This name, therefore, they suppose to have become, from similarity of sound, corruptly applied also to the festival of the Dusaratree or Dummee. Dusa-deiva and Dasa-dina, mean also ten days, though Dummee more particularly means the tenth day of the moon's increase or decrease, according to the mode of reckoning common to the Hindoos.

The Doorgah Poojah commences in some years (from the calculation of time being lunar) in the last week of September, in others the first of October.

Although the Now-ratree be more particularly appropriated to the worship of the Sactis, or infernal goddesses, and to the various forms of Chandica or Maya, yet that of other deities is occasionally intermixed. An instance we see of this on the seventh day in the rites to Suraswattee, the wife of Bramah ; and the commemoration of Arjoon's victory, mixed with the festival, has led some to deem the Dummee or Dusra of more recent origin than the other festival. These fix its date 5000 years ago, towards the end of the Dwapar Yuga, when Arjoon flourished. Rama, however, whose victory this festival celebrates, reigned in the middle of the Tretia Yuga many thousand years anterior, and the Dusra may from these facts be considered as coeval with the popular religion of India.

The term Beeja Dummee, indeed, admits of two separate significations, according as the word is divided : if read *Beeja-ya-dummee*, it signifies the successful tenth day of the month, as distinguishing it from the remaining tenth days in the year. But if read *Vejaya da Sami*, it takes its name from the object of worship, and may be translated, The Sami Tree, The Giver of

Victory. The original of the address to Sami†, literally translated, will show that the appearances of the Sami tree bearing the bow of Arjoon to Rama, were incidental * 75 events, not the origin of the festival :—

“The Sami relieves from sin : the Sami destroys foes. It is the bearer of the bow of Arjoon, the beloved object received by Rama.”

In one of the learned Wilford’s papers in the *Asiatic Researches*, the name of Semiramis is stated to be partly derived from this tree. It is conjectured to be a compound of Sami and Rama, or “he who sports in the sami tree;” and he adduces indeed from the Pooranas authority for the etymology.‡

The history of the origin of the Dusra shall be as concisely given you as the nature of the subject admits. It appears to me an allegory representing the triumph of virtue over vice ; but, like all stories in the Hindoo mythology, is so crowded with gods and goddesses under various shapes and names, with a multitude of rakush or demons, giants and monsters of every description, as to be rendered almost unintelligible ; and I confess I never tread this ground but with diffidence, arising perhaps from a defective knowledge of my subject. I will, however, attempt to make my tale as clear and simple as the materials admit. The following is an abstract of the Chandee or Doorgah Path, or Legend, which contains a history of all the metamorphoses of Doorgah ; which are more important to understand, as they are sometimes dramatically represented on the different days of this festival.

During the reign of Savarna Menoo over the earth, a prince called Jaymanee asked the sage Mukundrah to relate to him the history of Doorgah, or Budrah Kali.

† The original Sanscrit is, “ *Sami sumyante papam, Sami satroo vinasanee Arjoonusya dhunoordharee, Ramaseea priya dursani.*”

‡ There seems here some confusion of the terms Sami and Rama ; but to aid the etymologist (I confess I do not understand much of such matters). according to a wise Brahmin who has assisted me in this letter, the Hindoo deities have each favourite trees for their gambols : Rama sports in the sami tree, Mahadeo in the burh, and Brahma in the peepul.

"A prince (said the wise man) named Soorath was expelled his kingdom by the rakshahs or demons. He for a long time wandered about in * the woods, and happening to meet * 76 with a bankrupt merchant, they proceeded to relate to a hermit their misfortunes. This holy man gave the two unfortunate wanderers a long discourse on the vicissitudes of fortune, all of which he traced to Yoga Maya. The prince asking who she was, 'She is,' said the recluse, 'the great goddess in whom are immersed the powers of creation, preservation, and destruction ; in other words, she is the eternal and illusive principle, she takes all shapes in order to enable her to destroy the demons, and protect the good and peaceable inhabitants of this earth.

" 'In former days (continued the hermit), when the world was covered with water, and Vishnoo the omnipotent reposed on the great serpent Andi-Shashah (Ananta), two demons arose from the wax or dirt (myle) of his ears. They attempted to murder Brahmah, who called upon Yoga Nedra : this goddess, who is described as a personification of abstraction and delusive sleep (and one of whose titles is the Great Darkness), instantly removed her influence from Vishnoo ; who, seizing his chuckra or discus, struck off at one blow the heads of the two demons, Mudh and Kythab, who had carried on a war against the gods for 5000 years. After the death of Mudh and Kythab, Mheisasoar, or Buffalo-shaped (called the demon of vice), waged a successful war against the gods for 1000 years. Indra†, Sooraya‡, Chandra§, Agnee||, Vayoo¶, Varoona**, Pavana††, Kooverah‡‡, Yama§§, and the whole conclave of deities, were so distressed by the superior force of this terrible enemy, that they made their common complaint to Brahmah ; this god proceeded with them to the celestial throne of the all-powerful Vishnoo, who was enraged at the tale of their sufferings. His

† The Hindoo Jupiter.

§ The Moon, or Luna.

¶ The god of air.

†† The god of the winds, Eolus.

‡ Phœbus, or the Sun.

|| The god of fire, Vulcan.

** The god of the ocean.

‡‡ Plutus, or god of riches.

§§ The judge of the infernal regions.

eyes, flaming like the fiery eyes of Siva, darted irradiant glances, which mixing with those proceeding at the same time from the eyes and bodies of the other incensed gods, combined to form a * female of exquisite beauty, in whom the goddess of sleep predominated. The newly created goddess (Door- * 77 ga) was a composition of all the deities who aided in her formation : from Siva she acquired her majestic head and flowing hair ; from Vishnoo her arms and spirit ; from Indra her breasts ; her emanations from Varoona ; Pavana gave her legs and waist ; Brahmah her feet ; her thumbs were from Sooraya ; her nose from Kooverah ; her fingers from Vayoo ; Agnee gave her a third eye, and from the other gods she derived her remaining features ; but, above all, she partook most of the qualities of Siva, who gave her his trisool, or trident, and infused all his fire into her third eye†.

“ The armour and ornaments of this goddess were as generously bestowed as her qualities : the god of the winds gave her a bow and arrows ; Indra his thunderbolt ; the god of the infernal regions his danda, or mace, and sword ; Brahmah bestowed on her the cammundalum, or drinking skull ; the Milky Ocean gave her a necklace of pearls ; Viswakarma, the artificer of the gods, presented her jewels ; Sumoodra, or the sea, several precious stones, and some offensive weapons ; for her conveyance, Mount Hima gave her a lion ; Kooverah (Plutus) bestowed on her a rich and beautiful drinking-cup ; and the great serpent, Andishasha, a garland of snakes. Besides these, every god, according to his means, presented her with various gifts.

“ Thus armed and ornamented, the goddess sallied forth

† The power of the eye of Siva, or Sive, is finely described in a dirge on the death of Teeppoo Sultan, written in the Canarese, and translated by my friend Leyden. The following imprecation is made upon the conquerors of Seringapatam :

“ How swift the ruthless spoiler came,
How quick he ravaged, none can say,
Save he whose dreadful eye of flame
Shall blast him on the judgment-day.”

to fulfill her high destiny. She soon met with Mheisasoor, and a terrible conflict ensued. Mounted on a lion, she slew immense numbers of his demons; but her followers fell in crowds before the paws, tail, and horns of the buffalo god. At length the goddess and the demon of vice encountered each *
 * 78 other. Dreadful was the conflict! As Doorga aimed a terrible blow at him, the buffalo took a human form, in which he was slain, but reappeared in that of an elephant. He next assumed the shape of a lion, and then his original body of a buffalo. The goddess, oppressed with heat and thirst, and fainting with fatigue, indulged in a draught of wine, exclaiming to her enemy, who shouted victory, "O Mheisasoor! roar as loud as you may till my cup is finished." Having drunk, her strength was redoubled; she seized her sword, and with one blow severed from his body the head of the demon. The dewtas, or minor deities, who had been spectators of the wondrous strife, sung aloud the praises of the goddess Doorga†. In her next incarnation she also destroyed the two great malignant demons, Sambha and Nesumbhe. This was, however, in another avatarom, and must not be confounded with the appearance of the mother of nature, as Doorga, or virtue, for the destruction of Mheisasoor, or vice, as these were her acts as Kali, Chamunda, &c. &c. in her inferior manifestations as an infernal goddess. In her combat with the giants, who were impelled by their evil spirits to action, she appeared with a countenance inspiring terror, and her eyes red, glaring with blood; she was wrapped in an elephant's hide, and, not satisfied with the usual means of destruction, she grasped men, elephants, and horses, with her hands, and swallowed them up like grains of barley!!! Kali was, however, in this action severely pressed by the strength and increasing number of her enemies; but the gods who watched the conflict sent her seasonable aid. Sacred birds, animals, and shells conveyed her female allies (for they were

† This combat is the subject of those most striking and excellent sculptures at Mavalipuram, or Mahabalipoor.

all of that sex) to the field. The war, after some terrible battles, in which the goddess gave astonishing proofs of her courage and prowess, terminated by her slaying the two demons, Sumbha and Nisumbha, and eradicating the race of rakhush, or demons, from the earth. The being who had conferred on mankind this great benefit was called the Omnipotent, and was worshipped under various names. But some * re-
 formed sects of Hindoos, making objections (and ap- * 79
 parently not without reason) to her sanguinary proceedings, refuse adoration to Budra Kali, and the Vishroo Hindoos celebrate this festival in the name of Suruswatee and Luchmee, the wives of Vishnoo and Brahmah, and goddesses of wisdom and of wealth, who, though they had been allies of Kali, were not polluted, like her, by drinking blood. After this war Kali retired to a mountain, but foretold her return to punish evil spirits, which would in her absence reappear. On her departure, however, the goddess enjoined her votaries, when they commemorated her victories, to represent her with red teeth, and to offer her red flowers. They were also commanded to offer prayers to her on certain days, which they were told would propitiate her favour, save them from their enemies, and secure to them health, wealth, and good fortune.'"

This is the substance of what the holy man related to the wandering prince, Sooradha, or Soorut; who in consequence devoted himself in sincerity of heart to prayer at the shrine of Doorga. He was rewarded by becoming in another birth Saverna Menoot, and it was during the period in which he governed the world that the sage Makundrah related these wonders to the Prince Jayanee. The latter, on hearing the narration, instituted the festival in question, and fixed the dates for its observance agreeably to those named by the goddess, as the best to obtain her aid and favour. Future ages have continued to solemnize this festival by prayer, festivities, gymnastic exercises, and every kind of warlike sport.

I shall spare you the detail of the innumerable conjectures

† The most celebrated Hindoo ruler and lawgiver.

which have been made respecting the assimilation of Doorga, her attributes and rites, to those of the deities of Greece. According to one she is Pallas, with her spear and armour, to whom an annual festival was celebrated, by the exhibition of gymnastic exercises, and by offerings of oil and sweet scents to females. Another believes that Doorga, with her different names, resembles the nine Muses. This may arise from her having been compared to the gopeias, or mistresses of Kristna, the Hindoo Apollo, erroneously supposed to be only nine in number. The female * army which enabled this goddess of valour to subdue the demons is conjectured to have the same origin as the fable of the Amazons. But you must confess, that it is not easy to come to a correct opinion on a point which the lapse of *several millions of years* has tended to involve in obscurity. I therefore proceed at once to notice the ceremonies and rites of the festival now generally observed throughout India; concluding with some observations on those peculiar to the Mahrattas. I shall commence by a concise detail of the Now-ratree, or Doorga Poojah, as distinct from the Dusra, or Tenth Day, sacred to Rama or Ramchunder.

There is for each of the Now-ratree, or Nine Nights, a separate ceremony. On the first night the kalusa, or holy vessel†, is cleansed and consecrated with water at the time appointed by the officiating priest. Prayers are said during this ceremony, and a small earthen mound is raised, on which wheat and barley are scattered, and the kalusa then placed on it, and prayers offered of different kinds, imploring health, longevity, a numerous progeny, and other blessings. Offerings are also made and charitable donations distributed to virgins between the ages of two and nine years old. Those under two are supposed incapable of enjoying the scent of odoriferous flowers. Clothes and victuals are also bestowed on other young females and matrons. The daughters of Brahmins are, however, considered as the most eligible objects of bounty; but, with a spirit removed from true charity, the dumb, the

† This vessel may be either made of earthenware or of metal, and is used as a symbol of the goddess worshipped.

deaf, the lame, the ugly, the deformed, and the illegitimate, are excluded specifically from partaking of this bounty. Though these offerings to females are continued throughout the nine nights, yet the votary is instructed what is particularly proper to offer on each.

On the first night it is good to present combs, and other articles used in dressing the hair ; on the second sweet oil, mirrors, and glass ware ; on the third curcuma†, coosum‡, henna, and other paints used to adorn * women ; the fourth day, besides paint and antimony to increase * 81 the beauty of the eyes and face, sweet cakes and fruit should be given ; on the fifth §, sandal and other odoriferous woods and oils should be given, and an image of the goddess Chandica (one of the names of Doorga in an evil and inferior incarnation) should this day be placed under a toolsee tree, and continued there till the sixth day, when the same ceremonies are repeated as on the last. On the seventh day also, devotion is paid to Suruswatee, wife of Brahmah, and goddess of arts and learning : on this occasion the holy books of the family are placed before her images, incense and flowers are strewed around, rice cakes and different viands are dressed, and the following hymn chanted : “ Goddess who art white as the snow-drop ; who art arrayed in pure and beauteous robes ; whose hands embrace the lyre ; who sittest enthroned on a white lotus ; who art adored by Brahmah, Achuta, Vishnool, and Sankarah ! O Suruswatee ! grant me wisdom, and eradicate from my mind all idleness and stupidity ! ” On the last day of the Now-ratree, or Nine Nights, prayers are offered to all things, animate or inanimate, which are necessary in war ; I shall only notice the most remarkable of these invocations. Addressing the Umbrella, as being the emblem of royalty, the votary exclaims, “ O thou who art the shade of prosperity, grant thy protection to

† A yellow paint made from turmeric and lime juice.

‡ The coosumba, or colouring matter of the safflower.

§ It may be here remarked, that by many the fifth day is considered as a separate holiday.

our sovereign as Budha does to us of the mother earth!" The horse, as the descendant of the Cinnaras † or Centaurs, is called on not to disgrace his * birth by an awkward or
 * 82 cowardly behaviour. Though wounded, he is invoked to "carry his master first to victory and then repose."

The flag-staff, which is compared to the ensign of Indra (Jove), is desired to make the foes of its votaries fly. The elephant is addressed by the eight names which express his attributes, and which are the names of the eight pillars which support the earth: "Thy progeny (exclaims the votary) cover like so many blue mountains the fields and woods. To thee I offer up my prayers." The sword is celebrated under several names, and all its attributes are praised: "Thy sharp edge (says the supplicant) pierces the vitals of an enemy; and to thee justice and tranquillity owe their existence. The universe is thy vast empire, for on thy valour did the gods bestow the earth. Praise be to the sword! To it the great giant Mheisasoor (the demon of vice) fell a victim." The bow and arrows are also praised: the former is termed the "mother of all arms, and the chastiser of the foes of the gods." Other weapons are also praised; and though fire-arms are not enumerated, as not existing when these ceremonies were instituted, yet the modern Hindoo soldier gives these weapons that pre-eminence as objects of adoration to which their superiority as an offensive instrument entitles them. The Hindoo artilleryman at all times regards the gun‡ to which he is attached as an object of

† I have found in my inquiries the Cinnaras sometimes confounded with the Ganderwas; but they are quite distinct. The latter are flying youths of beautiful forms and fair complexion: thus, when a Hindoo would flatter an European, he gives him a descent from the Ganderwas.

The Cinnara, or Centaur, is partly human, partly equine: and divided into two tribes, one having the upper parts, the other the lower parts equine: it is therefore to these that the text alludes. There is also another kind of distinct beings of this class called Gahyaca (fauns or satyrs); they are represented as green old men with a keen eye and long pointed beard: the upper part of the body is human, the lower bestial, as that of tigers, bears, &c. They usually carry a bell in their right hand, and, like the fauns or satyrs, reside in forests and wildernesses, and, as their name implies, dwell in caves of the rocks.

‡ The adoration of the Hindoos appears to increase with the size of the gun.

superstitious reverence, and usually bestows on it the name of some deity. During the Doorga festival the cannon belonging to the army are painted, praised, invoked, and propitiated by every species of offering. At the close of the ninth day or night, the kalusa, or sacred vessel, is thrown, with all the images of Doorga, into water; the priests exclaiming, as they plunge them into the stream, "O goddess Chandecca† (or Doorga), I invoke thee! Prolong my life, give me health and affluence. Having proffered to thee the * best offerings in our power, O goddess! be so gracious as to return to thy ærial palace, accompanied by * 83 thy eight attendants, leaving behind thee peace and tranquillity. Be pleased, O goddess! again to visit us. Condescend, O goddess! to join thine own element, and continue in the water, for thou art the universal mother." This ceremony is variously accounted for: Sir W. Jones conjectures that water being one form of the goddess, it is proper that she should be restored to that element to which she belongs; and this conjecture appears countenanced by the above invocation.* Some learned Brahmins, however, assign a different reason: the deities, they observe, have their heavenly and infernal regions, to which they retire through water; and the Shasters, or sacred writings, state that when the sunbeams cause evaporation of the water, the gods ascend with this element, or by the same process descend to the infernal regions. The Now-ratree, or Nine Nights, being at Poonah, as in other towns in India, celebrated with prayers, dances, feasts, and public sports and exhibitions, I shall proceed to the notice of the tenth day, or Dessara, considered, as it ought to be, as a distinct festival. This day is sacred to Ramah's success; but the victory of Arjoon over Beekumpetta has been grafted upon it. The his-

A friend informs me that, on visiting the ruins of Bejapoor, he noticed that the people who accompanied him to see the great gun called Malikce Meidan, made, on retiring, successively their obeisance and adoration to it. The muzzle was smeared with vermilion and oil, and the bore strewed with white flowers.

† This has been before noticed as one of Doorga's names.

tory of this event is related at large in the Mahabharat, and is concisely as follows: Arjoon and his brothers having been expelled by Dooryodun, king of Delhi, and condemned to banishment for fourteen years†, wandered about in disguise; Arjoon assumed a female form to prevent detection, to which end also he placed his arms on a sami tree, giving them in charge to serpents, scorpions, tigers, and other noxious reptiles and animals, which having formed by incantations he appointed to this duty. After long wandering, he and his brothers at length found refuge with Bairat Rajah. This prince, having been plundered of his cattle by a neighbouring enemy, proceeded against him with all his troops, leaving at home his son, then a boy of eleven or twelve years of age. Arjoon's brothers also accompanied the king, but Arjoon, from his female form, was obliged to remain at home. In the mean

time, * taking advantage of the absence of the king's
 84 army, Beekumpetta carried off all the cows from the city. Arjoon succeeded in persuading the young prince to trust himself on his rath, or car, and to proceed against the enemy; he instructed the young prince where and how to procure for him his arms from the sami tree, with which he then put to flight the enemy, and recovered the cattle. Arjoon was now no longer able to conceal himself: the deed proclaimed the hero. The fact of his veneration for Ramah having led him to place his arms upon the tree sacred to that god, has raised its fame among Hindoos; and the verses ‡ in which he afterwards praised the sami tree are those used in addressing it at the festival of the Dummee, with which the name of Arjoon has become from the above circumstances associated. Votaries in their invocations at the Dummee to that tree exclaim, "O Sami! thou averter of misfortunes! thou art humane and merciful. Be gracious, mitigate punishment, avert frightful dreams. O good and benevolent Sami! I adore thee. Be gracious, eradicate vice, and conquer my enemies. For thou

† The period of banishment has a remarkable coincidence with that of modern times.

‡ Page 74 [81 of this edition], note.

didst preserve the arms of Arjoon, and thou wert the counsellor of Ramah : remove the obstacles to my success, and bless all my undertakings."

The ritual ceremonies of the Dusrah, or tenth day, consist, according to some Hindoo books, in a procession from the town or village, of all the Hindoo inhabitants, to the sacred sami tree. The procession must move in a north-easterly direction ; and if there be no tree on the spot, a branch is brought from a distance, and planted there for the occasion. Every man who follows arms as a profession must shoot an arrow at this, and placing a leaf or two in his turban, return with shouts of joy to his house. Kings and chiefs are directed to assemble, on the morning of this festival, all their armies and followers, and to march in all their state to the verge of the city or camp, where their soldiers are to perform the ceremonies above mentioned. By this act they are believed not only to propitiate the deities, but also to avert the baneful influence of Seetha Matta (the goddess of small-pox), famine and all other misfortunes, from their territory.

*Many other things are prescribed to be observed in the Dusrah : these consist chiefly in devotions to the gods, * 85 gifts (particularly new clothes) to friends and relations, and presents of money and food to Brahmins. This is also considered as a fortunate day to receive all gifts or payments : the debtor pleases his creditors by a trifling present in money ; the tenant his landlord by one in produce ; and each considers it peculiarly fortunate to receive on this day even a trifle of that which constituted his expectation or actual subsistence. I have, however, said enough on the general subject of these ceremonies, and shall therefore proceed to notice those peculiar to the Mahrattas.

On the morning of the tenth day, the peishwa, with all his chiefs and soldiers, moves out to the camp in the vicinity of the city, each being ranged under his particular banner, mounted on his best horse, dressed in his finest clothes, and with his arms highly polished. Horses, elephants, and camels are all arranged in their gayest trappings, and every corps spreads

its gaudiest flags and banners. The whole population of the capital, either as actors or spectators, join in this grand procession, which moves towards the sacred tree, the object of adoration. After the offerings and prayers, the peishwa plucks some leaves of the tree, on which all the cannon and musketry commence firing†; the peishwa then plucks from a field, purchased for the occasion, a stalk of jowaree or bajree, on which the whole crowd fire off their arms, or shoot‡ arrows, * 86 and rush in * an instant and tear up the whole. Each endeavours to procure his share of the spoil; some succeed in carrying off a handful, whilst others content themselves with a few stalks: all, however, return home with shouts of joy, and the remainder of the day and night is devoted to festivity and mirth. Many other usages prevail at this festival, which are, I believe, peculiar to the Mahrattas; among others, that of sacrificing sheep and buffaloes§, sprinkling the blood on the horses with great ceremony, and distributing the flesh of the former¶ to all ranks, Brahmins excepted. The chiefs often

† At this period of the ceremony the State accounts for the last year are produced; and, after having poojah (prayer) performed over them, they receive the signature and seal of the prince. Vanity, or the hope of inspiring confidence and ambition in their troops, leads many of the fallen or impoverished Mahratta and petty Hindoo princes to insert in this voluminous paper a long list of distant provinces, long lost to them, or whose conquest merely is desired or meditated. The peishwa, amongst the rest, regularly inserted all those provinces of Hindoostan, even beyond the Jumna, which his predecessors once had conquered. The humiliation of acknowledging them wrenched from them was thus evaded by signing them away as gifts to their several sirdars.

‡ The shooting of an arrow is, by Hindoo philosophers, said to be intended to remind their countrymen of the necessity of excelling in arms, in order to maintain the public tranquillity: but, however the ceremony be considered by other Hindoos, the Mahratta soldier doubtless deems the plundering of a field as a lively type of that predatory life which he has inherited from his ancestors.

§ The buffalo, decorated with flowers and daubed with red paint, is brought before the horse or elephant of the prince or chief, where his head is struck off, generally with one blow, by some dexterous swordsman. This usage, in the smaller towns and villages, is attended with the ceremony of leading the buffalo round the village, sprinkling grain and liquor along the road as they go, and on arriving at the spot from which they set out, the head is struck off, as before mentioned.

give money to enable their soldiers to buy sheep to perform sacrifices, which, from furnishing them with a good dinner, are by many considered as the most essential ceremonies of the Dusrah.

As connected with the Dusrah, by the festival being the period at which they were celebrated, I cannot refrain from mentioning the horrid human sacrifices (now, I hope, no longer in existence) formerly offered by the Kurradee Brahmins to the *sactis* at the close of this feast. I had often heard this sect accused of having made human sacrifices, and I asked my Brahmin friend if it was true. "There is," said he, "not the slightest doubt of it; and, still more horrible, sometimes the victim is nearly connected with the person by whom he is sacrificed to the infernal and sanguinary gods....." These sacrifices," continued he, "were often made at Poonah till put an end to by Balajee Badjerow." He promised to note down for me all the particulars he knew; and I was soon presented with an account, of which the following is a literal translation :—

"The tribe of Brahmins called Kuradi had formerly a horrid custom * of annually sacrificing to their deities (*sactis*†) a young Brahmin. The *sacti* is supposed to delight in * 87 human blood, and is represented with three fiery eyes, and covered with red flowers. This goddess holds in one hand a sword, and in the other a battle-axe. The prayers of her votaries are directed to her during the first nine days of the Dusrah feast; and on the evening of the tenth day a grand repast is prepared, to which the whole family is invited. An intoxicating drug is contrived to be mixed with the food of the intend-

† There are many *sactis*, or infernal goddesses : they are represented as the consorts of the principal deities, and distinguished by the same symbols. Thus Saraswati as Brahmanee, the *sacti* of Brahma, is borne on a swan : she holds in one hand the Vedas, and in the other a rosary similar to that of her lord. Vishnavee, the *sacti* of Vishnoo, and the same as Luchmee, bears the *sani* and *chaoram* ; and is surrounded by the other symbols of that deity. The deity or peculiar *sacti* of the Kurradee Brahmins is said to be the Kula Dewany. She appears to have been Siwancee, the *sacti* of the destroying power, and the same as Kali.

ed victim, who is often a stranger whom the master of the house has for several months, perhaps years, treated with the greatest kindness and attention; and sometimes, to lull suspicion, given him his daughter in marriage. As soon as the poisonous and intoxicating drug operates, the master of the house, unattended, takes the devoted person into the temple, leads him three times round the idol; and on his prostrating himself before it, takes this opportunity of cutting his throat. He collects with the greatest care the blood in a small bowl, which he first applies to the lips of this ferocious goddess, and then sprinkles it over her body; and a hole having been dug at the feet of the idol for the corpse, he deposits it with great care to prevent discovery. After perpetration of this horrid act, the Kurradee Brahmin returns to his family and spends the night in mirth and revelry, convinced that by this praiseworthy act he has propitiated the favour of his bloodthirsty deity for twelve years. On the morning of the following day, the corpse is taken from the hole in which it had been thrown, and the idol is deposited till next Dusrah, when a similar sacrifice is made. The discontinuance of this horrid custom, however, of late years, is said principally to have arisen from the following circumstance:—At Poonah a young and hand-

* some Carnatic Brahmin, fatigued with travel and op-
 * 88 pressed by the scorching heat of the sun, sat himself down in the verandah of a rich Brahmin, who chanced to be of the Kurradee sect. The Brahmin shortly after, passing by, and perceiving that the youth was a stranger, kindly invited him to his house, and requested him to remain till perfectly recovered from the fatigues of his journey. The unsuspecting Brahmin youth readily accepted this apparently kind invitation, and was for several days treated with so much attention and kindness, that he showed no inclination to depart. He had seen also the Kurradee Brahmin's beautiful daughter, and conceived for her a violent attachment. Before a month had elapsed, he asked and obtained her in marriage. They lived happily together till the time of the Dusrah arrived, when the deceitful old Brahmin, according to his original intention,

determined to sacrifice his son-in-law to the goddess of his sect. Accordingly, on the tenth day of the feast, he mixed an intoxicating poisonous drug in his victuals, not, however, unperceived by his daughter. She, being passionately fond of her husband, contrived unobserved to exchange the dish with that of her brother, who in a short time became senseless. The unlucky father, seeing the hapless state of his son, and despairing of his recovery, carried him to the temple, and with his own hands put him to death, and made to his idol an offering of his blood. This being perceived by the young Brahmin, he asked his wife the meaning of so shocking and unnatural an action. She replied by informing him of his recent danger, and the particulars of the whole affair. Alarmed for his own safety, and desirous that justice should be inflicted on the cruel Brahmin, he effected his escape, and repairing to the peishwa, fell at his feet and related the whole affair. Orders were instantly given to seize every Kurradee Brahmin in the city of Poonah, and particularly the infamous perpetrator of the horrid deed. He was, with a number of others similarly convicted, put to death; and all the sect were expelled the city, and strict injunctions laid on the inhabitants to have in future as little connexion with them as possible.

“By this well-timed severity,” says my authority, “Balajee Badjerow * effectually prevented the recurrence of similar crimes; and the Kurradee Brahmins now content * 89 themselves with sacrificing a sheep or buffalo.” This remarkable occurrence, though calculated to fill the mind with horror, shows that the prevailing or most numerous classes of Brahmins regard with sentiments similar to our own such inhuman observances.

We cannot, consequently, select them as examples characteristic of the Hindoos in general. But though these may abhor murder (which is the only term that can be given to such sacrifices, as well as infanticide, which is considered by all Hindoos, except a few classes who practise it, with equal horror), they are liable to the general imputation of not merely suffering but encouraging suttees to a great extent. But I

will not mix an account of the infatuated devotion of terrestrial ladies with the tale of infernal goddesses.

I shall reserve what I know of Hindoo widows for another letter.

Yours ever most sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.

[NOTE.—The above account gives the *Durga-pújá* as celebrated in Bengal and adjacent provinces. The *navarātra*, or nine-night, ceremonies as observed on this side of India are somewhat different: see *Rāsa-Málá*, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat (*Gujarāth*), by A. K. Forbes, Bombay C. S., vol. II., pp. 334, 335; Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc., vol. VIII., pp. 27, 28. An excellent description of the *Durga-pújá* as now performed in Bengal was published in the *Hindu Patriot*, in 1871, and the series of papers was afterwards republished, and forms a valuable record for reference:—*Durgá-Pújá*, by Pratápachandra Ghosha, B.A., Calcutta, 1871. The tree worshipped on the *Dasarā* is the *Śami* tree (*Mimosa Suma*), celebrated in the *Mahābhārata* (*Virātavarva*, *Adhyāya* 39, *Śloka* 1; *Adhyāya* 40, *Ślokas* 1-8; *Adhyāya* 41, *Ślokas* 1-12; *Adhyāya* 48, *Ślokas* 4, 5; *Adhyāya* 69, *Śloka* 12). The *Dasarā* festival and worship of the *Śami* tree is also described in the *Dharmasindhu* (lithographed at Bombay in the Śaké year 1783), *Parichheda* 2nd, leaf 36, p. 1, line 8, to leaf 37, p. 1, line 11; *Nirṇayasindhu* (lithographed at Bombay, Śaké year 1784), *Parichheda* 2nd, leaf 50, p. 2; *Smṛiti Kaustubha* (MS.) also describes the worship of Devi in the form of *Aparājita* (the invincible), the ceremony of crossing the boundary of the place where we live, and the worship of the *Śami* tree. See also *Vratarāja*, leaf 131, p. 2, and leaf 132, p. 1. Bombay: Śaké 1782. The period of banishment of the Pāṇḍavās was 13, and not 14 years, so that the reasoning at p. 93 fails. As regards the Karāṇa Brāhmaṇs, the account seems inaccurate both as to time and mode in which these sacrifices were at one time supposed to prevail.—Ed.]

* VI.

* 90

PAPERS RELATING TO THE EARTHQUAKE WHICH
OCCURRED IN INDIA IN 1819.

Read 28th March, 1820.

To William Erskine, Esq., &c., Bombay.

My dear Sir,

As it was at your suggestion that I attempted to draw up the following account of the earthquake which occurred in India in June 1819, I beg that, should you consider it as at all interesting, you will do me the favour to present it to the Society. It consists of a plain description, and no circumstance has been admitted that has not been well certified; at the same time it must be observed, that the whole is written from memory, or very scanty memoranda.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

(Signed) J. MACMURDO.†

Camp at Bhooj, 27th January, 1820.

P.S. At noon this day we had a very strong shock, attended by a loud noise like distant thunder. Several shocks have likewise occurred since the accompanying details were written.

On the 16th of June 1819, between fifteen and ten minutes before seven o'clock P.M., a shock of an earthquake was felt in Cutch; and as it appears to have been remarkable * 91 in India for the great extent of its range, and also for

† This estimable young man having died a short time after writing the above letter, the Society are happy in being able to give publicity to a very interesting sketch of his life, with which they have been favoured by one of his intimate friends. Vide Appendix, No. I.

the very confined limits of its severe effects, I shall attempt to describe the course and results of the phenomena as they appeared in this province, without offering any scientific speculations, for which I am totally unqualified, or even stating opinions on the subject which I have heard advanced by others.

The shock was foretold by no uncommon appearance in the heavens ; at least nothing was remarked previously, either in the heavenly bodies or in the atmosphere, to indicate the approach of any convulsion of nature. The hot months had passed on with the clear and serene sky, the burning sun, and the westerly wind, which commonly prevails at that season of the year. It was observed that the month of May was extremely hot, perhaps more so than usual, but the thermometer seldom higher than 108° or 110° of Fahrenheit in the shade of a tent, and generally not above 105° . On the evening of the 3rd June we experienced a severe storm of rain and wind, with thunder and lightning from the north-east quarter, an occurrence by no means uncommon at the same season ; the storm lasted about two hours, with rain through the night, was pretty general through the province, and was felt in some places to the eastward of Bhooj in a degree approaching to a hurricane.

In the description of the shock it will be necessary to speak in the first person, because I can only pretend to describe with correctness my own feelings, thoughts, and observations. In the subsequent observations, however, I shall avail myself of those felt and made by others under different circumstances and in different situations.

At the moment already mentioned, after a hot day I was sitting with a party of friends on an earthen terrace in front of a house in which we were about to dine. The evening was remarkably serene, not a cloud to be seen, and a light and cool breeze from the west. The situation was on a ridge of slate rock in the town of Anjar, and close under a large round tower with four heavy guns mounted on it. Our notice was first attracted by a slight motion of our chairs, as if they

* 92 had been lifted up, and a noise from the doors and windows, as if they had been moved by the breeze : before

the question of "What is that?" could be uttered a second lifting of the chairs took place, and the motion became too evident to be mistaken even by me, who had never before experienced a shock. Every person made what haste he could to leave the tower, which, after rolling and heaving in a most awful degree, gave way at the bottom, on the western face, and, crumbling down, buried guns and carriages in the rubbish: a moment after, the towers and curtains of the fort wall, and upwards of fifteen hundred houses, were reduced to ruins; but as I was within thirty yards of the round tower, my attention was particularly drawn to it.

The opinions with regard to the length of time which this shock lasted are various, but appear to be limited to from two to four minutes: my own conviction is that the first is nearest the truth, and perhaps even a little beyond the mark. On subsequently observing the time by a watch, it seems to me that if the motion had continued for more than two minutes, no building could have been left entire. Allowances must be made for agitation at the moment, and the general voice seems to fix the duration of the severe shocks at two minutes and a half. A philosopher, who had been in the habit of observing and speculating on the great convulsions of nature, might have coolly taken out his watch and been delighted with the opportunity of adding to the knowledge which the experience of the shock might have afforded. For my own part, however, my feelings at the moment were such as for an instant to deprive me of all presence of mind and power of reflection; and when self-possession did return, my mind was too deeply occupied with the awful and appalling spectacle of the face of nature in a state of excessive agitation to admit of other thoughts or impressions. It certainly was terrific to behold hills, towers, and houses, the stability of which we had been in the habit of considering as proof against every power, and against the lapse of centuries, rocking to and fro, or rising and sinking, while the former sent forth clouds of dust, or perhaps smoke, and the latter crumbled into rubbish.

With regard to the nature of the motion there is likewise a

variety of opinions. Some persons with whom I have conversed feel convinced of *the action of the shock being
* 93 directly upwards, as if the earth was on the point of opening under their feet; a few assert that it was vibratory, whilst others attribute to it an undulating motion. I confess I am one of those who favour the last-mentioned opinion, although the slight motion at the commencement did certainly feel as a direct elevation of the chair attended by a blow as if under its feet. When the shock was at its height, the motion of the earth was so strongly undulatory that to keep our feet was no easy matter. The waving of the surface was perfectly visible, and in attempting to walk, the motion has been most aptly compared by a gentleman to that felt when walking quickly on a long plank supported at both ends;—when one foot was elevated, the earth either rose and met it, or sunk away from it in its descent.

The shock was attended with a violent gust of wind and a noise like that of a numerous flight of birds; but this did not precede the event; I think, on the contrary, that the noise was heard even after, or at all events towards the conclusion of the motion. Both of these occurrences have been denied, although, for my own part, I feel convinced that they did happen; more especially as the noise has been frequently heard to accompany subsequent shocks.

The night of the 16th proved extremely serene and beautiful, and, as we slept in the open air, we had a favourable opportunity of remarking any thing extraordinary that might occur. We observed, as we thought, a more than usual number of the meteors known by the name of falling stars; but whether we might not have been biassed by what we had read of such phenomena having been supposed to attend earthquakes, I will not venture to affirm. Before 11 o'clock p.m. we experienced three shocks; and, according to the statements of the sentinels and townspeople, there were many in the course of the night. These were, however, trifling, and their effects were confined to shaking the tiles and bringing to the ground loose stones from the ruined houses. The next day, the 17th, the

earth was frequently in motion, attended by gusts of wind and a noise like that of wheeled carriages. For some time before 10 A. M. * these symptoms intermitted only for a few minutes, until about a quarter to 10, when a severe shock * 94 was experienced ; this lasted for about fifty seconds, and brought down a number of shattered buildings.

As no register has been kept, or could well have been preserved, of the number of shocks felt, it is impossible to furnish particulars on this head. Until the beginning of August, no day passed without one or more shocks ; and subsequently they became less frequent, only occurring every third or fourth day. During the whole of this time the shocks were generally very slight ; many persons did not feel what was sensibly felt by others. Subsequently to this period shocks became still less frequent, occurring at uncertain periods of many days' interval, until the 23rd of November, which seems to be the last distinct one we have had.

It would be hazardous to state a decided opinion of the number of shocks felt, both in consequence of the cause before assigned, and because motions of the earth appear to have been felt in one spot and not in others ; but, as it is necessary to give some vague idea to enable a judgment to be formed by the reader, it may be observed that probably until the 1st of July there were not fewer than two or even three shocks every day ; one daily throughout that month ; one every three days in August and September ; and perhaps six in the course of October ; and three in November. This calculation, which is made avowedly on no solid grounds, gives short of 100 shocks in all ; and it is probable that the number is at least a third within the truth.

I know not how to class the shocks, unless in the fanciful manner of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, implying the degree of their severity. Of the 1st, we had only the first and most violent ; of the 2nd, which were such as could be felt by a person while standing, but without affecting buildings in any material degree, we had, I think, about four ; these occurred as follows : 17th June, 10 A.M. ; 29th June, 2 P.M. ; 4th July, 3 A.M. ; and

another at midnight in the same month, but the day forgotten : the longest of these did not last more than 50 seconds. The third class, which is the most numerous, are those shocks evident to persons sitting or reclining ; few of * these
* 95 lasted longer than perhaps 30 seconds, and did no damage. The fourth class is that in which are included slight motions of the earth, felt by some and disputed by others.

The motions of the different classes were by many considered as undulatory and vibratory ; although in some instances direct perpendicular shocks were certainly felt. The second class was remarked to be attended by a noise like that of a flight of birds and gusts of wind, and in some cases similar noises to those already mentioned followed or preceded the third class. Noises were frequently heard as if proceeding from the earth, and the expectation which they occasioned of the usual shock was never disappointed.

The direction in which the motion travelled was, as almost every other part of this phenomenon, disputed ; many (of which I was at first one) believed that the direction was nearly from N.E. to S.W. The most general opinion, and which appears since to be corroborated by circumstances, was that it was from S.W. to N.E.

The severe effects of the shock of the 16th were principally confined to the province of Cutch, the damage done to other countries, even bordering on it, being comparatively trifling ; and it is remarkable that the shock appears to have been more severely felt in many distant countries than it was in those intermediate, and even in some closely bordering on Cutch. The great shock was felt at Calcutta about twenty minutes past eight o'clock, which, when corrected to the longitude of Bhooj, will give six minutes past seven o'clock P.M., or eighteen minutes later than the shock was felt in Cutch.

At Chunar the severe shock was felt at seven minutes past eight o'clock P.M. on the 16th, equal to 7^h 15^m 16^s Cutch time.

At Pondicherry it was experienced at eight P.M., equal to twenty minutes past seven o'clock Bhooj time.

At Ahmedabad the shock occurred about seven o'clock; but at Broach, which is little more than 3° E. of Bhooj, it occurred at nineteen minutes past seven o'clock, corrected by observation. † This extraordinary variation in the moment of the occurrence of the great shock can hardly be ac- * 96 counted for by neglect or error in fixing the moment, or from errors in the watches.

| E. LONG. | E. LONG. | E. LONG. |
|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Calcutta, $88^{\circ} 28'$ | Chunar, $82^{\circ} 54'$ | Pondicherry, $79^{\circ} 58'$ |
| Bhooj, $69 58$ | Bhooj, $69 58$ | Bhooj, $69 58$ |
| <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| 18 30, or diff. | 12 56, or diff. | 10 0, or diff. |
| TIME. | TIME. | TIME. |
| 1 ^h 14 ^m | 0 ^h 51 ^m 44 ^s | 0 ^h 40 ^m |
| 8 20 | 8 7 0 | 8 0 |
| <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| 7 6 | 7 15 16 | 7 20 |

The utmost limits within which this earthquake was felt, as far as we have yet learned, may be fixed at Catmandoo in the north, Pondicherry to the south, Calcutta to the east, and the mountains of Billoochistan to the west. In Nepal it was felt sensibly on the evening of the 16th June, the exact time not specified. At Calcutta the shock was felt very sensibly, but apparently not so severely as at Chunar, and more so than in Malwa and Khandesh, in many parts of which it was not felt at all. At Pondicherry it was severely experienced, and described as much more awful than in many intermediate provinces. In Sindh it was felt very partially and slightly; and similarly at Shikarpoor, on the southern frontier of the Peshawar country.

The range of the great shock is therefore known to have embraced a space of 18° of lat. and 20° of long. In many particular spots in this extent of country, of course, the motion was either not noticed or did not occur; but it was severely or sensibly felt at these limits on the evening of the 16th June.

The ocean extending S. and S.W. from Cutch will prohibit our ever knowing the limits of the shock in those directions;

† Bombay newspaper.

but it may be remarked that early in June a severe earthquake occurred at Mockha, on the Red Sea; but I have never heard that it was experienced (or that of ours of the 16th) at Muscat, which is nearly due west of Cutch.†

* What forms, in my opinion, one of the most striking
 * 97 circumstances connected with this phenomenon is, that it should have been felt over such an extensive surface, and that its severity should have been confined to the limited space of 200 miles or less. The damage sustained by Bulliaree, Amercote, and Jesilmer, which all lie in the Desert and north of Cutch, points out that the severity of the motion extended beyond Cutch in that particular direction; yet Sindh, Marwar, and Guzerat, including the peninsula of Kattewar, all of which border on this province, suffered nothing.‡ The destructive motion, therefore, seems to have been confined to a narrow space, running in a direction of N.N.E. from Bhooj, as far as Jesilmer. How far it extended in an opposite point it is impossible to say; but, taking Cutch as a centre, the radius should have extended into Persia and Arabia, and nearly to the equator. As we know, however, that the shock of the 16th was not felt in these countries, it follows that Cutch was not the centre of motion, because, if the cause of this phenomenon had its origin in Cutch§, the power which agitated the earth must have acted nearly entirely to the eastward of a line extending north and south through the centre of the province.

That the cause of the shock, wherever it had its seat, must

† It may not be superfluous to remark, that about the beginning of June 1819, Mount Etna was threatening to bury in its lava the cities in its vicinity; Vesuvius was in a similar state of violent agitation; and earthquakes were felt in different parts of Italy and, I believe, Sicily, although not in the vicinity of these mountains.

‡ Poorbunder, Moorbee, and Amrun are exceptions; but those people who have seen its effects in these places and in Cutch declare the former to be comparatively insignificant.

§ From the circumstance of the shocks still continuing in this province alone up to this day, now nearly eight months, I confess that, ignorant as I am of the theory of earthquakes, I am inclined to think that the causes are to be found in the structure of the country.

have been at a vast depth below the surface of the earth may perhaps be admitted, when we reflect on the immense surface moved ; but, as I have already observed, my want of knowledge on the philosophical branch of the subject warns me to stop.

We come now to speak of the effects of this awful occurrence. And first * of all it may be proper to advert to our own feelings, and the state of our minds, on witnessing, for * 98 the first time, such a visitation. If I were to say that the impression, after the shock had subsided, was an agonizing fear, it might perhaps offend, although the strong oppression at the heart, a kind of gasping anxiety, weakness in the limbs, and, in some cases among Europeans, and generally throughout the natives, a slight sickness of stomach†, certainly, cannot be interpreted in more appropriate language.

For a long time, and indeed I believe up to the present day, among natives, similar symptoms in a less degree are felt on the occurrence of the light shocks ; but for a short time after the 16th there was a restlessness and disinclination to be alone, or to attend to usual occupations, visible in both European and native societies. In the latter, despair and helplessness were strongly depicted in their countenances, and their language and actions both corroborated the fact of these feelings being the sole tenants of their minds. They insisted, to a man, that there was almost a constant undulatory motion in the earth, and frequent vibrations between the shocks for ten days after the 16th, and this last feeling among Europeans was, I believe, confined to myself and one or two other persons.

The brute creation in general did not appear to show much sensibility to the motion ; but it was remarked that horses in action partially lost their equilibrium, and that pigeons and other birds roosting were delicately sensible of the least motion. The elephants in Bhooj broke from their pickets, and, seemingly

† The information from Pondicherry states a similar feeling to have been excited there on the 16th.

in great alarm, attempted to rush through the street, till obstructed by the falling of houses.

The shock of the 16th was the only one by which the face of nature or the works of man were materially injured or changed. In the province of Cutch it may be fairly asserted that no town escaped feeling its effects, either in the fall of houses or in that of its fortifications. It would be difficult to particularize the damage done to each. I shall therefore confine myself to general remarks.

*The capital naturally attracts our first attention;
* 99 and, as fortune would have it, Bhooj suffered in many respects more severely than any other town: nearly seven thousand houses, great and small, were overturned, and eleven hundred and forty or fifty people buried in the ruins. The houses were built of stone and chunam, or in many cases mud instead of this cement. Such houses as were built of mud alone, were little or no ways affected by the shock. Of the original number of houses which escaped ruin, about one-third are much shattered. Bhooj stands in a plain of sand-stone covered with a thin soil of sand and clay, but in many parts the rock is exposed. To the north-eastward about half a mile rises an abrupt hill, apparently composed of solid rock, on which are extensive fortifications. The north-eastern face of the town wall, which is a strong modern building, on an average four and a half and five feet broad, and upwards of twenty feet high, was laid level nearly to the foundation, whilst the hill works suffered in a very trifling degree. The south and western sides of the town are situated upon a low ridge of sand rock, and the water from the town finds its way out to the northward, where is an extensive swamp of low and springy ground. This face has also been overturned in many places, and not a hundred yards of entire wall left. The town has been utterly destroyed in the N.N.E. quarters, while the S. and S.W. quarters stand comparatively little injured. I have entered thus particularly into minutiae, to explain what I conceive to have been the case everywhere, that buildings situated upon rock were not by any means so much affected by the earthquake as those whose

foundations did not reach the bottom of the soil, which I conceive to have been the case with those houses on the swampy and low sides of Bhooj.†

* At Anjar, half of the town, which is situated on low rocky ridges, * suffered comparatively nothing; whilst the other half, upon a slope to a plain of springs and swamps, into * 100 which the town is drained, was entirely overturned.

About 1500 houses were destroyed from the foundations, and about a similar number rendered uninhabitable. The loss in lives amounted to 165, besides a number who afterwards died of their bruises. The fort wall consisted of 3000 yards of masonry in circumference, not more than three feet and a half thick, and in some places forty feet high; and in this extent are included 31 towers, round and square. Of this 1000 yards are level with the ground, 1333 yards destroyed to within ten feet of the bottom, and only 667 yards standing to the rampart, and the greatest part of this split in half.‡ All the houses excepting four are cut as it were in two; in some the inner and in others the outer half has crumbled into ruins. The east and swampy face is down to the very surface of the earth.

There are, or rather were, a great number of fortified towns throughout Cutch: in general their works are destroyed. Thera, which was esteemed the best in the province, has not a stone unturned; the town, fortunately, did not suffer in the same unparalleled degree, although few or no houses were left securely habitable.§

Kotharee, another town of the same kind five or six miles from Thera, was reduced to a heap of rubbish, only about fifty or

† There are some strong exceptions to this observation: Roha, which is a fort on a rocky hill, was laid in ruins, while the lower town, on the plain, escaped undamaged. Moondra, Mandvee, and Sandhan, close to the sea-shore, situated very low, and in sandy plains, escaped with little damage. It is probable, however, that their foundations are on the strata of sandstone, which at different depths appear to be the support of the soil of the whole province.

‡ The walls of Anjar were remarkably bad, and in most places off the perpendicular: they are not more than one hundred and ten years old.

§ The different towns mentioned do not contain more than 5 or 6000 inhabitants.

sixty gable ends of ruins left standing. The fortifications down, but not so utterly destroyed as those of Thera.

Mothora, a similar place to those described, suffered equally in houses and ramparts, and more in lives than any place of its size. Nulliah, Kotharee, Venjan, and many other towns of the same size and description, suffered nearly in the same manner; but it would be a much easier task to enumerate those that escaped. Among the latter, Mandvee, Moondra, Sandhan, Poonree, Buchao, and Adooee may be recorded as the most fortunate. The total of lives lost, according to the best in-

*formation I have been able to procure, does not exceed

* 101 two thousand : of these,

| | BODIES. |
|-------------------|---------|
| In Bhooj | 1140† |
| In Anjar | 165 |
| In Mothora | 73 |
| In Thera | 65 |
| In Kotharee | 34 |
| In Nulliah | 8 |
| In Mandvee | 45 |
| In Luckput | 13 |

Total... 1543

The rest are chiefly sufferers in villages and small towns, of which no very authentic account can be procured. Many very distressing accidents might be related; but I know of none so much so as that of a whole family of women and children, male and female, to the number of eleven people, the wives and offspring of a Jhareja family of rank in Mothora, being smothered in one room (where they had hastily assembled) by a lofty bastion being precipitated directly upon their apartment. An aged grandfather and one son, I believe, are alone left of the stock. It is remarkable that under the heaviest misfortunes of mankind there is generally some cause for congratulation; and

† Registered and discovered; but upwards of 300 bodies never found in the ruins.

in the case of this calamity, had the accident occurred in the night time, perhaps a third of the population of the province would have been buried in the ruins of their own dwelling-houses.

As far as comes under our notice, the face of nature has not been much altered by the shocks. The hills, which are most likely to show its effects, although from their abruptness and conical or sharp ridgy summits, and from the multitude of half-detached rocks with which they are generally covered, they might have been expected to have displayed strong marks * of the convulsion by which they were agitated, have * 102 in no instance, to my personal knowledge, suffered more than having had large masses of rock and soil detached from their precipices. I have seen none with the cones flattened, or in any remarkable degree altered.

At the moment of the shock vast clouds of dust were seen to ascend from the summits of almost every hill and range of hills. Many gentlemen perceived smoke to ascend, and in some instances fire was plainly seen bursting forth for a moment. A respectable native chieftain† assured me, that from a hill close to one on which his fortress is situated, fire was seen to issue in considerable quantities. A ball of a large size was vomited as it were into the air, and fell to the ground, still blazing, on the plain below; where it divided into four or five pieces, and the fire suddenly disappeared. On examining the hill next day (the chieftain stated), it was found rent and shattered, as if something within had sunk, and the spot where the fire-ball was supposed to have fallen bore marks of fire in the scorched vegetation. In the neighbourhood of Murr, where alum is made, and where an entire hill is formed of a bituminous earth‡, fire is stated by the inhabitants to have issued to an alarming extent. The Government Agent on the spot reported the circumstance, and that the hill had been shattered, and rent

† Jharejah Vijerajee of Roha : which place is twenty-six miles W. of Bhooj.

‡ I have the pleasure to send a specimen of this earth to the Society. It is burnt as an incense by the Rajpoots, and those who worship the goddess Aashapoorra.

into ravines: the height was likewise asserted to have been obviously reduced.†

The rivers in Cutch are generally dry (excepting in the monsoon), or have very little water in them. Native accounts seem to confirm the fact of almost the whole of their beds having been filled to their banks for a period of a few minutes, and, according to some, for half an hour. They are said to have subsided gradually. I was not in the way of observing this part of the phenomenon, but have no reason to doubt it. Two chief-

*tains were sent by me to settle a dispute among the
*103 Sandhan Bhyaut; and, as they travelled in a rush, they knew nothing of the shock. After it was dusk they reached the Sandhan river, in which, to their utter astonishment, they found a strong stream from bank to bank; nor did they learn the cause till they reached the town. It is remarked that rivers in the valleys, and those with sandy beds, were alone affected. Wells everywhere overflowed, many gave way and fell in, and in numerous places spots of ground in circles of from twelve to twenty feet diameter threw out water to a considerable height, and subsided into a slough. I saw none of these actually forming, but frequently met with them in their sloughy state. The colour of the waters sent forth gave great alarm to the natives, many of whom affirmed that the rivers had run in blood, doubtless from the colour of the soil through which they had been forced.

This convulsion of nature has affected the eastern and almost deserted channel of the river Indus, which bounds Cutch to the westward, and the Runn or desert, and swamp called the Bhunnee, which insulates this province on the north, in a more remarkable manner than it has any other part of the country. I myself have seen this branch of the Indus forded at Luckput, with water for a few hundred yards about a foot deep. This was when the tide was at ebb; and when at flood the depth of

† A letter from my friend Captain Elwood states, that an appearance of fire was perceived by him near Poorbunder; and the earth on examination proved to be scorched, and to bear marks of fire.

the channel was never more than six feet, and about eighty or one hundred yards in breadth; the rest of the channel at flood-tide was not covered in any place with more than one or two feet of water. This branch of the river Indus, or, as it may now with more propriety be termed, inlet of the sea,† has since the earthquake deepened at the ford of Luckput to more than eighteen feet at low water; and on sounding the channel, it has been found to contain from four to twenty feet from the Cutch to the Sindh shore, a distance of three or four miles. The Alli bund has been damaged; a circumstance that has readmitted of a navigation which had been closed for centuries. The goods of Sindh are embarked in craft near Rubema Bazar and Kanjee Kacote; and which, sailing across the *Bhunnee and Runn, land their cargoes at a town *104 called Nurra, on the north of Cutch. The Runn, which extends from Luckput round the north of this province to its eastern boundary, is fordable but at one spot at this period of the year, at which it has heretofore been dry; and should the water continue throughout the year, we may perhaps see an inland navigation along the northern shore of Cutch: which, from stone anchors, &c. still to be seen, and the tradition of the country, I believe to have existed at some former period.

Sindree, a small mud fort and village belonging to the Cutch Government, situated where the Runn joins the branch of the Indus, was overflowed at the time of the shock. The people escaped with difficulty, and the tops of the town wall are now alone to be seen above the water. The fate of Sindree was owing to its situation, for there cannot be a doubt of all the Runn land having during the shock sent forth vast quantities of water and mud. The natives described a number of small cones of sand six or eight feet in height, the summits of which continued to bubble for many days after the 16th.

The sea must have been affected by the motion of the earth; but nothing material or positive has been discovered on this part of the subject.

† It is many years since the eastern branch of the Indus has been almost deserted by the waters of the river.

Although the appearance of the country in Cutch bespeaks that it has suffered at some period from convulsions of nature; and although there are strong signs of volcanic matter thickly scattered over its surface, still there does not exist even a tradition of an earthquake† of any violence having occurred. The natives, therefore, were perfect strangers to such a phenomenon, and were terrified in proportion to their ignorance. The instantaneous and firm belief adopted by all sects and descriptions was, that the world was at its end; and their minds were impressed accordingly.‡ After the first alarm had subsided, advantage began to be * taken of the circumstance. The

* 105 Brahmins enjoined charity to the Hindoos; and placards were issued from unknown quarters foretelling misfortunes to those who did not feed their priests; or who persevered in sin. One of these papers was stated to have come from Kasse (Benares); and, as it had a remarkable effect upon all classes of Hindoos, I am induced to submit a verbal translation of it.

"A letter has been received in the name of Shri Ramjee. It has come from Kassi Benares. In the middle of this Iron Age, the Golden Age will make its appearance: Shri Bhuddajee will appear. Of the iron age have elapsed 4912 years§; and after Sumvut 1876 (A.D. 1819) the golden age will last 13,033 years. On the 5th Asonsood (or 24th September 1819), after twenty-two ghurries of the night have elapsed, at that moment will Bhuddajee appear, and the golden age commence. The earth will shake for seven ghurries and thirty pulls. The earth will open: then will false and uncharitable people be swallowed up. They who are charitable and religious, depend upon Bhugwan, give alms, do virtuous actions, and fear bad

† The slight shocks felt of late years in Guzerat were also experienced in this province.

‡ A few minutes after the shock, I walked through the streets of Anjar, which were crowded with people sitting on the ruins of their houses and shops which had fallen into the road. They appeared to me to be in a state little short of mental derangement; and to a question put, the only answer to be got was "*Ram Krushna*," which they repeated constantly and loudly, apparently unconscious of what they were saying.

§ This appears to be a mistake, as 4920 years have elapsed.

actions,—these will be saved. The golden age will last 18,033 years : the age of man will be 250 years. There will be universal friendship and peace. Every month will consist of forty-five days ; every day consist of ninety ghurries. There will be thirty-six mansions of the moon : there will be twelve planets : there will be fifteen signs in the zodiac. At night, when thirteen ghurries remain, then will the golden age commence : Bhuddajee will appear. This event has been extracted from the Vedas after much study. From the Shri Bhud Maha Grunth, after intense study, has it been extracted. Whosoever reads, hears, or causes to be heard, copies, or spreads abroad this letter, will be fortunate. Believe in it, for he who denies its truth kills a Brahmin or a cow. He who has not faith will be damned : he who believes will be * saved, he will be happy, he will attain to the presence of Bhugwan. * 106 Shri Krushan Damotherjee is truth."

This paper was written in the Bridge Bhakha dialect, and Balbood character. At the hour appointed in it for the destruction of sinners, almost every Hindoo of respectability purified himself, and sat with the toolsi leaf in his mouth, patiently expecting a fate which he had endeavoured to evade by liberal donations to Brahmins.†

The Moosulmans were equally alarmed, and abundance of threats of punishment to the wicked were fulminated from the musjeeds ; and a paper asserted to have come from Mecca, with the usual seals attached, foretold the approach of the day of judgment. The Moolahs and mendicant Syeds stated the cause of the earthquake to be, that the horse *Dooldool* was pawing for his food, and strict injunctions were issued to all good Mahomedans to send a certain quantity of grain and grass to the Moolahs, &c. to satisfy Dooldool, which supplies were appropriated to the pious Moolahs' own private emolument.

The Hindoos attributed the earth's motion to a quarrel

† Even the Banians are said to have sold their goods at just rates and with fair weights for some time previously to the dreaded day. A circumstance so extraordinary, as honesty in a Banian retailer, is certain proof of the impression which the prophecy had made on his mind.

among the Dyets and Dewas, and fabricated the most ludicrous stories on the subject. Prophets sprung up from all classes, castes, and sects: some asserted that they had foretold the calamity which had occurred; others boldly pointed out the hour and moment at which still more calamitous events were to happen; and in short there was a superabundant display of every thing absurd or extravagant that could be advanced by ignorance and presumption, deceit and superstition.

It may be remarked that the monsoon commenced about the 11th of July in some places of the province, and later in others. The memory of any person living can furnish no example of so severe a season. The rain in the western parts of Cutch fell in such torrents for hours successively,

* that, combined with occasional shocks of the earthquake, it excited the most alarming fears in the minds of the inhabitants. To the eastward we had it less severe, though equally constant; and were I to say that for two months we never had a day without some rain, I believe I should not be exaggerating. In consequence, the crops have either failed, or could never be sown; and grain is now selling at the rate at which it sold in Cutch in the famine of 1812-13. We have always much thunder and lightning in Cutch during the monsoon, this season I think more than common; and the heavy clouds, which for a period of three months never ceased to travel close to the earth from the S.W., obscured the sun for many days successively. We had also a storm of wind from the westward, which amounted to a hurricane in the western parts of Cutch. These occasionally have happened before, and are called by the natives *hoowah*.

Such are the details of the circumstances attending the earthquake of 1819. I have much reason to solicit the pardon of the Society for having descended to such trifling particulars; and the only apology I have to offer, is the circumstance of such a phenomenon having so seldom occurred in India with similar violence.

(Signed) J. MACMURDO,

Captain, 7th Regt. N.I.

Camp at Bhooj, 27th January 1820.

*Extracts from Letters of CAPTAIN BALLANTYNE, Agent in Kattiwar
for His Highness the Guicwar, concerning the Earthquake.*

Letter addressed to Lieut.-Col. BARCLAY.

Jooria, June 17th, 1819.

WE have had a complete earthquake since yesterday evening at half-past seven o'clock. The shocks have been numerous and severe, and the tremulous sensation does not yet cease.

* The whole town is literally a ruin: the works are shaken from the foundation, and in many places thrown * 108 down. The old tower, which I had given up to Dr. Roy, is a complete ruin: the roof falling in, crushed all his things, and it is almost miraculous that we happened to be out. My sitting bungalow and sleeping apartments are one shattered ruin.

The Dewanjee has quitted the town, and lives outside, it being really not safe remaining in buildings so much injured as those here are.

Letter addressed to Mr. WILLIAMS.

Jooria, June 18th, 1819.

Yesterday morning we went out to the westward of the town to see some rents which had been caused by the earthquake in the fields there. The earth separating, had in some places emitted water and fire. On examining the different rents, we found them to be of various extent, from an inch to a foot in breadth; the depth, however, in all of them was considerable, being to 10, 15, and 20 feet. In some places a black sandy and gravelly soil had been thrown out; in others, a black wet earth.

The shocks during the night of the 16th were frequent, but not very severe, and the tremulous motion of the earth scarcely ceased.

On the morning of the 17th the weather was close, and the

tremulous motion continued in a very sensible and disagreeable degree: about 10 A.M. a distinct and severe shock was felt, but it did not last long.

We have had no rain, thunder, or lightning for these six or eight days. The thermometer has ranged from 86 to 90 and 92 degrees. We had remarked on the 18th that the thermometer had risen two degrees.

The dreadful noise accompanying the earthquake was of a rumbling kind, and resembled sometimes that produced by the quick motion of wheeled carriages, and sometimes of a distant cannonade.

It is now between five and six o'clock (morning of the 18th): I have felt the motion frequently during the night, and am anxious as to what * may yet happen. The morning is * 109 close, and appearances unfavourable. My table and chair are at this moment shaking under me.

We have already had accounts of this earthquake's having been severely felt and committing great havoc at Nowanuggur, Zoonā-bunder, Moorvee, Tunkaria, Dhewrole, Amrun, &c. ; at the last place much of the fort has been thrown down ; and eight or ten persons have been killed, besides many horses and cattle.

P.S. June 19th, another considerable shock has been felt ; the weather is unusually hot, and appearances unfavourable.

To GEORGE OGILVY, Esq., *Secretary to the Medical Board,*
Bombay.

SIR,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the Medical Board, all the circumstances which have come to my knowledge regarding the earthquake which took place in Cutch on the 16th instant ; and which, if we take into consideration the severity of the shock, and the damage sustained within the range of its operation, has seldom been equalled in modern times. This subject, I am aware, is but little connected with medical science ; but as forming by far the most interesting and awful part of the natural history of the globe, I

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have no doubt every thing relating to it will be acceptable to the Board.

Different from what has generally been observed in the greater number of severe earthquakes, nothing in this previously occurred, in the state of the atmosphere or otherwise, to indicate the probability of any unusual phenomenon taking place. The months of March and April were extremely hot and oppressive ; but during May the weather became milder, and remained much the same as it generally is in that month. About the second or third of June, at night, there was a severe squall of thunder and rain, which lasted for about an hour and a half. After this the temperature of the air became mild and agreeable ; and till the very moment that the * 110 earthquake took place, nothing could be observed to indicate even the smallest change in the weather, far less the approach of such a dreadful convulsion.

The first and great shock took place a few minutes before seven o'clock in the evening of the 16th, and the general opinion is that it lasted nearly two minutes. The motion of the earth during this period was most awful and alarming, giving to most people the feeling as if it was about to open and swallow every thing up. In this short space the town of Bhooj, nearly three miles in circumference, became almost a heap of ruins ; most of the houses were thrown down, and the greater part of the ramparts and towers, with the guns, were precipitated into the ditch. Nothing was seen by those at a distance but a thick cloud of dust. The same occurred in a greater or less degree in every town and fort from the eastern extremity of Wagur to Luckput on the Indus ; and even the smallest villages have been levelled with the ground.

The shock appeared to increase in violence as it continued, and suddenly to stop, leaving a kind of tremor ; some people said it was preceded by a noise like thunder or the rattling of a number of carriages, but this was not generally observed. Difference of opinion also exists as to the kind of motion that took place : some people considering it was undulatory, others as a kind of tremor, and others again as coming directly up-

wards. The last kind of motion appeared to me very evident, though being at the time surrounded by houses and walls falling in every direction, I might not be so well able to judge. I felt as if the force was acting directly where I stood, and as if the earth was making an effort to burst immediately under my feet. People appear to differ as much as to the quarter from which the shock came; nor is it to be ascertained from any general direction in which the walls of the towns or houses have fallen: they appear to have tumbled in every direction indiscriminately, and frequently one half of the same wall has fallen on one side, and the other half on the other.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, in no place has the surface of * the earth suffered any important alteration
* 111 from the shock. There are reports of fire having issued from hills to the westward of Bhooj, but I do not think they will be found correct. On the 17th I travelled between Bhooj and Anjar, a distance of twenty-seven miles, and part of the road through hills: and though I looked carefully in every direction, I could perceive no recent changes. In the bunds of tanks and the steep banks of ravines, small rents could be perceived: in the hard rocky soil which forms the general surface of the country, no alteration was to be seen. After the shock several dry rivers became filled with water, which afterwards gradually subsided. About Anjar the water in the wells became of a milky colour, but was not altered in taste.

With respect to the places affected by the shock, Anjar and Bhooj appear to have suffered much more than any other I have yet heard of; in the former nearly 200 dead bodies have been dug out of the ruins, and in the latter 1000 are supposed to have perished, besides numbers in both towns miserably maimed. It would be impossible even to guess at the number of victims throughout the country: it will be sufficient to remark that not only in large towns the fatal effects of the shock have been felt, but even in the smallest villages some lives have been lost. In Anjar the effects of the shock appear to have been greatly modified by difference of situation; the quarter of the town towards the east, and which is the lowest,

has been reduced to one mass of ruins. Neither street nor lane is to be discovered, and literally there is not one stone remaining on the top of another: the town wall on this side has suffered in an equal degree. The other part of the town, with the wall, though dreadfully shattered, does not appear to have suffered one-tenth part of the injury. This must be accounted for from the lower part being situated at a considerable distance from the rock, upon a bed of white aluminous earth, while in the higher part the foundations of the houses are situated immediately upon the rock. It could not be owing to the shock being more severe in that particular place; as, extending over such a considerable tract of country, its force could not have differed in such a small space.

Since the 16th constant shocks have been felt, perhaps all together *nearly thirty in number. The weather continues much the same as might be expected at this * 112 season. The wind is very variable: heavy squalls are suddenly succeeded by dead calms. The atmosphere is cloudy, with a hazy horizon. There is nothing peculiar in the appearance of the sun at rising or setting; only one meteor (a ball of fire) has been observed since the occurrence of the earthquake, and that was on the night on which the first shock took place.

I have to apologize for the unconnected manner in which the above account is detailed; but the mind cannot be quite at ease in the midst of so much desolation, and while the awful phenomenon that produced it is still in some degree impending. Should any thing additional worth reporting come to my knowledge, I shall immediately communicate it to the Board.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES M'ADAM,
Assistant-Surgeon.

Anjar, 29th June, 1819.

P.S. I had no opportunity of forwarding the above letter till to-day. Shocks still continue to be felt, and there was a very smart one yesterday evening. The earthquake appears to have been felt all over Kattiwar, and as far east as Kaira and Baroda ; also at Radhunpoor, and I believe in Sind. Cutch, from all accounts, appears to have been the centre of its operations, and especially the western part of it. Moondra and Mandavi, two large towns on the sea-coast, have suffered in comparatively a trifling degree ; but the inland towns and forts towards the Indus have been almost completely destroyed. There has been a heavy fall of rain at this place, and the weather continues cool and pleasant.

(True copy)

(Signed) GEORGE OGILVY,
Secy. Medical Board.

* 113 , * *Copy of a Letter from Captain Elwood.*

Poorbunder, June 7th, 1819.

WE yesterday evening experienced in this fort and city one of the most awful scenes in nature, that of a violent and destructive shock from an earthquake.

The weather was close and sultry : the thermometer ranged at 86° at sunset, and a light air, scarcely perceptible, was sometimes felt from the southward. An officer and myself were taking an evening walk on the ramparts of the fort, and had gone nearly all round, when, at 40 minutes past six, we observed to each other how excessively close and oppressive the atmosphere was ; and five minutes after, I heard a distant sound not unlike that of a cannonade at sea. A thought had scarcely passed the mind as to what could give rise to the sound, when I felt a violent shock beneath my feet, and instantly exclaimed, "An earthquake !" Looking at the same time forwards, I saw the stone parapet at two yards' distance violently agitated by a quick, short, wave-like motion, bending in and out with the greatest pliability, and with the vibration of about a foot, and attended with an incessant hissing cracking noise. I thought

it impossible that the works could stand, and expecting their immediate fall, I instantly determined on descending as quickly as possible; but, as the rampart was a perpendicular height of masonry of about 20 feet, I was obliged to run back towards the nearest ramp, which was a flight of stone steps at some distance. The officer I was walking with followed; and as we passed along at a quick rate, the sensation felt was similar to that dangerous and disagreeable one of running along an elevated and elastic plank, the ends alone of which are supported. I every instant expected to fall with the works, or to be precipitated from them; but, reaching the steps, ran down as fast as I could, each lower step apparently meeting the descending foot (which I really believe was the case, as the whole flight of steps was violently agitated).

While passing down, I expected to be overwhelmed by the works, which were touching my right shoulder, and above my head.

* Although the rampart and parapet are about twelve feet thick, and twenty-five feet in height, yet this wall of * 114 masonry waved to and fro.

Fortunately the steps were broad; had they been narrow, as is frequently the case, so great was their agitation that it is doubtful if we should have got down without being thrown over the side. Arrived at the bottom of the ramp, we did not cease running until we had got to a sufficient distance from the works to prevent their falling on us. On halting, we were surprised to find that the works had not fallen after so extraordinary an undulating motion.

On reaching a place of comparative safety, for there was no place absolutely safe, the attention was attracted by a vast cloud of black dust arising at about three hundred yards' distance, and from the sea face of the fort, which ran at right angles with the one we had quitted. The danger being past, my curiosity became excited; and approaching the cloud of dust, I found it to be occasioned by the fall of towers and of large portions of the curtain, leaving several breaches, some forty and some sixty yards wide. This devastation extended

for five hundred yards, and over a part of the fort which I had been walking on not five minutes before.

I do not imagine that a twenty-four hours' fire from ten pieces of heavy ordnance could have produced so extensive a destruction as was thus effected in the space of a minute and a half. We conjectured that the awful shock had not lasted more than that short period. Short as it was, it was powerful enough to destroy the work of ages.

We now directed our attention towards home, and the first occurrence that was met with near it, was the horsekeepers, with the horses in their hands, standing in the open air; having been apprehensive, as they said, that the stables would have fallen and killed the horses.

On entering the house, my servant informed me, that while making my bed in one of the upper apartments he had been thrown down on the floor, and that before he could make his escape he was thrown down a second time.

A gentleman and lady, on hearing all the tiles of their house in mo*tion, and crackling as if in a fire, and observing
* 115 the whole of their furniture shaking, immediately got down stairs into the open air. The gentleman informed me, that although his stairs were broad and built of very solid masonry, such was the agitation they were thrown into by the earthquake, that he experienced much difficulty in descending.

An officer's house, a very substantial stone building about forty feet high, which stands by itself, appears to have been affected by the shock more than the other houses. The sepoys describe it as having rocked from side to side as a tree in a high wind. On examination, so many rents were found in the walls that it was deemed inadvisable to sleep under its roof.

I believe there are few houses throughout this large city which are not more or less injured. Some have fallen so as to block up the streets in which they were situated.

The rajah and the principal inhabitants are now encamped outside; which they prefer to trusting themselves in their own houses, the fall of which would prove very destructive, as they

are made of a thick terrace supported by stone or weighty timber.

The earth opened, and water issued from the cavity, in a plain fourteen miles hence.

The atmosphere to-day has been impregnated with a strong smell of sulphur ; and between 10 A.M. and 2 P.M. there were several other shocks, which brought down some old houses : but these shocks were not to be compared with yesterday's awful phenomenon.

It was observed that all animals were much frightened : the dogs lay down on their bellies and would not be moved.

The earthquake in the interior appears to have been less violent than near the sea-shore.

I am this moment informed that fifty men have been killed by the fall of walls at Mangarole, which is distant hence 80 miles in a S.E. direction.

** Copy of a Letter addressed to Captain KENNEDY. * 116*

Camp, Sirdas, June 17th, 1819.

SIR,

Being a Member of the Literary Society, I deem it a kind of duty that attaches to me, to record, for the information of the Society, any fact or circumstance of considerable interest which may fall under my observation connected with the objects of the Society.

In these sentiments, I now have to mention the occurrence of the shock of an earthquake here yesterday evening. It occurred about seven o'clock. It was such as to alarm every one who felt it. The earth under us seemed to rise and fall very considerably ; so considerably, indeed, that I myself could not stand steadily. Every one who felt it became in some degree giddy. It was not felt by any one who was on horseback ; and this was the case with several of our officers. Every one, however, who was on the ground felt it to be very alarming.

The duration of it was not measured by any one, but I think it lasted about two minutes. It was at first slight, and towards its termination the motion became less and less violent.

We have had no accounts of it from neighbouring towns ; so that I am led to suppose it has not been so violent as to do much mischief in other places.

This country, Kattiwar, is rocky and rugged. The rock is of the trap kind, containing great quantities of agate and crystallized quartz.

I have observed nothing of a volcanic nature, unless the trap be considered such.

I now have the honour to remain, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

(Signed) G. A. STUART,

Assistant Surgeon, 1st Light Cavalry.

[NOTE.—Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society give information about earthquakes at the following places [Roman figures denote volumes, the Arabic the pages]:—Aboo, XVII. 297 ; Ahmedabad, XVII. 291 ; Bengal, X. 144, XIV. Appendix, 28 ; Bhooj, XVII. 292 ; Bombay, X. 145 ; Broach, XVII. 292 ; Calcutta, X. 145 ; Cape of Good Hope, XIII. Appendix, 13 ; Chittagong, X. 147 ; Corfu, XIII. Appendix, 12 ; Cutch (Kutch), X. 152, XVII. 291, 297, 298 ; Dhollera, XVII. 296 ; Erzeroum, XV. 70 ; Goozerat, X. 152, XVII. 295 ; Kattywar, XVII. 296 ; Lahore, XIV. Appendix, 28 ; the Levant, XIII. 9 ; Malta, XIII. Appx. 11 ; Moluccas, XIII. 15 ; Sindh, X. 234, 236 ; XVI. 22 ; Travancore, XIII. Appx. 7 ; Mr. D. J. Kennelly's paper (XVII. 288) gives a variety of information on earthquakes up to 1864. The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains valuable papers by Lieut. R. Baird Smith and others on the subject : *vide* vol. XI. 242 (N. W. Frontier) ; vol. I. 34 (Lahore) ; vol. II. 438, 564, 636 (Nepal) ; vol. XII. 741 ; *id.* 257, and vol. XIII. 964, 1029, Memoir on Indian Earthquakes ; vol. XIV. 604, Register of Indian and Asiatic ; vol. XII. 907 and XVIII. 173, Assam ; see also Journal Madras Literary Society, vol. VI. 246 (Ganjam) ; the Asiatic Journal also may be referred to : 1820, vol. IX. 384 ; X. 435 ; XIII. 201, 293 ; XVIII. 488 ; Lyell's Principles of Geology (2 vols., 11th ed., London, 1872), vol. II., pp. 80 to 245. The earthquake in Kutch is described at pp. 98 to 104, and one in the island of Sumbawa at pp. 104 to 106 (see article IV., vol. II., reprint, pp. 109—112). Sir C. Lyell discusses the intimate relation of the forces which cause earthquakes and volcanoes (chapters XXXII. and XXXIII.), and sums up his conclusions at pp. 242 to 245.—ED.]

REMARKS ON THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CHAPTERS
OF MILL'S "HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA,"

RESPECTING THE RELIGION AND MANNERS OF THE HINDUS.

By Major VANS KENNEDY.

Read 29th February, 1820.

It will, no doubt, be considered presumptuous in any person resident in India, if he attempt to call in question any of the dogmatical assertions contained in Mr. Mill's work, after the authorities of Lord Teignmouth, Lord William Bentinck, and Sir Henry Strachey, have been so triumphantly adduced to prove that "the situation of Europeans in India is such as to preclude them from the acquisition of local knowledge." But had Mr. Mill more deliberately weighed and considered the different authorities to which he was obliged to have recourse, it would have probably preserved him from many errors contained in his voluminous history. And had he possessed a personal knowledge of India, it would have at least prevented him from understanding the opinions just alluded to in the very unqualified manner which he seems to have done. The remarks of Lord Teignmouth, quoted in Mr. Mill's Preface, apply principally if not entirely to the most intricate of all subjects, the finances and revenues of a strange country; and those of Sir H. Strachey, to the difficulty of performing correctly the duties required of judges and magistrates. It is, therefore, the opinion of Lord W. Bentinck only which can be considered as generally applicable; and it is on this account, I suppose, that it has been so frequently quoted. There are, however, very obvious reasons which it is unnecessary to particularize, that must detract greatly from its authority†, were it even otherwise *118 entitled to that attention with which it *has been

† It was given after the mutiny at Vellore.

received. But to this authority there are two self-evident objections: the one, that of all persons a governor unacquainted with the native languages is the least likely to acquire any knowledge of the customs and manners of the Hindus; and without this previous qualification, it is obvious that he cannot be a competent judge of the knowledge which others may possess on these subjects. The other, that Lord W. Bentinck's observation was confined exclusively to Madras. It is, however, the reasons assigned by Lord W. Bentinck for his opinion that deserve particular notice; and these are,—That Europeans in India understand very imperfectly the language; that they do not associate with the natives; that they are necessarily very much confined to their houses; that all their wants and business are done for them, and that in fact they are strangers in the land: at the same time His Lordship admits, that they are all acquainted with some prominent marks and facts. It will hence be evident, that from premises so indistinctly defined, and in some degree inconsistent in themselves, no just conclusion can be deduced. It is not, perhaps, correct to animadvert on a mere summary, without being aware of the whole train of reasoning from which it was formed. But those who quote His Lordship's opinion, and hence infer the local ignorance of their fellow-countrymen in India, are in the same predicament; and if they conceived that there was any defect in the argument, it was incumbent on them to supply it. I may therefore be allowed to ask, What is the nature of that local knowledge which is to be derived from an acquaintance with the domestic habits and ceremonies of the natives, and with their manner of thinking? and in what respect does it differ from those prominent marks and facts with which all persons resident in India are acquainted? From the importance which is attached to the first of these circumstances, it might be supposed that the natives lived in a state of mysterious seclusion into which the eye of an European durst not penetrate. But had Mr. Mill resided in India, he would have found that the life of a Hindu is passed in a manner so completely exposed to observation, that it is impossible for an officer or a collector, possessed of the slightest attention, to mistake what

is continually * occurring before his eyes. Nor does it require much investigation or inquiry to ascertain such * 119 peculiarities as are not so open to notice. At the same time let it be admitted for a moment, that Europeans resident in India are unacquainted with the manner in which the natives prepare their meals, arrange their dwellings, conduct their domestic concerns, or familiarly associate with each other, what utility, what advantage could possibly result from such knowledge? As long as we retain the rank of masters and have only to command, all that can be requisite is a conversancy with the prominent religious tenets and prejudices of the natives: were we, indeed, to descend from that high station, and to live with them as equals, when every object must be attained by persuasion, intrigue, or ability, it might then be necessary that we should become intimate with their domestic habits, and with every feeling and passion of their hearts.

But the real question is, how far an opinion may be correct which is formed from an observation of the Hindus in the usual occurrences of life, without an acquaintance with every minute circumstance which may occupy their attention when retired to the privacy of their houses. From Mr. Mill's remarks and quotations in the preface of his work, it might be concluded that he thought that no such opinion could be correct. But in the course of his work, and particularly in the 6th and 7th chapters, he argues at great length, and dogmatically condemns the Hindus on information collected from no other source. For, as he himself never was in India, he must necessarily derive all his materials from those very "Europeans whose situation is such as to preclude them from acquiring local knowledge." He however assures us, that he has not given for true the opinion of any man, till he had satisfied himself that it was true; still less the opinion of any man for true, when he had satisfied himself that it was not true. In this, it will be admitted, consisted the particular difficulty of his undertaking; for, although it may be conceded that a personal knowledge of India was not necessary to enable an author to compose a narration of the historical events which had occurred

in it, still personal observation seems indispensable for forming a correct judgment on the * customs, manners, and * 120 religious prejudices of any people. Nor could such observation be ever more necessary than with regard to India; as all the accounts hitherto given of the Hindus may be divided into two kinds, which are so diametrically opposite to each other, that it is impossible they can both be true, although they may both perhaps be incorrect. By what means, then, Mr. Mill has satisfied himself, amidst these conflicting opinions, that the authority of one writer ought to be received in preference to that of another, remains a mystery to his readers. Nor does he even, as is generally the custom with authors, arrange the opposing arguments and statements in regular order, and then draw the conclusion; but, like a practised advocate, he carefully passes over all such as oppose the system which he has adopted, and a reader might rise from the perusal of his history without being aware that much had been written in favour of these very Hindus, whom Mr. Mill represents as the most degraded and most detestable of men.

Before, however, I enter particularly into the subject of this paper, there is one general remark which seems to deserve notice. I allude to the mistake, into which Mr. Mill and other writers have frequently fallen, of ascribing to all the Hindus some particular custom which is observed only by some particular caste, or subdivision of caste; and of stating circumstances to be of general and universal occurrence, which are merely partial and occasional. The ignorant resident in India will not be a little surprised by receiving the following information from Mr. Mill: "The mode of transacting bargains among the Hindus is sufficiently peculiar to deserve description. The buyer and seller seat themselves opposite to one another, and, covering their hands with a cloth, perform all the most subtle artifices of chaffering without uttering a word, by means of certain touches and signals of the fingers, which they mutually understand." This is given as a description of the usual and general mode of transacting bargains among the Hindus! In another place he states: "So much of the entire business of life among the Hin-

thus consists in religious services, that the delineation of their religion affords an illustration of the *principal* branch of their national manners ;" * and thus transfers to the whole people what is strictly true with regard to the Brahmins * 121 alone ; for neither Greek nor Roman was less devoted to religious ceremonies and observances than the Hindu, unless the latter term be applied to the precautions requisite for the due preservation of caste, which ought more properly to be considered as a civil than a religious institution.† To avoid this error in writing on the subject of India is extremely difficult, as it can only be prevented by a very extensive and accurate knowledge of this vast country, which abounds in local customs and usages.‡ But it is at the same time evident, that unless all such particularities are clearly distinguished, it will be impossible to form any correct judgment on the real general character of the Hindus.

It will now be necessary, in order to render the following remarks better understood, to quote a few passages from the 7th chapter of Mr. Mill's works :—

"In Hindustan they (the lower orders) are degraded infinitely below the brutes.

"A state of dependence more strict and humiliating than that which is ordained for the weaker sex among the Hindus cannot be easily conceived.

"Nothing can exceed that habitual contempt which the Hindus entertain for their women.

"The Hindus are full of dissimulation and falsehood, the usual concomitants of oppression. The vices of falsehood, indeed, they carry to a height almost unexampled,—if we except

† "Persons breaking the rules of the caste were formerly punished by the Hindu kings."—Ward's *History, &c. of the Hindus*, vol. i., p. 111.

‡ "In general it may be remarked that, in addition to those customs and ceremonies, civil and religious, which are constant and invariable, and unite the whole race in things essential, there is no tribe that does not exhibit some particular and local varieties of its own by which it is discriminated from the rest."—"There are likewise certain usages, purely religious, which are observed only by particular castes or in particular territories."—Dubois's *People of India*, pp. 4, 5.

their neighbours the Chinese,—among the other races of men. Judicial perjury is more than common : it is almost universal.”

* “ This feeble circumstance (the terror of killing even an * 122 insect), however, is counteracted by so many gloomy and malignant principles, that their religion, instead of humanizing the character, must have had no inconsiderable effect in fostering that disposition to revenge, that insensibility to the sufferings of others, and often that active cruelty which lurks under the smiling exterior of the Hindus. For they (the superior castes) hold those that are born their inferiors as beings below even the most worthless animals. They take away the life of a man with less scruple than we kill a fowl.”—This is a quotation ; but as it is placed in the text, I presume that it is intended to express Mr. Mill’s own opinion, particularly as it follows the preceding passage in the same paragraph.

“ The Hindus are notorious for their inhospitality.

“ The cool reflection which attends the villainy of the Hindus has often surprised the European.

“ Notwithstanding the degree to which the furious passions enter into the character of the Hindu, all witnesses agree in representing him as a timid being.

“ As often as courage fails them (the Hindus) in seeking a more daring gratification to their hatred or revenge, their malignity finds a vent in the channel of litigation.

“ His (the Hindu’s) food consists almost entirely of rice ; and his drink is nothing but water, while his demands are satisfied with a pittance which appears extreme to the people of almost every part of the world.

“ ‘ It is more happy to be seated than to walk ; it is more happy to be asleep than awake : but the happiest of all is death.’ Such is one of the favourite sayings most frequently in the mouths of this listless tribe ; and most descriptive of their habitual propensities.

“ It is curious that avarice forms a more remarkable ingredient in the national character of the Hindus than in that of any other people.

“ The mode of transacting bargains among the Hindus is

sufficiently peculiar to deserve description. By a refinement of the cunning and deceitful temper of a rude people, the business is performed secretly and by signs.

* "Few nations are surpassed by the Hindus in the total want of cleanliness in their streets, houses, and * 123 persons."

In support of these opinions is added an Appendix ; which is placed in the body of the work, and to which Mr. Mill assures us more than usual attention is due. A few extracts from this must be subjoined, as it forms an integral part of Mr. Mill's History :

"The lower classes are in general profligate and depraved. There is no species of fraud or villainy the higher classes will not be guilty of ; and to these crimes in the lower classes may be added murder, robbery, theft, wounding, &c. on the slightest occasion.

"They (the Bengalese) want truth, honesty, and good faith, in an extreme of which European society furnishes no example.

"There exists a general depravity among the Brahmins, and among the lower orders a total want of moral and religious principle.

"A man must be long acquainted with them before he can believe them capable of that barefaced falsehood, servile adulation, and deliberate deception, which they daily practise.

"Filial and parental affection are equally deficient among them (the Hindus) ; and in the conjugal relation the characteristic indifference of the people is also discernible.

"The testimonies" (from which the preceding are extracted), observes Mr. Mill, "which have been last quoted relate to the inhabitants of Bengal. Testimonies in abundance might be adduced to the same character in other parts of India."

From the preceding extracts, therefore, it appears that Mr. Mill is of opinion that the superior castes in India are generally depraved, and capable of every fraud and villainy ; and that they more than despise their inferiors, whom they kill with less scruple than we do a fowl. That the inferior castes are profligate and depraved, guilty on the slightest occasion of the

greatest crimes, and degraded infinitely below the brutes ; and that the Hindus in general are a rude people, devoid of every moral and religious principle ; of a cunning and deceitful temper ; universally addicted * to adulation, dissimulation, deception, dishonesty, falsehood, and perjury ; disposed to hatred, revenge, and cruelty ; indulging in furious and malignant passions, that are fostered by the gloomy and malignant principles of their religion ; perpetrating villany with such cool reflection as surprises Europeans ; so indolent as to think death the happiest of all states ; avaricious, litigious, insensible to the sufferings of others, inhospitable, habitually contemptuous and harsh to their women, whom they treat as slaves, and “ eminently devoid ” of filial, parental, and conjugal affection.

Such is the picture of the Hindus drawn by Mr. Mill ; into which he has not introduced a single brightening tint to relieve the dark shades of his gloomy pencil. But were such a picture exhibited of even an unknown country, would not every beholder involuntarily hesitate, and refuse his belief to the possibility of its being the true representation of any actually existing original ? That man, even in the most advanced state of civilization, is agitated by the most violent passions, and capable of perpetrating the most atrocious crimes, cannot be denied ; but it is morally impossible that any society of men could exist, in any stage of civilization, among whom such vices and such passions as are above described were universally prevalent, unredeemed and unrestrained by a single amiable quality, or a single virtue. Rend asunder the ties which unite husband and wife, parent and child ; banish faith, honesty, and truth ; and be the indulgence of every furious and malignant passion fostered and sanctioned by religion ; and then by what bonds, by what relations, can society be maintained ? Amongst all the long and elaborate arguments deduced from what he considers as indisputable principles, it is rather singular that Mr. Mill never extended his view to the principles by which alone society can either be formed or preserved. Had these occurred to him, they would probably have led him to suspect the correctness of the opinion which he entertained with regard to the Hindus ; and, if not to

admit all the good qualities which have been ascribed to them by several writers, at least to modify in some degree his own assertions, which are in their present shape much too dogmatic *and positive, and perfectly irreconcilable with any state of society which can exist amongst even the most *125 degraded of men.

But when so unqualified a censure is passed on a whole people by one who possesses no personal knowledge respecting them, it is a natural subject of curiosity to ascertain the means by which the author supplied a defect that ought, as many may think, to have prevented him from giving any opinion whatever on the subject. This, however, as I have before observed, Mr. Mill does not explain, and all information therefore on this point must be gained from the notes subjoined to this chapter: in them I observe the names of Bartolomeo, Buchanan, Forster, Tennant, Sonnerat, Le Couteur, Stavorinus, Tytler, and on one or two points Sir William Jones and Orme. But in the appendix there is a galaxy of great names,—Charles Grant, Scrafton, Holwell, Verelst, Clive, Teignmouth, M'Pherson, Barker, Cornwallis, "all affirming the moral degradation of the people:" and after them Forbes, Dubois, and Ward. With regard to the eminent men named in this appendix it may be observed, that however high their testimony may be estimated, it applies exclusively to Bengal; and that nothing can be justly inferred from the expression "moral degradation of the people," which can tend to support, in any degree, Mr. Mill's particular and unqualified condemnation of the Hindus. But the authorities on which Mr. Mill seems principally to rely in this chapter are Francis Buchanan (now Hamilton), Tennant, and Tytler.

With the manner in which Mr. Buchanan collected his information during his journey through Mysore, &c. when in Malabar, I had once an opportunity of becoming acquainted. His journey was announced by letters to the different collectors and magistrates; and by them he was received at all the principal stations, and from them he no doubt received a great deal of information. By their orders, also, the principal natives, or any with whom Mr. Buchanan wished to converse, were

regularly assembled, and he then propounded, by means of an interpreter, such queries as he thought necessary to illustrate the objects of his journey. With the natives he was unable to converse personally; and the form *and circumstances * 126 under which they were assembled were alone sufficient to prevent them from communicating, either freely or faithfully, the information required. But had even Mr. Buchanan not been, by his ignorance of the native languages, and by his not carrying on his intercourse with the natives in a manner that would have banished the suspicions of the real intention of his inquiries which they naturally entertained, precluded from acquiring more than a superficial knowledge of the country through which he passed, his opinions would be entitled to little weight if the following remarks of Mr. Mill are correct: "In a cursory survey it is understood that the mind, unable to attend to the whole of an infinite number of objects, attaches itself to a few, and overlooks the multitude that remain. But what; then, are the objects to which the mind, in such a situation, is in preference attracted? Those which fall in with the current of its own thoughts; those which accord with its own impressions; those which confirm its previous ideas." How far these remarks apply to Mr. Buchanan's work, I will not decide; but it is evident that a comparatively rapid journey through a country, without any acquaintance with its language, is not the means of acquiring any very accurate knowledge of the manners and character of a people.

With Dr. Tennant's work† I must acknowledge myself unacquainted; but as he resided, if I am not mistaken, but a short time in India, possessed no skill in any of its languages, and his observations apply exclusively to Bengal, I should suppose

† This production is thus described in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. iv., p. 314: "We do not remember to have often seen a work of this magnitude so entirely destitute of any claim to originality. So far from the *greater part* of the work being the result of actual observation, there is not one single fact of any consequence which is not taken from some other person. Wherever the author endeavours to give any information from himself, it is sure to be inaccurate and contradictory."

that his authority is entitled to little attention. The same objections apply to Mr. Tytler's work, which is praised so extravagantly by Mr. Mill, as containing a greater mass of valuable information than had ever been before published. I enter not into a criticism of this work, as it seems sufficient to remark that the *authority of a writer who has not extended his observation beyond the College of Calcutta *127 and the twenty-four Pergunnahs, can be of no consequence in determining a question which relates to the general character of the Hindus.

It will not have escaped observation, that in Mr. Mill's description of the Hindus there are many traits of character, the knowledge of which could have been acquired only by a considerable intimacy with their domestic habits, religious prejudices, and manner of thinking; yet it is in these very particulars that he has asserted, and adduced authority to support his assertion, that the European resident in India is precluded from obtaining any correct information. It has also appeared that the writers whom he quotes are not entitled, on account of their little knowledge of the native languages, their short residence in India, the locality of their situation, or the rapidity with which it was changed, to any great attention. To these objections Bartolomeo, Dubois, and Ward, are certainly not liable; but it will, I think, be admitted, that their religious opinions must detract considerably from their otherwise highly valuable observations. It must hence follow, that as Mr. Mill possesses no personal knowledge of the subject, and as, by his own showing, no European resident in India is acquainted with several of the most material parts of it; or, not to insist on this inconsistency, as the writers on whom he relies are deficient in every requisite which should render them conclusive authority, his account of the Hindus rests on no sufficient grounds whatever, were it even reconcilable to the principles on which human society must always depend.

But if his testimonies are rejected, Mr. Mill will prove that, whatever the present state of Hindu manners may actually be,

every observer of them must be mistaken ; because, according to his opinion, they do not agree with certain conclusions which he has deduced from various passages in the *Institutes of Menu* and Halhed's *Gentoo Code*. Had not Mr. Mill occupied so many pages of his work in supporting this argument, it could not have been supposed that he was really serious in quoting a law book as descriptive of the manners of any people. Are

we to conclude that crimes are of great magnitude * 128 and of frequent occurrence in England, because " it is a melancholy truth that, among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than an hundred and sixty have been declared by Act of Parliament to be felonies without the benefit of clergy ; or, in other words, to be worthy of instant death† " ? Are we to conclude that married women in England are degraded, or treated with habitual contempt, because the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage ; that she is thus restrained from performing many acts ; and that the husband may give his wife moderate correction, or restrain his wife of her liberty, in case of any gross misbehaviour‡ ? But that Mr. Mill has attached an undue importance to these two law books, however correct his inferences from them might otherwise be, is fully evinced by the following remark of the late Mr. Ellis, a gentleman whose intimate acquaintance with the subject entitles his opinion to every attention : after observing, that the *Institutes of Menu*, never ranked higher than a mere text book, and that Halhed's *Gentoo Code* was scarcely any thing more than a text book, he adds, " It hence follows, that in the actual administration of justice the decisions of the established legal authorities, and these only, should be admitted as the actual law. The text books, like the institutes of the Roman law, and even the reasonings of the jurists on which these conclusions are founded, appertain properly to the schools in which the law is taught, where they are of the greatest utility,

† Blackstone's *Commentaries*, vol. iv., p. 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 443, 444, 445.

but can have no weight in courts in which the art is practised†." It is hence evident, that although the most ancient codes of law are held by the Hindus to be derived from a divine original, they have yet admitted into their legal practice such modifications as change of times and circumstances required. Were it even, then, admitted that the *Institutes of Menu* or Halhed's *Gentoo Code* exhibited a correct view of Indian society at the period when they were composed, they must still be far from displaying an accurate picture of Hindu *manners at the present day, after the lapse of at least two thousand years ; and when the thrones of the * 129 princes have been long overturned ; the people reduced beneath the subjection of foreign rulers ; and the temples of the gods, though not deprived of their votaries, yet spoiled of that splendour which kings once shed over them.

Nothing, however, in my opinion, can exhibit a more singular instance of the spirit in which Mr. Mill has composed his work, and, were it allowable to judge from a single instance, of his want of research, than the passage in this chapter which relates to marriages in Malabar. In concluding it, he remarks in a note : " The reader will find some observations (on this subject), but evidently incorrect, taken from an Arabian author by Mr. Duncan, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. Mr. Duncan's words in the place cited are : ' The author (Zeireddein Mukhdom) next proceeds to an enumeration of what he considered as the chief peculiarities in the manners of the Malabarians, from which I shall literally transcribe, into the body of this narrative, the following particulars from the translation of Zeireddein's original work, subjoining in notes such particulars as my own inquiries, or other information, may tend to corroborate, define, or illustrate, in respect to some of the circumstances he has related.' "—Did Mr. Mill know, or not know, that Mr. Duncan had been deputed by Lord Cornwallis at the head of a commission to settle the province of Malabar when it was ceded by Tippu Sultan to the English in

† Readings on Hindu law before the Madras Literary Society.

1792 ; and that the result of that mission was a Report drawn up by Mr. Duncan, which has been published in three octavo volumes, containing, notwithstanding a few mistakes, an accurate and complete account of that province ? On what grounds, then, does he accuse Mr. Duncan, or the Arabian author, of incorrectness ? Merely because the absurdity of the thing (the custom which they describe) may in his opinion support a suspicion of some mistake in the informants. Hence, according to his mode of reasoning, the testimony of an intelligent native writer to what he had himself observed and become acquainted with during a residence in India, and of a gentleman distinguished by his abilities and general * 130 * knowledge of India, is to be rejected, because their accounts do not correspond with certain vague conjectures, or philosophical conclusions deduced from inapplicable premises, which any person who had never moved beyond the confines of Great Britain may choose to adopt !

But Mr. Mill is himself incorrect in stating, that the intercourse of the sexes in Malabar has not been satisfactorily explained ; as it is perfectly well known that the Nairs do not marry as other people do, but that they individually enter into a connexion with a single woman, which however may be easily dissolved ; and that the father does not acknowledge his own children, but adopts those of his sister, whom he educates, and to whom he devises his property. But, with the exception of the Nairs, all other castes in Malabar marry in the usual manner† ; and the peculiar custom of the Nairs cannot therefore be with any justice ascribed to its being “ pretty evidently a relic of the period in which there is no law for the association of the sexes, in which their intercourse is casual, and the father of the offspring by consequence uncertain, when the children of necessity belong to the mother.” On the con-

† That of carpenters ought to be excepted ; and it is said also, but I believe incorrectly, that of goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and braziers, among whom it is a custom that, when the brothers of one family cannot afford to marry individually, they are at liberty to marry conjointly, whatever their number may be, one wife.

trary, it being a singular exception from a general rule, it would be more philosophical to infer that it originated in some particular circumstances the memory of which has been lost in the lapse of ages;—a conclusion which is strongly supported by that very ceremony, which is represented by Mr. Mill as so very absurd, of every Nair being regularly married with the usual Hindu ceremonies, though I believe at a later time of life than prevails in other parts of India, but never after cohabiting or associating with his wife. By this means the Nairs first strictly conform to the universal and invariable usage of all Hindus, and then recur to a mode of life the origin of which can now be no more explained, than the reason why the women of Malabar are not allowed to wear any covering above the waist, and * that they are obliged, when out of doors, in passing any Nair, to throw off the * 131 loose cloth which they then usually wrap round their shoulders. But of the existence of this ceremony there can be no doubt, as the peculiar mark of marriage among the Hindus, a silken thread with a small ornament of gold attached to it, may be seen around the neck of every Nair woman; and until this ceremony has been performed, no woman is permitted to enter into any connexion with a man. On this mistake of Mr. Mill I have insisted particularly, as it seems to me a strong proof that no person, by merely relying on a few detached passages scattered over a number of volumes, and on inductions from what he thinks indisputable principles, can ever describe with even the slightest accuracy the manners and customs of any people unknown to him from personal observation.

Notwithstanding that Mr. Mill may appear in this chapter to have entered into a particular description of the character and manners of the Hindus, it will be found on closer inspection that he has merely indulged himself in general observations. But as it would be impossible to discuss, in the compass of a paper, each single charge which he has brought against them, I will select for consideration the three circumstances which are so universally alleged as a proof of their moral depravity: the frequency of crimes, the universal prevalence of the most bare-

facéd falsehood, and the demoralizing effects of the institution of caste and the Hindu religion.

I do not observe that Mr. Mill has in this chapter in express terms insisted on the frequency of crimes amongst the Hindus ; but he alludes to it, and it forms a prominent part of the Appendix. It is also a consequence which must inevitably flow from his description of their manners. Fortunately, however, on this point the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, affords, if not sufficient information, at least data from which a much more correct opinion can be formed, than from the declamations of missionaries or the hasty observations of travellers. In the 68th page of this Report, the Committee state that the number of trials before the four Courts of Circuit, comprehending * Bengal, Bahar, * 132 and Orissa, in 1802 was 5667†, and of convictions 2820.

Let, then, these numbers be applied to the trials before the Courts of Circuit under Madras and Bombay, in proportion to the respective population of these Presidencies, and the result will show the total of crimes committed in one year by the Hindus who live under the British Government. But there is one consideration which prevents a correct application of this rule,—I mean the crime of Dacoity ; which is peculiar to the Bengal provinces, and which is there so generally prevalent. But the Fifth Report does not furnish any information from which it might be known what is the exact number of cases of dacoity in proportion to the other crimes tried. It is, however, observed by a Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit in 1802, that “ the number of convicts confined at the six stations of this circuit under sentence of imprisonment is about 4000 : of them probably nine-tenths are dacoity.” And from an abstract of the calendar at the Second Quarterly Sessions of Jail Delivery for the twenty-four pergunnahs in 1810, it appears, that of twenty trials eight

† The Committee also observe, that in the subsequent years the number of trials in some degree increased ; for the number of persons tried, on an average of the five years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, was 5831. I have, however, taken the trials in 1802, as the number of convictions during the last five years is not stated.

were for dacoity. Although, therefore, the exact proportion cannot be ascertained, it will be admitted that a very considerable deduction ought to be made on this account, before the calendars of jail delivery of the Bengal provinces are applied to other parts of India; and in order to render the argument as unfavourable as possible to the Hindus, I would propose to deduct only about one-ninth from the above total of trials and convictions, or 500 cases. The result would then be:—

| | | | | | |
|--|------------------|------------|------|-------------|------|
| The provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; the population being estimated at 30 millions† | | ... Trials | 5567 | Convictions | 2820 |
| Madras, | do. 12 millions‡ | Do. | 2033 | Do. | 928 |
| Bombay, | do. 3 millions§ | Do. | 506 | Do. | 232 |
| Total for one year under the twelve Courts | | | — | | — |
| of Circuit in India | | Trials | 8106 | Convictions | 3980 |

* But from a view of the proceedings in the Courts of Assize in England during the year 1815, laid before * 133 the House of Commons, it appears that there were during that year in England, exclusive of London and Middlesex, 1529 trials, and 958 convictions. Let, then, the population of England, exclusive of London and Middlesex, be taken at seven millions and a half, and it will follow, that as the estimated population of British India is 45 millions, the number of trials and convictions in it, in order to bear an exact proportion to those of England, ought to be,—

Trials 9174 Convictions 5748

But it has been seen that the

real amount is only Do. 8106 Do. 3980

Leaving a balance in favour

of India of Trials 1068 Convictions 1768

This difference becomes still greater if we institute a comparison between London and Middlesex and the three King's Courts in India. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court at

† Hamilton's *Indian Gazetteer*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ There are no data from which any correct estimate of the population subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Circuit under Bombay can be made, but the one here assumed is probably less than the real number.

Calcutta was estimated by Sir H. Russell to extend over a population of one million ; but taking merely the number as it is estimated by others, it will amount to.....600,000†

That of Madras300,000

—— Bombay220,000

But to allow for mistakes, to which such estimates are liable, let the total be taken at one million. The trials and convictions before these courts in 1818 were—

| | | |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Calcutta | <i>Trials</i> 55 | <i>Convictions</i> 47 |
| Madras..... | Do. 31 | Do. 23 |
| Bombay | Do. 30 | Do. 14 |
| Total..... | <i>Trials</i> 116 | <i>Convictions</i> 84 |

* The view of the proceedings in assize in England * 134 before quoted, gives, for London and Middlesex, trials 1635, convictions 1037. And as the population of London and Middlesex may be taken at one million seven hundred thousand, and that of the jurisdiction of the three King's Courts in India at one million, it would follow that the number of trials and convictions before the latter, in order to bear an exact proportion to the former, ought to be—

Trials 961 *Convictions* 610

But it has been seen that it amounts only to.....

Do. 116 Do. 84

Leaving a balance in favour of India of

Trials 845 *Convictions* 526

Thus, including all criminal proceedings held in British India, it appears that, in proportion to the population, there are in it annually about 1913 trials and 2294 convictions fewer than in England‡. The great disproportion between the trials

† See Hamilton's *Indian Gazetteer*.

‡ It ought to be observed that the proceedings of the Circuit Courts of Benares and Bareilly are not adverted to in the 5th Report, or in its Appendix ; and I have been therefore obliged to omit them in these Remarks ; but this can be of no consequence, as their population does not probably amount to three millions, and it is admitted that crimes are less frequent in those than in the other provinces of Bengal.

and convictions may excite surprise; but it is thus explained in a passage quoted by the Committee of the House of Commons from a Report of the Circuit Judge of Patna: "Few of the murders and only one of the robberies charged really occurred; the rest are merely fictitious crimes, brought forward to harass an opposing litigant or revenge a quarrel. The criminal court is the weapon of revenge to which the natives of this province resort on all occasions." The same circumstance is mentioned by other Judges; but it seems probable that this litigious disposition is principally confined to the Bengal provinces. It will at the same time be evident, that were it checked it would only decrease the number of trials, but in no manner increase that of the convictions; which, it may be presumed, are nearly as correct and as numerous before the Courts of Circuit as they would have been had the trials taken place in the King's Courts. * 135 Nor will it perhaps be denied that the difficulty of apprehending delinquents in India, and the evasions of justice through the connivance of a police conducted by native agency, so much complained of by the Judges in Bengal, are almost counterbalanced by the circumstances adverted to in this remark of Blackstone, "So dreadful a list [160 felonies without benefit of clergy], instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders. The injured, through compassion, will often forbear to prosecute; [and] juries, through compassion, will sometimes forget their oaths, and either acquit the guilty or mitigate the nature of the offence†." It must hence follow,—if the records of courts of justice are an undeniable proof of the morality of a nation, and if the English be one of the most moral people that ever existed in this world,—that, as crimes are of a much rarer occurrence in British India than in England, the Hindus must consequently be a still more moral people than the English.

I pretend not that the preceding numbers are accurate: but I am confident that, had the Committee of the House of Com-

† Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv., p. 18.

mons laid before the public a statement of the trials and convictions held before the other Courts of Circuit in India, it would have appeared that they were much fewer than what has been here stated. Nor can any estimate, however computed, drawn from the data furnished by the proceedings of the four Courts of Circuit in Bengal, due attention being had to the relative population, possibly render the number of crimes committed in British India, one year with another, equal to those committed in England. But were the Hindus so universally depraved, so universally devoid of every moral and religious principle, as they are represented by Mr. Mill and other writers, could a single day elapse without our eyes or our ears bearing testimony to the inevitable effects which must proceed from such causes? Or, if the British power were even capable of maintaining some order amongst such a general dissolution

of every preservative principle of so*ciety, can it be for
 * 136 a moment supposed that all the peaceable exertions of twelve Courts of Circuit could be effectual in restraining the criminal excesses of forty-five millions of people emancipated from every moral and every religious restraint? It is singular that such writers never adverted to the conclusions which necessarily flowed from the premises, the truth of which they so strenuously advocated; for, if they had, they must surely have become sensible of their absurdity, unless they were at the same time of opinion that such causes might exist without being productive of any effects. In this case they would both evince their ignorance of human nature, and also labour under the difficulty of explaining how they became acquainted with these latent causes that were not demonstrated by their sensible effects.

But, had they not disregarded the testimony of such persons as had resided in India, they might have learned that crimes were there of so rare occurrence that scarcely any persons, but such as were engaged in the administration of justice, could state from their own personal knowledge a single instance of criminality. They would have been then informed, that in India money and valuables of every kind are continually ex-

posed in such a manner, that if in England no further care was taken of them, they would be most inevitably stolen; that in India one of those Hindus, who are represented as so scandalously dishonest, and whose pay does not exceed eight or ten pounds sterling a year, may be intrusted with the greatest safety with the conveyance or charge of hundreds and thousands of pounds. Have there ever been, during the last seventy years that the English have been extending their power and their numbers in India, any numerous or well authenticated instances of this confidence having been abused? or have the English resident in India adopted any measures whatever to guard against this supposed dishonesty of the natives? But, invitingly exposed to spoil as their property is, are their lives more secure? If open violence might not suit the timidity of a Hindu, is he ignorant of effectual poisons that would avenge the insults or outrages which he may perhaps have received from his master? While travelling singly and unguarded; while living at some solitary outpost, or *even in a more crowded station, with houses open all day, and often * 137 not even slightly secured at night, what should prevent the murderer's hand? Or what should prevent the mingling of some poisonous drug in the food which is every day received without the slightest suspicion?

Such questions as these might have occurred to Mr. Mill: but I cannot perceive how he could have replied to them in any manner consistent with the opinion of the Hindus which he has expressed. For the fear of detection, and of suffering the severest of all punishments, death, could have no effect in deterring men who think that death is the happiest of all states; nor could regard for their family be of any efficacy amongst a people who are eminently devoid of all parental, filial, and conjugal affection; still less could that religion be of any avail which fosters and sanctions furious and malignant passions. As, therefore, he could not deny the facts above stated, that the natives have constant opportunities of committing theft and murder; that scarcely any instances of theft occur; and that there never was an instance of an European resident in

India having been murdered by the natives, to what principle could he ascribe their forbearance? It is however true, but for another reason, that the fear of detection and punishment can operate but little, if at all, in restraining the natives from the perpetration of crimes; for, if the criminal immediately leaves the place of his guilt, which no obstacle, except perhaps in some degree at the Presidencies, prevents him from doing, not all the exertions of the most vigilant police could discover the offender in the widely extended territories which the British possess in India. Nor can, in general, any regard for his family induce him not to seek his safety in flight; as scarcely an officer or a civil servant at an out-station has in his employment any person who is a native of the place where he resides. The delinquent, therefore, has no motive whatever for remaining after committing an offence; but may immediately escape, and with the greatest facility return undetected to his own home, and there enjoy the fruits of his guilt. These remarks apply particularly, it will be observed, to the intercourse which exists between the European and the native; but the convictions before the Courts of Circuit will afford a sufficiently accurate

* criterion for forming a judgment on the frequency of
 * 138 crimes amongst the natives themselves. If, then, it appears that the opportunity of committing crimes is much greater in India than in England, and that the fear of detection is much less, and that under such circumstances crimes are of a still rarer occurrence in India than in England, is it not reasonable to conclude that, so far from general depravity and profligacy being imputable to the Hindus, they must, on the contrary, be actuated by principles of morality and religion in every respect pure and unexceptionable?

That the Hindus, in their intercourse with Europeans, are addicted to insincerity, I will not deny; but with regard to falsehood—as a moral writer, whose work has run through at least eighteen editions, has satisfactorily proved—as it would seem, that there are falsehoods which are not lies, and consequently either venial or innocent, it becomes necessary to ascertain what is the real meaning of the word falsehood. And

as I cannot but think that Paley's attempt to diminish the culpability usually attached to falsehood, by understanding this word in a modified sense, at variance with its general acceptance, is open to many objections, the following may perhaps be received as a more correct definition of this term : A deviation from truth, with an intention to deceive, knowing that such deception will cause detriment, or at least inconvenience, to the person who believes it. But if this definition be admitted, I deny that it applies to the Hindus. The compliments of the Hindus, however exaggerated, will, I presume, be acknowledged to be no greater falsehoods than the compliments of the most polished people of Europe. Amongst the Hindus also, as amongst other nations, servants, and the lower classes, if they have committed a fault, or forgotten to do what they were ordered, will excuse themselves by having recourse to the first subterfuge that occurs ; the trader and merchant will take every advantage of their customers, without being very scrupulous with regard to truth ; the higher castes, if statesmen or employed in the administration of the country, will not perhaps disgrace the school of Machiavel ; and in a few instances all classes will use falsehood in order to avoid some threatening ill, or to obtain *some seductive good. But in all these cases no person who has had the most trifling experience of the world * 139 expects that the Englishman, the Frenchman, or the German, will adhere to truth : and why then ought he to expect such adherence to truth amongst the Hindus alone ? If in India he is too indolent on such occasions to make use of the necessary precautions, and prefers acquiescing in what he is told, although he suspects it to be false, to taking the trouble of ascertaining the truth, it is not the Hindu, but he himself, who is the real cause of his being deceived. To assume, as some writers have done, that the Hindu never opens his mouth but to utter a falsehood, must prove too much ; for were this the case, no European in India could transact the most trifling business, as all his transactions, whether domestic, commercial, or public, are carried on with the natives alone, and in general through native agency : were he then, on all occasions, to in-

stitute an inquiry into the truth of the communication made to him before he yields his belief to it, his time would be entirely consumed in such inquiries, and scarce a moment would remain for action. But the impossibility of thus guarding themselves against deception is so self-evident, that persons resident in India, whatever their prejudices may be, are obliged to place confidence in the truth of the natives; and until some well authenticated instances to the contrary are produced, which has never yet been done, it may justly be concluded, from long experience, that this confidence has never been abused; and that the falsehood so generally ascribed to the Hindus is exactly such a deviation from truth as Paley considers to be either venial or innocent.

It ought at the same time to be observed, that this particular accusation against the Hindus is founded upon their intercourse with Europeans, and that no testimony has as yet, as far as I am aware, been adduced to prove that a disregard to truth is éminently conspicuous in all their transactions amongst themselves. But it is from their intercourse amongst themselves alone that any opinion of their moral sentiments with regard to falsehood ought to be formed; for it will not, I should suppose, be contended that a just estimate of the principles of forty-five millions of people can be formed from merely observing the manner and modes of *acting of the very

* 140 small number of Hindus, not, most certainly, amounting to one-twentieth part, who live in the employment or under the immediate influence of the British. The Englishman and Hindu never associate together except as superior and inferior; and seldom does the one ever speak to the other except as a master, or for the purpose of transacting business. Under such circumstances, is it surprising that amongst the Hindus there should not be a strict adherence to truth; and that, as has been the case in all other nations, fear, a desire of obtaining favour, or self-interest, should lead them to have recourse to insincerity and duplicity†? But is it therefore

† There is great truth in the following remarks of Dubois: "But in general

just to conclude that they attach no shame nor censure to falsehood; and that in their intercourse and transactions with their equals, or with the higher classes of their own people, who are not invested with power, they "daily practise bare-faced and deliberate deception"?

The universality of perjury among the Hindus has, however, been attested by even Sir W. Jones. But if perjury be, as it is defined by Sir Edward Coke,† "a crime committed when a lawful oath is administered, *in some judicial proceeding, to a person who swears wilfully, absolutely, and falsely, * 141 ly, in a matter material to the issue or point in question;" and if an oath be, as the same writer defines it‡, "a calling Almighty God to witness that testimony is true, therefore aptly termed *sacramentum*, a holy band, a sacred tie or godly vow;" and if, as it is, I believe, admitted, there is no particular form essential to an oath to be taken by a witness, but, as the purpose of it is to bind his conscience, every man of every religion should be bound by that form which he himself thinks will bind his con-

the reserve of the Hindus, in all the circumstances of their lives, makes it very difficult to discover what is at the bottom of the heart; and the skill which they possess in counterfeiting what best suits their interest takes away all confidence in their most solemn protestations. I do not suppose, however, that these vices are innate, or that they spring from any natural bias to be rogues and dissemblers: I rather suppose they proceed from the influence of the tyrannical governments under which they have existed for so many ages. Till of late they have been habituated to live under the rule of a great number of petty and subordinate tyrants, whose sole object appears to be to emulate each other in the art of trampling on the people whom they governed; which end they could most easily attain by the constant use of shifts and evasions. The feeble and timid Hindu had no other means of warding off so much injustice and vexation, but by opposing trick to trick, and practising in his turn the duplicity and dissimulation which were employed against him. Thus he grows expert in the practice of those arts; they are his defensive armour against despotism, and they are so often called into use that they have become his natural protection." Dubois's *People of India*, pp. 189, 190.—Banish, then, all fear from the minds of the Hindus, and let them find their real interest in truth, and not in insincerity, and their strict adherence to truth will soon become conspicuous.

† 3 Inst. 164.

‡ 3 Inst. 74.

science most,—I deny that there ever was a single instance of a Hindu having committed perjury in an English court of justice. The *sine quâ non* of this crime is, as it appears, the administration of an oath in that form which the witness thinks will bind his conscience most, and his calling God to witness that his testimony is true: it can, therefore, require little acquaintance with the customs of the Hindus to be certain that such an oath has never yet been administered to any Hindu witness. In their own judicial proceedings oaths are never administered to witnesses, but sometimes, when the proof is defective, to the plaintiff or defendant; and in every case when an oath is administered amongst themselves, it is considered as a religious act, and must be performed with certain purifications and ceremonies. But, without advertg to this circumstance, a Brahmin or a Hindu is brought into our courts of justice, the very entrance into which is pollution; and after the mere form of putting into his hand a book, to which no sanctity is attached as there is to the Evangelists, and perhaps a little water in which leaves of the Tulsi have been mixed, the witness is declared to have been solemnly sworn. Can such a form in the slightest degree bind the conscience of a Hindu? as it must be evident that he cannot consider it as a religious act when done in a place in which he would tremble to call even mentally upon God; or, if he should comprehend that it was intended to be a religious ceremony, must he not consider it as a mockery of his religion? This singular inattention to the prejudices of the Hindus is still more striking at * a Native * 142 General Court Martial; where the oath is administered, in the form just mentioned, to the Native officers† booted and sometimes with gloves on, and with other parts of dress which render them so impure that they must bathe before they can perform the most trifling religious act, or even

† So impure are boots considered, that Dubois, p. 456, observes, "There is no member of a Sudra tribe that would submit to brush the shoes of his [European] master, or to draw off his boots to clean them:" and he repeatedly mentions, in other places, the pollution which is incurred by the skin being touched by leather.

eat†. If, then, an oath ought to be considered as a holy band, a godly vow, and thus effectual for binding the conscience of a witness, it is impossible that the Hindu can be, in any degree, aware of its importance when it is administered to him in a situation and form so polluted as to banish every idea of religion. Nor, whatever falsehoods he may afterwards utter, can he for a moment suppose, as purity is essential to every religious act, that he is then violating a solemn and divine obligation.

I at the same time admit, that it is difficult to ascertain the truth in any investigation in which Natives are concerned : and that they, in such a case, do not often give a distinct and faithful account of what they actually know. But whether an oath, administered according to the Hindu manner, with every necessary precaution, would prevent such deviations from truth, I am very doubtful : for I think that there are very few instances when the evidence of a Hindu is corrupt, that is, given *malo animo*, or wilfully and absolutely false. There are other reasons which will, without having recourse to such causes, fully account for every imperfection in his testimony. The first, and a most material one, is the great difference between our modes of judicial proceedings and those of the Natives. Before a Native panchaet, or other court of justice, a witness is allowed to give his evidence in his own way, however long and irrelevant, without being interrupted. But in our courts their time * will not admit of such indulgence ; and in them a very liberal maxim seems to be established, that no witness, * 143 whatever his character or education may be, will speak the truth except so far as it may be of advantage to the party who produces him. Hence the real investigation of the truth is often superseded by endeavours to save a prisoner or defendant, by the inconsistencies and contradictions into which the

† Courts Martial are often held in mess-rooms ; than which no place could possibly be more defiled in the opinion of a Hindu, on account of the beef which is eaten in them. But all places which are frequented by Europeans, and continually trod upon by leathern shoes and boots, and unclean animals, he considers in a state of the utmost pollution.

witnesses may be betrayed. But to this mode of examination a Native is perfectly unaccustomed; and in reply perhaps to the first question put to him, he begins to relate all that he knows concerning the subject under investigation, when he is immediately stopped and told to speak to the point, and merely to answer the questions put to him, without entering into any irrelevant matter. The poor Hindu is thus completely confused; and never having in his lifetime been accustomed to give short and pertinent answers to questions as concise, he knows not what to say. If, therefore, so few persons, even in England, can undergo a cross-examination without falling into inconsistencies, can it be reasonable to consider the Hindu as devoid of all truth, merely because his faith comes not out of such an ordeal pure and unimpeached?

But to this circumstance must be added the difference of languages, a difference so great that Sir John Malcolm declared before the House of Commons, that he did not believe there were fifty European gentlemen in India fully qualified, from their minute knowledge of the idiom of the vulgar dialects of the Natives in India, to give a completely correct translation of a Native cross-questioned in one of our courts of justice. To all, indeed, who have attended to the nature of languages, nothing will appear more difficult than to conduct a judicial examination of any nicety in two or three different languages without committing mistakes†; and as these must sometimes occur, it is difficult to ascertain when the inconsistency of the witness proceeds from a deviation from the truth, or merely

* from misunderstanding the question put to him. It
 * 144 is at the same time to be remarked that, in such cases, the natural apprehension of the Hindu is greatly embarrassed by the trepidation which he always feels on being brought into a court of justice; and to this trepidation alone

† I recollect a General Court Martial being cleared, in order to determine if the verb used by a native witness ought to be translated *shall*, *will*, *may*, *can*, *might*, *could*, *would*, or *should bring*; and on the correct decision of this difficult question depended, whether or not the witness might be contradicted by other witnesses.

the contradictions in his evidence might often be justly attributed. Nor is it surprising that, alarmed at being interrogated, unaccustomed to the mode of examination, and not clearly understanding the interpretation of a strange language, he should be desirous of recommending himself to favour as much as possible by the answers which he gives to the questions put to him. It is to the last circumstance particularly that I think the incorrectness of a Hindu's testimony ought in general to be ascribed; for it will often happen that if you ask him a question, and, not fully understanding the answer which he first gives, you put the question a second time, he will give you a different answer, supposing that you were not pleased with the first: ask him the same question a third time, and he will again answer differently, still wishing to please you as far as is in his power. The servility so generally ascribed to the Hindu is never more conspicuous than when he is examined as an evidence. But if it be admitted that he acts as a slave, why blame him for not possessing the virtues of a free man? The oppression of ages has taught him implicit submission; he dreads to give his testimony against a superior, although he thinks himself bound to give it in his favour; he even fears to incur by his evidence the resentment and revenge of his equal; and above all, he is apprehensive lest he should offend by word or deed the tribunal before which he stands. Until, therefore, the Hindu is taught a lesson, which many years can alone teach, if it be even possible as long as the institution of caste continues, that British justice is strictly impartial, and that every British subject is equal in the eye of the law, it cannot be expected that he will possess in any judicial investigation that confidence, that regard for character, which can alone prevent all intentional deviations from truth. But while such perplexing difficulties embarrass the Hindu when giving testimony, and such incentives to falsehood exist, and no oath is administered to him which he can think in any degree binding on his *conscience, it is unjust in the extreme to accuse him of perjury, of calling his God to witness a wilfully false * 145 evidence, and from such inadmissible premises to con-

clude that the Hindu is consequently sunk in the lowest state of moral degradation.

I have thus examined Mr. Mill's account of the manners of the Hindus, and particularly considered three of the instances which are so often adduced to prove that the Hindus are devoid of every moral principle; as the remarks which have occurred may perhaps assist in the forming a correct judgment with respect to the pernicious effects which are so generally ascribed to the institution of caste and the Hindu religion. But it is somewhat singular that, since Mr. Mill in the 7th chapter of his work expresses his opinions in the most positive and dogmatic manner, he should think it necessary, when treating on the Hindu religion in the 6th chapter, to envelop himself so completely in long and irrelevant disquisitions, that, although there can be no doubt of what his real sentiments are, it is extremely difficult to state them with precision. When, however, he represents this religion (as before quoted) as gloomy and malignant, and fostering furious and malignant passions, and when he names Mr. Ward "an admirable witness," it is obvious that he intends that his readers should consider the very worst accounts of it as the actual truth. Mr. Mill at the same time admits that "Europeans who have made inquiries concerning the ideas and institutions of the Hindus have been induced, from the lofty epithets occasionally applied to the gods, to believe and assert that this people had attained lofty and refined notions of the divine nature:" but he maintains that "nothing is more certain than that such language is far from proof of such conceptions;" and he adds, that "where the operations ascribed to the divinity, the services reputed agreeable to him, and the laws which he is understood to have ordained, are in the highest degree unworthy of a perfect nature, we may be fully assured that there the sublime language is altogether without a meaning, that it is the effect of flattery, and the meanest of the human passions, and is directly suggested, not by the most

* 146 lofty, but by the most grovelling and base ideas of the divine nature." And such, Mr. Mill thinks, are the *ideas

which the Hindus entertain of the actions and character of their supreme deities. Their theology also affords, in his opinion, a remarkable instance of that progress in exaggeration and flattery which he supposes is the genius of rude religions. Mr. Mill likewise remarks, that "the Egyptian religion is allowed on all hands to have possessed the same fundamental principles with the Hindu, and to have resembled it remarkably in its outward features†; yet of all the systems of superstition which were found within the Roman empire" Mr. Gibbon pronounces this to be "the most contemptible and abject." "But," observes Mr. Mill, "when the exaggerations of flattery are engrafted upon the original deification of the elements and powers of nature, and when the worship of heroes and of abstract ideas is incorporated with the whole, then is produced that heterogeneous and monstrous compound which has formed the religious creed of so great a part of the human race, but composes a more stupendous mass in Hindustan than any other country." "Never," he adds, "among any other people than the Hindus, did the ceremonial part prevail over the moral to a greater, probably to an equal, extent. But where, with no more attention to morality than the exigencies and laws of human nature force upon the attention of the rudest tribes, the sacred duties are made to consist in frivolous observances, there, we may be

† There is certainly great incorrectness in this remark; for, if I be not mistaken, the fundamental principles of the Egyptian religion are still a subject of dispute, which it is not likely can ever be decided until the hieroglyphics are deciphered. Nor do the outward features of the Hindu and Egyptian religions bear a remarkable resemblance to each other; for, whatever Ward and Dubois have written, it is most certain that the Hindus neither worship as gods a beast, bird, fish, nor log of wood, far less onions and leeks, which occasioned the well-known exclamation of the satirist:

"O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis Numina!"

In these passages of Ward and Dubois, to which I allude, I much suspect a pious fraud; and that they have represented as worship and adoration what is merely a mark of respect. Our bearers every day, on first taking up and last laying down our palanquins make a reverence to them: do we therefore suppose that they worship the palanquin as a god?

assured, the religious ideas of the people are barbarous."

"An endless succession of absurd observances, in compliment to the god, is supposed to afford him the most *exquisite
 * 147 delight, while the common discharge of the beneficent duties of human life is regarded as an object of comparative indifference."

"Amongst rudenesses," he further observes, "it has almost always been found that religion has served to degrade morality; and that in the case of the Hindus, in the entire systems of rules concerning duty, the degree of stress which is laid upon moral acts bears no comparison to the importance which is attached to useless or pernicious ceremonies." The acts, too, by which, according to the Hindu religion, the favour of the almighty power is chiefly to be gained, are thus enumerated by Mr. Mill: "an attention to religious purity and impurity in various instances, which appear to him exceedingly numerous and exceedingly strange; penances of the severest kinds; and, above all, self-immolation: for it is," he adds, "one of the grandest achievements of piety for individuals to sacrifice themselves in honour of the gods, and such sacrifices are sometimes executed with circumstances of studied atrocity. From such a view of the subject, it is not surprising that Mr. Mill should have been led to observe, in a passage which I have partly quoted before,—“I have not enumerated the religion of the Hindus as one among the causes of that gentleness which has been remarked in their deportment. This religion has produced a practice which has strongly engaged the curiosity of Europeans—a superstitious care of the life of inferior animals: this feeble circumstance, however, is counteracted by so many gloomy and malignant principles, that their religion, instead of humanizing the character, must have had no inconsiderable effect in fostering that disposition to revenge, that insensibility to the sufferings of others, and often that active cruelty, which lurks under the smiling exterior of the Hindu.”

To the institution of caste Mr. Mill objects that it is a barrier against all improvement, and that it has introduced great

inequalities in the condition of the Hindus, by degrading some and exalting others. But on this subject he has fallen into innumerable mistakes, by supposing that the *Institutes of Menu* contain a correct description of the actual state of Hindu society. He has hence been led to state, that "the business of the Sudras is servile labour, and their degradation inhuman. Not only *is the most abject and grovel- *148 ling submission imposed upon them as a religious duty, but they are driven from their just and equal share in all the advantages of the social institution."† Had Mr. Mill, however, resided in India, he would have probably learned that the castes of Kshatriya and Vaisya are almost universally admitted to be extinct, and that the population of India now consists entirely of Brahmins, Sudras, and the mixed castes: of the relative proportion of the first to the two latter I am ignorant; but every person resident in India will be aware, from his own observation, that it must be extremely small. The whole mass, indeed, of the Hindu people are either Sudras or worse, and, notwithstanding their "inhuman degradation," numbers are in the most affluent circumstances, and all share in the advantages of the social institution, so far as to preserve them from the slightest degree of grovelling and abject submission.

I have here quoted Mr. Mill's sentiments on the Hindu religion, because they are, however incorrect, at least free from the gross and unqualified invectives in which other writers have indulged. But it will not escape observation, that the whole of this chapter consists in mere assumption, or deductions drawn from a few passages contained in a few books, and that not a single position, excepting such as refers to self-immolation and the burning of widows, is supported by a single fact. To assume certain causes, and then to argue on the effects which it is supposed would proceed from these causes, is certainly not a very logical mode of reasoning, nor one that admits of any other refutation than a bare denial of both the

† Mill's *British India*, vol. i., p. 116.

premises and the conclusions. I have before shown that the *Institutes of Menu* cannot be received as an authority decisive of what the present state of Hindu society actually is ; and the same objections equally apply to the *Vedas*, the *Bagavadun*, and the *Puranas*. The age of these works is unknown, and there is not at this day even the means of ascertaining in what degree they exhibit the manners of the people at the time when they were composed. These works certainly display the prominent features of the religion and of the singular civil polity of the

*Hindus, and may, in consequence, be of the greatest
 * 149 use in determining how far existing institutions correspond with those of more primitive times. But unless it be maintained that not the slightest modification or change has taken place in these institutions since the first composition of the *Vedas*, it is evident that no proof of the existing manners and character of any people, not even of the seemingly invariable Hindus, can be derived from accounts of what they were two thousand years ago.

That the religion of the Hindus is a "heterogeneous and monstrous compound" I do not deny ; but I at the same time know that the religion of Greece and Rome was equally heterogeneous and monstrous, and that, notwithstanding, the human mind never reached greater perfection than in these countries. The compass of this paper, however, even if I wished it, does not allow me to enter into any discussion respecting the gods and the religious tenets of the Hindus ; nor is it necessary, as the question simply is, how far Mr. Mill is correct in asserting that the Hindu religion has served to degrade morality. But ought not Mr. Mill, in making this assertion, to have defined what he means by morality, as this is a word which is received in different acceptations, and if used by Mr. Mill in its strictest sense, it must involve the question whether there is any criterion by which virtue can be distinguished from vice ? For, admit with Hume, that, let a man's insensibility be ever so great, he must often be touched with the images of right and wrong, and that morality is determined by sentiment ; virtue being whatever mental action or quality gives to a spectator

the pleasing sentiment of approbation : or with Reid, that by an original power of the mind, which we call conscience, or the moral faculty, we have the conceptions of right or wrong in human conduct, of merit and demerit, of duty and moral obligation, and our other moral conceptions ; and that by the same faculty we perceive some things in human conduct to be right, and others to be wrong ; or with Dr. Johnson, that morality is the form of an action which makes it the subject of reward or punishment :—then apply one or all of these definitions to any one of the acts of the Hindus which is deemed so monstrous (suppose the burning of a widow with her deceased husband), and it will be found that, * according to all these definitions, this very act is strictly virtuous, and there- * 150 fore praiseworthy : for in the spectator it excites a pleasing sentiment of approbation, the widow herself has always considered it as right, and the act receives the high reward of beatitude. Apply the same principles to self-immolation, austere penances, or any other similar act of the Hindus, and there will still centre in them all the exciting of a pleasing sentiment of approbation in the spectators, the conviction and not the conception alone of their being right, and the certainty of their being recompensed by the highest reward.

Hume rejects the opinion that moral distinctions are discernible by pure reason ; Reid rejects the different systems which account for our moral sentiments without supposing any original sense or faculty appropriated to that purpose ; and Locke thinks that the mind of man has no innate ideas or notions, but comes into the world ignorant of every thing. Amongst these very opposite opinions, which shall be esteemed true, or where shall a principle be found which will be universally admitted as an accurate criterion of the morality of an action ? The Christian, of course, recurs to the Bible, and points out, for instance, that self-immolation is condemned by the law of God ; but the Hindu refers to books which he considers equally sacred, and shows that in them this act, if not expressly enjoined, is declared to be highly meritorious, and to be entitled to

the greatest rewards.† Hence another question arises, and it becomes necessary to determine which of these is the only true religion. It seems, therefore, impossible to decide by any fixed rule, or abstract principle, whether or not the various actions, which receive approbation or disapprobation amongst the widely diversified people of this world, ought to be considered in themselves as right or wrong. But if this be the case, the

*whole of the remarks and arguments contained in
 *151 Mr. Mill's 6th chapter are at once refuted; for there is not a single assertion or opinion advanced in it, which rests not solely on the supposed propriety or impropriety, morality or immorality, of some particular action. The European mind, indeed, may revolt at the burning of a widow, or the voluntary death of a man. But what principle of justice or benevolence forbids an act by which no one is in the slightest degree injured? or what right has another person to be more concerned for the individual than he is himself, or to commit injustice by restraining or condemning an innocent and voluntary exertion of the individual's own free will? If it be said that the act is not innocent, I ask in what consists its culpability? The reply will be, that it is immoral. But if I then ask why it is immoral, what satisfactory answer can be given to the question? or will not every answer, when strictly examined, consist merely in the assumption that, as the approbation or disapprobation attached to particular actions by the European is alone right, every difference of opinion in such cases in the Hindu must consequently be wrong.

I have been unavoidably led into this reasoning by Mr. Mill not having rested his arguments in this chapter on facts. For had facts been adduced, their truth might have been discussed; and thus the correctness or incorrectness of Mr. Mill's opinions

† But as this act is at the same time considered to be purely religious and the most effectual expiation of sin, it does not, as it has been erroneously supposed, tend to render the Hindus indifferent to the effusion of blood on other occasions. For a very competent judge, Dubois (p. 196), observes that homicide and suicide are held in particular horror by the whole of the Hindus, and are less frequent among them than in many other nations.

might have been proved. I have therefore endeavoured to convince, that there are no first principles of right and wrong which are universally admitted; and that consequently there exists no criterion by which it can be decided, that the actions of the Hindus to which he objects are in themselves actually wrong. For if morality consists in doing what is right, and abstaining from what is wrong, it must follow that it is a word without a definite meaning; and that it must vary in its acceptation according to the different sentiments which, as experience has shown, different nations entertain respecting right and wrong, in which case every individual nation must necessarily have a morality of its own; and if the people live in strict conformity to it, it would be equally just to condemn them for being black, as to condemn them for doing that right and abstaining from that wrong in which *education and religion have taught them to consider that all morality *152 consisted. Had Mr. Mill adverted to this circumstance, he would perhaps have been struck by the very unphilosophical manner in which he was arguing; and have admitted that the conduct of the Hindus ought not to be judged of by a system of morals peculiar to Great Britain, and of which they were entirely ignorant. Or, if not, he ought at least to have proved that this system was founded on such first principles of right and wrong as were admitted by all nations.

It will hence perhaps appear that Mr. Mill's assertions, that the Hindu religion has served to degrade morality, can only mean that this religion has conferred a degree of sanctity on certain acts which are condemned by the system of morals which prevails in Great Britain;—a proposition the mere enunciation of which was sufficient, as it required no proof; and long elaborate arguments drawn from the principles of every religion that has yet existed were therefore entirely irrelevant and superfluous. But, in order to support his assertion effectually, ought not Mr. Mill, instead of dwelling so particularly on purity and impurity, austere penances, and self-immolations, to have shown that the religion which he so severely censures, inculcates such principles as are deemed criminal by

every nation ? to have shown that it inculcates falsehood,
 * 153 false evidence†, breach * of contract, robbery, adultery,

† There is a passage in the 4th chapter of Mr. Mill's work, which is noted on the margin "False evidence enjoined;" and in which he observes, "It is probable that the annals of legislative absurdities, in all the regions of the globe, can present nothing which will match a law for the direct encouragement of perjury." He then quotes a passage from the *Institutes of Menu*, where "falsehood is permitted whenever true evidence would occasion death from the known rigour of the king." But can Mr. Mill be acquitted of the greatest disingenuity in suppressing the following texts of the *Institutes of Menu*, which immediately precede the one cited by him ?

"CHAPTER 8TH.

"93. Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.

"94. Headlong, in utter darkness, shall the impious wretch tumble into hell, who, being interrogated in judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely."

"97. Hear, honest man, from a just enumeration in order, how many kinsmen in evidence of different sorts a false witness kills, or incurs the guilt of killing."

"101. Marking well all the murders which are comprehended in the crime of perjury, declare then the whole truth with precision as it was heard and it was seen by thee."

And this text, which follows the one quoted by Mr. Mill :

"105. Such witnesses must offer, as oblations to Sareswate, cakes of rice and milk addressed to the goddess of speech; and thus will they fully expiate that venial sin of benevolent falsehood."

I have before observed that oaths are not administered to witnesses amongst the natives; and that consequently the peculiar enormity of perjury, the infraction of a divine obligation, cannot be ascribed to the deviation from truth that is permitted in this single instance, which must be of the rarest occurrence. Of this circumstance Mr. Mill could not be ignorant; for in the 8th chapter of the *Institutes of Menu*, from the 73rd to the 102nd verse, are laid down various rules for the examination of witnesses, not one of which requires that the witness should be sworn; and afterwards, in the 109th verse, it is laid down that "in cases where no witness can be had, between two parties opposing each other, the judge may acquire a knowledge of the truth by the oath of the parties." Oaths, therefore, were known in judicial proceedings, but were never used except when the cause could not be otherwise decided.

As so much has been said on the false evidence of the Hindus, and that it was sanctioned by their laws and religion, I will add the following verses from the 8th chapter of the *Institutes of Menu* :

"75. But a witness who knowingly says any thing before an assembly of

rape, murder†, and treason: for such are the acts which all people consider as wrong. Mr. Mill assumes that religion is more connected with the manners of the people in India, and with all their civil institutions, than in any other country. If, then, it prompted the Hindu to do what was wrong, and thus

good men different from what he had seen or heard shall fall headlong after death into a region of horror, and be debarred from heaven."

"81. A witness who gives testimony with truth shall attain exalted seats of beatitude above, and the highest fame here below; such testimony is revered by Brahma himself.

"82. The witness who speaks falsely shall be fast bound under water in the snaky curls of Varuna, and be wholly deprived of power to escape torment during a hundred transmigrations: let mankind, therefore, give no false testimony."

"84. The soul itself is its own witness; the soul itself is its own refuge. Offend not thy conscious soul, the supreme internal witness of men.

"85. The sinful have said in their hearts, 'None sees us:' yes; the gods distinctly see them, and so does the spirit within their breasts."

I will not however conceal that, besides the text quoted by Mr. Mill, there is the following:

"112. To women, however, at a time of dalliance, or on a proposal of marriage, in the case of grass or fruit eaten by a cow, of wood taken for a sacrifice, or of a promise made for the preservation of a Brahmin, it is no deadly sin to take a light oath."

But is it just reasoning to deduce the conclusion from the exceptions to a general rule, and not from the rule itself? Were it even admitted that the Hindu considered himself at liberty to deviate from the truth in these authorized cases of death, marriage, the trespass of a cow, or the preservation of a Brahmin (which are even in both texts described as sins, though venial and not deadly ones), it would not therefore follow that the Hindu code held out "a direct encouragement for perjury;" for it has been hitherto thought that the exception established the rule, and the same will be found to be the case in India: and that, although the Hindus are generally aware that they may suppress or deviate from truth whenever true evidence might occasion death or tend to the detriment of a Brahmin, yet in all other cases they firmly believe that the infringement of an oath, duly administered according to the rites of their religion, will subject them to the pains of hell.

† There are five kinds of wilful murder held by the Hindu to be inexcusable sins: The murder of a Brahmin, a king, a cow, a woman, and a friend. The mention of the Brahmin and the cow must of course be attributed to their religion, and of the king to their monarchical government; but that of a woman and a friend breathes a spirit which would not have disgraced the purest days of chivalry.

degraded his morality, the effects would be too obvious to admit of dispute. But I have perhaps * proved that
 * 154 crimes are of rarer occurrence in India than in England ; and it must hence follow, if morality be a preventive of crimes, that the system of morals in India is preferable to that in England, as it more effectually restrains the doing of even what is there considered to be wrong. However heterogeneous, therefore, and monstrous a compound it may be, it is at least evident that the encouragement of such actions as are universally denominated crimes cannot be ascribed to the Hindu religion. It is also evident that, although the moral sentiments of Europeans and Hindus differ with regard to a few particular acts which this religion sanctions, still it cannot be proved that these acts are immoral.

But admitting for a moment that the morals of the Hindus are depraved, is it therefore a just mode of reasoning to conclude that this effect has proceeded from the nature of their religion? Mr. Mill thinks that where the precepts of a religion lay more stress on religious rites than moral duties, there the qualities which render a man amiable, respectable,

* and useful as a human being, are neglected and de-
 * 155 spised. But in no part of his work has Mr. Mill fallen into a more unaccountable mistake, than in describing the religious rites of the Brahmin as the daily and universal practice of all Hindus. So far, on the contrary, from this being the case, there never was a people among whom, generally speaking, the outward acts of religion were so little practised. It may indeed be said, that were it not for the vacant temples and images, and the occasional view of a Brahmin, it would be impossible to suppose that any religion existed in India. Never are the people, as in other countries, assembled for the purpose of sacrifice, of prayer, or of sacred instruction, and their few festivals may be considered as a grateful tribute of joy and gladness to the Supreme Being, rather than as a pious and devout adoration of the gods. The Brahmins alone are acquainted with holy rites, and they alone are permitted to perform them. The utmost that a man of

another caste dares practise, without incurring the pains of future punishment, is the occasional presenting of offerings to a god, through the priest, the walking round an image, and perhaps sometimes repeating a short prayer ; but these acts are done singly, and proceed from individual and not from general devotion. The necessary precautions for avoiding impurity, which are at present not very strictly attended to, and for preserving caste, although enjoined by their religion, are not considered as religious acts by the Hindus, for they must be observed not by Brahmins only, but by all castes†. If even, then, religion exerted any influence on the morals of a people, it must be evident that in India this influence must be far from *powerful. But does Mr. Mill think that the morality * 156 of a nation is any criterion by which the excellence of its religion can be decided ? If so, let him cast his eyes, not only over Great Britain, but over the continent of Europe ; and when he there beholds innumerable vices, the very names of which are unknown in India ; the intricate wiles of gaming, the frauds of bankruptcy, the profanation of the marriage vow, and the general sacrifice of every principle to self-interest, will he then conclude that the Christian religion degrades morality ? or will he not rather be obliged to admit that nations may be depraved in their morals, although they profess the purest and holiest of religions ?

The preceding remarks will perhaps show that facts, the only admissible evidence on my point, so far from supporting, directly

† The only point where the observation of the Hindu and his religion comes constantly into contact, is the indelicacy of the histories of their gods, and of the images and paintings employed in their temples. But Mr. Mill himself admits that "it may be matter of controversy to what degree the indecent objects employed in Hindu worship imply depravity of manners." This question ought certainly to be decided by facts only, and not by reasoning ; and if no well-authenticated facts can be produced, and I think none can, to prove that the Hindus are particularly addicted to sensual pleasure, and are in the frequent habits of committing the crimes which must necessarily attend its unrestrained gratification, common justice requires that it should be concluded that the indelicacy of this part of their religion has no effect on their morals.

controvert the opinion, which is entertained by many persons, that the Hindu religion is productive of the greatest moral depravity. But I am aware that facts, however well authenticated, will not convince the zealous Christian, who believes that idolatry is the abominable thing that God hateth, that it is possible that the Hindus are neither depraved nor vicious. They will still adhere to Mr. Ward's opinion and think that the heathenism of the Hindus "is the most puerile, impure, and bloody, of any system of idolatry that was ever established on earth,"†—that "it communicates no purifying knowledge of the divine perfections, supplies no one motive to holiness while living, no comfort to the afflicted, no hope to the dying; but, on the contrary, excites to every vice, and hardens its followers in the most flagrant crimes‡." But what arguments, what reasoning, can be addressed to men who censure Sir W. Jones "for his fine metrical translations of idolatrous hymns;" and condemn "the figures and allusions to the ancient idolatries retained in almost all modern poetical compositions, and even in some Christian writings §?" On them the experience of ages is lost; for they distinguish not right from wrong by the nature of action, but by the faith of the man who does it. It would be, therefore, unavailing to attempt the removal of such deeply-rooted prejudices; and

* although the morals of the Hindus are as pure and
 * 157 unimpeachable as those of any other nation, they must,
 since they are defiled by the stain of idolatry, still continue to be considered by such zealous Christians as depraved in the extreme.||

† Ward's *View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii., Introductory Remarks, p. lxxvii. ‡ *Ibid.* lxxiii. § *Ibid.*

|| That such is the opinion of many, is evident from the following passage of a very singular speech of Mr. Wilberforce's in the House of Commons, on the 22nd June 1813, and which expressed not his own sentiments only, but that of a numerous class of British society: "When was there ever yet a nation, on which the light of Christianity never shone, which was not found in a state of the grossest moral darkness, debased by principles, and practices, and manners, the most flagitious and cruel? Is not this true of all the most polished nations of antiquity? Did not more than one practice prevail among them, sanctioned often

But no effects of the Hindu religion seem to be so universally censured as the sanctity and divine obligation which it has conferred on the institution of caste. To all the objections, however, which have been brought against this singular institution there is one obvious reply—That the inconveniences, the check on improvement, and the degradation which are represented as its inevitable result, rest not on any well authenticated facts, but on suppositions alone. Mr. Mill is, I believe, the only writer who has contended, that the Hindus have scarcely advanced beyond a state of barbarism; that several remarkable proofs of barbarity still prevail in India, and that there the arts of barbarians are the only arts much cultivated†: for even Mr. Ward admits, that “no reasonable person will deny * to the Hindus of former times the praise of very exten- * 158 sive learning. The variety of the subjects upon which they wrote, proves that almost every science was cultivated among them. The manner also in which they treated these subjects, proved that the Hindu learned men yielded the palm of learning to scarcely any other of the ancients. The more their philosophical and law books are studied, the more will the inquirer be convinced of the depth of wisdom possessed by the authors. It would be unjust to compare works, some of them written perhaps three thousand years ago, with those of the

by the wisest and the best among them, which in all Christian countries would now be punished as a capital crime?” *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xxvi., p. 810.—If the wisest and best among the Greeks and Romans cannot find mercy, it is useless to plead for the Hindus!

† It is impossible to quote the different passages of Mr. Mill's work to which this remark applies; because he has not expressed these opinions in distinct propositions in any one place, but has scattered them over his work, and interwoven them with every particular subject on which he touches. But it cannot fail to excite surprise, that any person perfectly unacquainted from personal knowledge with the Hindus, and entirely ignorant from personal observation and research of their manners, arts, and literature, should take upon himself to decide dogmatically, that all which had been written respecting their civilization was unfounded; and that, in fact, the Hindus were little better than barbarians:

“Credat Judæus Apella,
Non ego.”

moderns, who must naturally be expected to have made greater advances in every department of science; but let the most learned and profound of the Hindu writings be compared with the writings of any nation flourishing at the same period, and the decision, the author is inclined to think, will be in favour of the Hindus†." It is admitted that the fine arts have made little progress in India: but a most competent judge, Colonel Munro, has declared that they possess a good system of agriculture, and unrivalled manufacturing skill. But in the most ancient Hindu works now extant the present distribution of the people into castes is distinctly mentioned; and it must hence be obvious, that as this institution did not prevent the Hindus from arriving at a very considerable degree of perfection in science, literature, and the useful arts of life, there can be no sufficient reason for supposing that it has been the cause of their not attaining to higher improvement. Even as late as the reign of Vicramaditya, a little before the Christian era, and most probably later, the courts of the Hindu monarchs were adorned by celebrated philosophers, metaphysicians, poets, and philologists‡. Admit, then, Mr. Ward's computation, as it is a medium between the most an-

*cient and the most modern dates ascribed to the writings of the Hindus, that the *Vedas* were written about the time of David (A.C. 1059—1019), and that all their other works were composed after this period, it must appear

† Ward, vol. i., pp. 595, 596.

‡ See Ward, vol. i., p. 40. The author, after enumerating a number of learned men who flourished at this period, observes, "And thus the Hindu courts, filled with learned men, who could boast of works on every science then known to the world, presented, it must be confessed, a most imposing spectacle. A people who could produce works on philosophy and theology like the *Vedas* and the *Dershanas*; on civil and canon law like the *Smritis*; whose poets were capable of writing the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, and the *Shree Bhagawata*; whose libraries contained works on philology, astronomy, the arts, &c.; and whose colleges were filled with learned men and students, can never be placed among barbarians, though they may have been inferior to the Greeks and Romans."

If, however, Mr. Bentley's computation of Hindu chronology be preferred, this striking description must apply to the eleventh century of the Christian era!

extremely singular that, if the institution of caste be a barrier to all improvement, this effect was not in the slightest degree produced during the course of one thousand years. That it tends at all to produce such an effect may be justly doubted; and although no researches have yet discovered the real causes of the decline of literature and science among the Hindus, the preceding considerations will evince that the institution of caste ought not to be considered as one of these causes. It may however be said, that this institution may admit of a nation's advancing to a certain degree of perfection, and then obstruct or prevent all further progress in improvement. That this is possible, may be admitted; but that it is the case of the Hindus, there is no evidence to establish. Future research may, perhaps, discover the causes which have occasioned the human mind in India to retrograde; or science and literature, after having there attained the highest point of perfection to which they could advance, may have necessarily declined, according to a law of nature which seems common to all nations: for caste was not the cause that prevented Constantinople from producing a Homer or a Virgil, a Thucydides or a Tacitus.

It will perhaps be admitted that there is either incorrectness or exaggeration in the following high-coloured picture of the effects of this institution drawn by Mr. Ward:—"Under the fatal influence of this abominable system, the Brahmins have sunk into ignorance without abating an atom of their claims to superiority; the Cshatriyas became almost extinct before their country fell into the hands of the Mussalmans; the Vaisyas are nowhere to be found in Bengal, almost all have fallen into the class * of Sudras, and the Sudras have * 160 sunk to the level of their own cattle; except a few individuals whom these Brahminical fetters could not confine, and who, under a beneficent government, have successfully aspired to riches, though denied the honours to which their ingenuity and efforts would have raised them."† But it may be contended that, were these Brahminical fetters once broken, the genius

† Ward, vol. i. p. 49.

of India would start into new life, and probably attain the perfection of Europe. There can be no doubt that it would at least facilitate the introduction of the numerous improvements in arts, literature, and science of the West; but it may be doubted whether these improvements are adapted to the taste and genius of the Hindus. It may be even doubted whether their general reception would render the people in the slightest degree happier. Would, for instance, the change of their own cottons for broadcloth; their meal of rice, vegetables, and water, for wheaten-bread, flesh, and spirituous liquors; their humble but cleanly cottages for more sumptuous dwellings; their palanquins or horses for carriages; or even their own rude images and drawings for the finest works of sculpture and painting, contribute in the least to their real happiness? The utmost that can be admitted to be of undeniable advantage, and which would then be open to their acquisition, would be better instruments and tools, and more expeditious and comprehensive formulas of science. But as the capacity of the Hindus cannot be disputed, it may be doubted whether, even then, they would receive these from strangers; and it seems more probable, that if they discovered any serious defect in such as they now use, they would themselves find out the means of improvement.

The perfectibility of human nature is a pleasing speculation, but nothing tends more to excite expectations which can never be realized: for the experience of more than two thousand years has shown that the happiness of nations depends not on wealth or knowledge, and that the greatest mass of general misery will be found amongst those people who have attained the highest state of civilization. Are not the inequalities

* of rank and riches the subject of universal complaint?

* 161 and have they not been productive of the most baleful consequences? But if such be the case, can there be a more effectual mode of preventing such consequences, and reconciling men to such inequalities, than an institution which provides for all the wants of society by establishing distinct classes; and which obviates every objection, every murmur that

might in consequence arise, by rendering them fixed and unchangeable, and by impressing on the minds of all, that such distinctions, such gradations, proceeded not from the will of man, but from the express command of God? It cannot be denied that such an institution, although detrimental to individuals who might possess sufficient abilities and genius to raise themselves to distinction in another state of society, must be productive of benefit to the great mass of the people. It must render them contented and happy in that situation in which they were born; and it must repress that ambition, that desire of distinction, which cause not greater evils to others than disappointment and misery to those who own their power. As far, then, as the question regards rank and riches, there will perhaps be but one opinion. But it may be thought that a more general diffusion of knowledge would contribute to the elevation of the minds of the Hindus, and consequently to their happiness.† But does happiness always attend the pursuit and acquisition of knowledge? The lives of the learned will not, I am afraid, admit of such a supposition; for whether they have sought Knowledge for her own beauty in the seclusion of their closets, or attempted to make her an instrument of their ambition, they have still found that their expectations of pleasure remained unrealized, and that their hopes of distinction ended in disappointment. Few, however, are * the individuals amongst any people who can devote their time to the pursuit of * 162 knowledge; and even this class is more numerous in India than in any other nation. The Brahmins, it must be admitted, have generally sunk into ignorance; but let kings once more excite their emulation, and let their consequence

† But to diffuse knowledge generally, without at the same time opening a career in which it might be employed and without affording opportunities for the gratification of the new desires, the new hopes, which it would excite, so far from being a benefit, would be, it cannot be denied, the greatest injury to the Hindus. If, however, the abolition of caste is proposed as the result, the consequence would not remove the existing inequalities in rank and riches, although it might transfer them into other hands, but would merely destroy that divine sanction which renders them at present the objects of pride and reverence, and not of envy and contention.

through the whole of India, the most perfect toleration, as long as the general and universally respected laws of good behaviour are not infringed: with this exception, every tribe may freely and without molestation follow its own domestic intercourse, and practise all its peculiar rites†." Such is the system of polity which many wish to overturn‡. But before it is even tampered with, ought it not to be clearly demonstrated that the institutions which are intended to replace those which have probably remained unchanged for 3000 years, will be equally effectual in preserving the morality and in promoting the happiness of the people?

I have thus entered into a particular examination of the most serious of the charges which have been so repeatedly brought against the Hindus; and it may hence perhaps appear, that of falsehood (as before defined) * they
 * 165 are in general entirely innocent; and that their insincerity proceeds from the circumstances of their situation; and not from any natural propensity; that they

† Dubois, p. 4.

‡ The boldest advocate for a conversion, and even a compulsory conversion, of the Hindus, is a writer in a periodical work of very general circulation: he observes, "Even persecution there (in Hindustan) has provoked no resistance from a people divided into so many races, nations, castes, and sects, and prepared for yielding, not merely by the miserable absurdity and untenable doctrines of their superstition, but by its very institutions also. There is no other country in which it is possible to make converts by compulsion." He adds in another place, "Whatever be the difficulty of converting the Hindus, there is no danger in making the attempt; a new religion may not be immediately dipt or sprinkled into them, but an old one could be washed out. It is but to boil a cow, and supply a fire-engine with the broth, and you might baptize a whole Hindu city out of the Brahminical faith." These remarks he supports by the following observation: "When in Mexico they baptized the people by thousands, dipping besoms in buckets, and swinging from side to side the water which was to shower down salvation, till their arms felt stiff, and their hands were blistered with the work, they acted well and wisely. That generation indeed had nothing more of Christianity than the besom could communicate, but the next went to school and to mass, and became good Catholics."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. i., pp. 208, 210, 214.

On such sentiments any remark must be superfluous; but if Christianity cannot be propagated in India except by such means, it will, I think, be admitted that its introduction had better not be attempted.

have never yet committed perjury in any British court of justice; that their religion exerts no improper influence on their morals; and that the institution of caste, so far from being inimical to improvement or virtue, has been, on the contrary, most probably, one great cause of the civilization of the Hindus, and that it not only has always been, but now is, the greatest preservative of their morality. Nor can there be a stronger proof that the Hindus have been unjustly accused of general depravity, and of being devoid of every moral and religious principle, than the simple circumstance, that in India crimes are of rarer occurrence and of less magnitude than in England†. It is therefore more than probable that, were the objections of minor importance which have been urged against this people examined as particularly, they would all be equally found to rest on no sufficient grounds. But even if they were not, as long as the morality of the Hindus is proved by undeniable facts to be more efficacious in restraining the commission of what are universally admitted to be crimes than that of any other nation, it cannot be justly a subject of censure that they also participate in the failings and imperfections which are * 166
* common to man. But, to establish beyond contro-

† The crime of dacoity, which has been frequently alleged as a proof of the cruelty and barbarity of the Hindus, is peculiar to certain districts of Bengal and Bahar, and is unknown in other parts of India. It seems, therefore, as it is not in the slightest degree congenial with the habits and dispositions of the Hindus, to be produced by particular circumstances and situations. It ought also to be observed, that the opinions relative to the character and manners of the Hindus, which have been hitherto laid before the public, are principally founded on an observation of the inhabitants of Bengal and Bahar, and more particularly of Calcutta and its vicinity. Possessing no personal knowledge of the subject, I cannot pretend to decide how far so many concurring accounts of their moral degradation may be correct; but it is at least certain that, if such be their character, it does not apply to the Hindus in other parts of India; and Mr. Hastings's testimony (hereafter quoted) renders it probable that, were we in possession of more candid accounts, it would be found, as it is reasonable to suppose, that the defects in the character of the inhabitants of Bengal have been greatly exaggerated;—an opinion which is strongly confirmed by the small number of crimes, were all cases of dacoity deducted, which occur in that province.

versy that their good qualities preponderate greatly over such as are objectionable, I will appeal to the testimony of men distinguished for their abilities, who had every opportunity of forming a correct judgment on all classes of the Hindus, and whose capacity to avail themselves of that opportunity will not be disputed. By what motives, or by what process of reasoning, Mr. Mill was induced to pass over these authorities, and to prefer those on which he has relied, is perfectly inconceivable. But as long as the belief which is given to human testimony shall depend on the personal knowledge and the capacity of the witness, there will be, I presume, but one opinion respecting Mr. Mill's own sentiments, or the authorities cited by him, and the following quotations.

Mr. Hastings, on his examination before the House of Lords in 1813, declared—"Great pains have been taken to inculcate into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature: I affirm, by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue and wholly unfounded. What I have to add, must be taken as my belief, but a belief impressed by a longer and more intimate acquaintance with the people than has fallen to the lot of many of my countrymen. In speaking of the people, it is necessary to distinguish the Hindus, who form the great portion of the population, from the Mahometans, who are intermixed with them, but generally live in separate communities; the former are gentle, benevolent,^a more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown to them, than prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people on the face of the earth; they are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority; they are superstitious, it is true, but they do not think ill of us for not thinking as they do. Gross as their modes of worship are, the precepts of their religion are wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends of society—its peace and good order. . . . I have omitted to speak of their faults; faults they certainly

have, they are the lot of humanity: * theirs are such only as can be supposed to subsist in the presence of * 167 so many opposite qualities; but among these I have omitted to mention one, which is not a general but an universal trait of their character:—Their temperance is demonstrated in the simplicity of their food, and their total abstinence from spirituous liquors, and other substances of intoxication†."

Sir John Malcolm, before the House of Commons in 1813, declared—"The character of the different classes of Hindus, which compose a great proportion of the population of the subjects of the British Government in India, varies in different parts of that empire perhaps as much as, if not more than, the nations of Europe do from each other. Under the Bengal establishment there are two descriptions of Hindus, of a very distinct race: below Patna, the race of Hindus called Bengalese I consider to be weak in body and timid in mind, and to be in general marked by the accompaniments of timidity, which are fraud and servility; I think, as far as my observation went, this class appeared to diminish, both in their bodily strength and mental qualities, as they approached the coast; and those below Calcutta are, I think, in character and appearance, among the lowest of all our Hindu subjects. But from the moment that you enter the district of Bahar, or rather the district of Benares, throughout all the territories in that quarter subject to the Company and their dependent ally the Nabob of Oude, and the Duab, the Hindu inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished for their lofty stature, which rather exceeds that of Europeans, and their robust frame of body, which in almost all is inured to martial toil by exercises (I speak more particularly of the Rajpoots, who form a considerable proportion of this population), than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind; they are brave, generous, and humane, and their truth is as remarkable as their courage: the great proportion of the army of the Bengal establishment is composed of these men, and it is remarkable

† Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xxv., pp. 553, 554.

that there are few corporal punishments in that army, the slightest reproach being felt as the greatest punishment is among other nations." "I have spoken * more to the * 168 military class of the Hindus than to the others, because I am more acquainted with them ; but from all I ever heard of those who follow civil pursuits, it is much the same, allowing for the difference of the habits of life, as that of the Bengal sepoys. On the coast of Coromandel the Hindu is a weaker man than the Rajpoot ; but still there are many classes among them who are highly respectable. On the other side of India, under the Presidency of Bombay, the Hindus, inhabitants of Guzerat, are chiefly Mahrattas ; and, from all I have heard or seen of them, are much superior to the inhabitants that I have described along the coast of Bengal, and even to those along the coast of the Carnatic†."

Mr. Grame Mercer declared—"If called upon for a general characteristic of that empire, I would say that they are mild in their dispositions, polished in their general manners, in their domestic relations kind and affectionate, submissive to authority, and peculiarly attached to their religious tenets, and to the observance of the rites and ceremonies prescribed by those tenets‡."

Captain Thomas Sydenham declared—"I think the general character of the Hindu is submissive, docile, sober ; inoffensive as long as his religious habits and prejudices are not violated ; capable of great attachment and loyalty as long as they are well treated by their governors and masters ; quick in apprehension, intelligent, active, generally honest, and performing the duties of charity, benevolence, and filial affection, with as much sincerity and regularity as any nation with which I am acquainted§."

Colonel Munro declared—"The Hindu women, with the exception of one or two very small tribes, which perhaps do not form one-fiftieth part of the population, have as much liberty,

† Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, pp. 568, 569.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 660.

§ *Ibid.* p. 307.

and I imagine more, than the women in Europe. I believe there are no men who have been in India that may not see the women of all ranks, young and old, bathing every day, not only in retired places, but at large garrisons of Europeans, and without being at all alarmed at the appearance of Europeans†."... "But * there is no man who has been in India but must maintain, that nothing can be more modest than their (the * 169 women's) behaviour, and that they confide in it on all occasions for their protection from insult; and they are seldom deceived. It would be no slight praise to the women of any nation, even to the ladies of England, to have it said that the correctness of their conduct was not inferior to that of the Brahmin women, and the Hindu women of the higher classes‡."... "Their state is not that of slaves to their husbands; they have as much influence in their families as, I imagine, the women have in this country. I often found them, when in charge of the ceded districts, very troublesome tenants as farmers: I have frequently known women of respectable families who kept their husbands, and sons grown up, at home, and came to the cutcherry to debate about their rents§."... "With regard to civilization, I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindus. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind, they are much inferior to Europeans: but if a good system of agriculture; unrivalled manufacturing skill; a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and, above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect, and delicacy,—are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilization is to become an article of trade

† Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, p. 782.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 828.

§ *Ibid.* p. 782.

between the two countries, I am convinced that this country will gain by the import cargo†.”

It must, however, be admitted, that these gentlemen, distinguished for their abilities, and intimately acquainted, from long intercourse, with all classes of the Hindus, labour under one disqualification, for they have actually resided in India; and consequently, according to Mr. Mill; their *situation was
 * 170 such as to preclude them from acquiring local knowledge.

It has been affirmed that the British residents in India, however respectable for natural talents and acquired knowledge, contract there prejudices with respect to the natives, which so influence their judgment as to render their opinions on points connected with them entitled to no weight; and even that Europeans are commonly unbaptized in their passage to India. But if prejudice and indifference to Christianity are to be ascribed to persons who went not in search of the facts on which their opinions were founded, as travellers, or as literary and consequently systematic characters; or as missionaries, whose powers of perception are rendered oblique by religious zeal; but who became acquainted with these facts in the course of long and multifarious business, when men's minds are apter to receive unfavourable than favourable impressions; what name shall be applied to men who demand assent to their assertions, although they, at the same time, boast that they possess no personal knowledge whatever of the subject under discussion, and urge this very ignorance as a proof that their opinions are most correct? Courtesy would prevent such conduct being denominated folly and absurdity; but the English language affords no gentler or more specific terms. Nor do the folly and absurdity appear the less, although it may be pompously affirmed that the writer “has not given for true the opinion of any man, until he had satisfied himself that it was true; still less the opinion of any man for true, when he had satisfied himself that it was not true.” For, since intuition is not bestowed on man, there can be but two sources of human knowledge,—personal

† *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, p. 786.

research, and the testimony of others. But the first is expressly rejected, as being in this case the most certain means of occasioning error; and consequently the latter is unattainable, as the only persons who could give it are declared to be incompetent witnesses. Had, therefore, those who adopt this opinion argued consequentially, they ought to have been contented to remain in ignorance, and not to have agitated a question which, so far from admitting of decision, was thus divested of every data on which a reasonable opinion or a plausible conjecture could be formed. It is at the same time singular, that while * they urge such objections, they virtually evince their absurdity, by having recourse to that very testimony * 171 which, as they maintain, ought to be rejected. Determined, however, to carry the absurdity as far as possible, they will not admit the circumstances that have been hitherto considered as the only solid grounds on which a belief in human testimony can rest, capacity of discernment and discrimination, and an intimate acquaintance with the subject attested; but they prefer such circumstances as would in any other case render the evidence extremely questionable, and yield their belief to hasty and superficial observation, to little or no knowledge of the subject, and to the prejudices of religious zeal. On such testimony as the last have the Hindus been represented as sunk in the lowest state of moral degradation; and gentlemen of acknowledged abilities† accused of undue

† Mr. Wilberforce, in the speech before quoted, observed, " But here again, Sir, we see the strange delusion by which our countrymen are led into adopting one set of morals and principles for this country, and another for India. And although, after the proofs of the abilities of the Anglo-Indians which have been exhibited to this House in the course of this very inquiry, the grossest prejudice alone would deny that they are men of superior talents and intelligence; yet I must say, this very consideration, that they have one rule of judging for India, and another for Great Britain, renders them judges against whose competency I must except, when the question is concerning the introduction of British religion, British morals, and British manners, among the inhabitants of British India." Thus superior talents and intelligence, and, it may be added, superior knowledge of the natives, are the very qualifications which render men incompetent judges of the propriety or possibility of subverting the manners, morals,

bias in their opinions, and of indifference to Christianity ! But neither sophistry nor zeal can avail to disturb the foundations on which belief in human testimony is immoveably fixed ; and as long as human judgment remains unperverted, the testimony of a Hastings, a Malcolm, and a Munro, will receive a decided and undisputed preference to that of a Buchanan, a Tennant, or a Tytler.

[NOTE.—The questions here discussed have since been taken up and exhausted by many eminent writers, and have even formed the subject of Parliamentary inquiry ; I would refer to Elphinstone's *India*, Book I., chapters 4 and 5 ; Book II., chapters 3 and 4 ; Book III., chapter 1 ; to the authorities collected in Mr. Dádábhai Naoroji's paper read before the Ethnological Society, March 29th, 1866, London, 1866 ; Notes on Indian Affairs, by the Hon'ble F. J. Shore, 2 vols., 1837, London,—see particularly pp. 513 to 536, vol. I., and pp. 106-215, 310-352, vol. II. ; Bishop Heber's *Journal*, in 2 vols., London, 1829,—I., pp. 307, 308, 313-316, 369 ; II., pp. 218, 270, 271, and the correspondence published in the Appendix, gives the *pros* and *cons*, as they struck that good man ; I would also refer to the following notice in the *Calcutta Review*,—vol. VIII., p. 379 (Hindu Medicine),—see particularly pp. 382, 383.—ED.]

and religion, of forty-five millions of people, which have remained unchanged for three thousand years !!

ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE TOWNSHIP OF LONY :

IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS, RESOURCES, &c. OF THE
MAREATTA CULTIVATORS.

BY THOMAS COATS, ESQ.

[Communicated by the Hon. the PRESIDENT.]

Read 29th February, 1820.

THE lands of the township embrace a circumference of nearly nine miles, comprising 3,669 acres, or about $5\frac{3}{4}$ square miles ; of which 1,955 acres, or 2,410 beegas of $3,926\frac{2}{3}$ square yards, are arable, and the rest is common, and appropriated as pasturage. The boundary is marked merely by heaps of stones, unploughed ridges, &c., and is not apparent to an indifferent person ; but it is well known to the community, and watched with the utmost jealousy. The common land is situated to the WNW. and SW. ; generally elevated, rising in some places into hillocks showing the bare rock ; in others it is undulating, with hollows opening to the east, which carry off the water in the rainy season ; and the whole is more or less thickly strewed with stones, from the weight of a few ounces to as many hundredweights. The soil here is in no place more than a few inches deep, under which is generally a layer of a soft decaying slimy substance, covering a stratum of hard basaltic rock. It yields a scanty covering of grass in the hot and cold season, and is interspersed with stunted shrubs of the *Mimosa* and *Cassia auriculata*, also some wild vines. The arable land lies chiefly to the eastward, the surface of which is more level, and slopes gently towards the river Beema, which it approaches within a mile ; and the soil is in some places six or seven cubits deep, and everywhere sufficiently so for all the purposes of tillage, and

* is rich and productive. A highway leads through * 173 the grounds from east to west; and they are besides intersected by roads, or rather footpaths, which are not confined by any boundary, except where they cross fields while under cultivation. At these times a few thorns are temporarily stuck in on each side of the path; and as there are no regulations for making or repairing roads, they are therefore seldom practicable for wheel-carriages, and are never straight, but wind to avoid difficult places, and are often only known by the uncertain track of cattle and travellers. Some small streams from the high grounds unite and form a brook, which runs east past the town, and through the arable land, to the river Beema. It generally ceases to run for a month or two before the commencement of the rains; but water is always got by digging a foot or two in a sandy bed. There are twenty-five wells, said to be three fathoms deep, and the water within a few feet of the surface; ten of which are at present in use, and applied to purposes of irrigation, and the others are neglected, from the poverty of their owners. The water of the brook is alone for drinking: that from the wells is considered better and was formerly preferred, but it has been disused for some years, as it was thought to occasion Guinea-worm; a complaint formerly common, and now said not to be so.

The rock and stones are all basaltic, often having veins of good water running through them, and are sometimes intermixed with round pieces of zeolite, forming what we call almond-stone. Pieces of quartz of various hue are scattered on the surface everywhere, and sometimes pieces of opal are met with. A calcareous stone of a dirty white colour, in roundish pieces, with a rough honeycombed surface, is found in some places, intermixed with the soil, from which lime is made. The only metal is iron, which enters largely into the composition of many of the stones. The basaltic rock is of different degrees of hardness: some of it cannot be cut with the chisel; and some of it is easily wrought, is well adapted for building, and admits of a fine polish and of being fashioned into figures.

* A few hedges of *Euphorbium*, or evergreen, partially inclose some garden ground a little to the right and left * 174 of the town ; which also contains some fine trees of mango, tamarind, boree, mimosa, and Indian fig, that give a somewhat picturesque appearance throughout the year to those spots. The rest of the lands are wholly without inclosures ; so that after the crops have been reaped, that is, from February till the end of June, the whole has a most dreary uncomfortable aspect, and presents nothing to the imagination but barrenness and neglect. The prospect, however, is different during the other months of the year. In the beginning of July the young corn, that had been sown by the drill, appears in rows on the level and nicely cleaned fields. The brown waste suddenly gets a tinge of green, and the successive hot and cold weather crops, and the necessary operations of husbandry, give an appearance of cheerfulness and industry, until the approach of the hot season in March, that is highly interesting.

QUALITY OF THE SOIL.

The soil varies much in quality and in depth within the township. Towards the Beema it is generally black, often six or eight cubits deep, and highly productive. It gradually decreases in depth, and becomes of a reddish colour as you recede from that river, and on the high ground the rock is either bare or only thinly covered.

The husbandmen divide it into eight sorts ; 1st, Kalee ussul zumeen, or true black soil. It is black, sometimes with a blueish or grey tinge, and commonly in strata of some feet deep. Its surface does not harden by exposure to the sun, but remains in a pulverized or crumbly state. It retains and absorbs moisture readily, and probably contains a large proportion of vegetable matter. It is considered the most valuable of the soils, and yields any of the productions of the Deccan in abundance ; but is particularly favourable for wheat, gram, *Cicer aristinum*, and sugar-cane.—2nd, Tambut, or copper-coloured soil. It is of a reddish-brown colour, and seems to be a mixture of the soil last described and the decomposed

stone of the country. It does not retain moisture so well, and is not so favour*able for the dry-weather crops, but is extremely productive under irrigation or in the rainy season.—3rd, Mal zumeen. This soil is gravelly, and consists almost entirely of decomposed basaltic stone, with a mixture of iron ore; which gives it a reddish and sometimes yellowish hue. It is that met with on the high ground that has been described. It will not yield wheat, peas, or any of the dry and cold weather crops; but when the rains are sufficiently abundant, other productions grow well on it.—4th, White soil. This is of a drab or clay colour, and contains a large proportion of calcareous earth, and effervesces violently with acids; it is considered rich, and particularly favourable for the growth of sugar-cane, vines, and fruit-trees. From its property of repelling water and not swelling when wet, it is used for making the mud walls of forts and dwelling-houses.—5th, Shickest, or adhesive soil. It is black, and becomes very hard and tenacious on exposure to the sun; so that it cannot be ploughed unless moist, and then only by means of five or six yoke of oxen. It seems to differ from the soil first described, only in containing a less proportion of vegetable matter, and perhaps more clay. Its great tenacity prevents the roots of plants striking freely into it, but when well worked it is very productive.—6th, Karree, or salt soil. It is of a charcoal-black colour, but, from an impregnation of Epsom salt and saltpetre, it is almost barren.—7th, Shadewut; black soil, intermixed with the nodules of the calcareous stone that has been described; is not productive.—8th, Kewta, or alluvial soil, which is very productive. It is light and rather sandy; and as it often does not admit of being ploughed, from being full of deep fissures, it is set apart for the growth of hay, which it yields in abundance.

CLIMATE.

This is similar to that which prevails in a tract of country 30 or 40 miles in breadth, extending to the southern limits of Mysore, and north to the mountains that bound Candeish, being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude. It has the hilly and woody

country which skirts the Ghauts on the west, and open naked plains to the east; a great deal of rain falls in the hilly country, and the produce of the fields is different, being generally rice. From July till the end of February the air is cold, moist, and loaded with vegetable exhalations; * 176 and the inhabitants during this period suffer much from agues: from March, however, till the end of May this picturesque region is mostly cool, and affords a delightful retreat. The fall of rain in the open country to the eastward is scanty and precarious, and the air is hot and dry; the inhabitants, however, are at all times healthy, and not subject to any endemic diseases. The climate, in the tract of country that has been defined, enjoys the advantages and is without the inconveniences of that to the east and west of it; the rains are moderate; the cold in the winter months is pleasant, without being harsh; and the hot season is tempered by regular breezes in the afternoon from the sea or west, which always ensure cool nights, and which is denied to the country to the east. It is favourable to health, and is perhaps more congenial to the feelings of Europeans throughout the year than any other part of India. The seasons, as in other tropical climates, are regulated by the motion of the sun, and are divided by the natives into the rainy, cold, and hot, each comprising four months, which is quite conformable to nature. At Lony, the rainy season begins about the middle or towards the end of June, and closes about the end of October; it is marked by showers from the west and southward of west, with an almost constant breeze from the same quarter, and cloudy sky; the clouds travelling to the eastward, and the rivers which rise in the western Ghauts becoming gradually and permanently full. There is often a considerable interval between the showers, and they amount merely to a drizzling; at other times they follow each other in close succession, and last for days together. This season is always preceded, at uncertain periods, often as early as the end of April, by cloudy weather, and violent thunderstorms commonly from the eastward, and especially in the evenings. The peals of thunder are sometimes tremendous.

the lightning is vivid, and frequently destructive ; and the rain, accompanied with gusts of wind, falls for an hour or two in twenty, but always partially ; hailstones of a large size also occasionally fall. But the natives consider these storms accidental, and not part of the rainy season, and never begin to sow their

* grain till the astrologer, who is guided by the appearance
* 177 ances above noticed, announces they may do so with

safety.—July is commonly the wettest month, and the rivers get to their greatest height ; the sun is obscured, and the air is cool all day, and is particularly pleasant, and being abroad between showers reminds one much of England. The thermometer this month averages about 73° or 74° at sunrise, and 79° or 80° at 3 P.M., but is often as low as 72° all day.—In August the intervals between the showers are longer than in July ; and it generally happens that there are some days entirely fair, while the sun occasionally breaks through the clouds, and is hot and scorching. The corn is now a foot or more in height, and the husbandmen are every day busy weeding ; the rocky and heretofore naked hills in the neighbourhood get a degree of verdure, and the deep shadows of the passing clouds give them a striking and beautiful appearance. The thermometer this month averages at sunrise about 70° , and at 3 P.M. about 76° .—The rains are again heavy for a great part of September ; the rivers are often as full as in July, and the roads are deep, and in many places scarcely passable. Towards the end of this month, and during October, the showers become less frequent, but are often very heavy, and in October are occasionally preceded by thunder. The air during this period is muggy, and seems to lose its usual elasticity ; the nights particularly are hot and close, and Europeans generally complain of oppression and languor. The thermometer averages in October about 68° at sunrise, and about 79° at 3 P.M. Except short lulls in the morning and between showers, towards the end of the rains the wind blows steadily and with great constancy during the rainy season from the W. and SW. The cold weather does not actually set in till near the middle of November ; and is always preceded by heavy dews at night, and occasional thick fogs in

the mornings.—December, January, and February, are all cool and pleasant months; the weather, however, is by no means uniform, but seems to alternate with the changes of the moon, one fortnight being very cold, the sky clear, and a dry harsh wind blowing from the east, and many days of the next perhaps are warm and still, and the sky cloudy or hazy.—January is the coldest month; and* the average state of the thermometer at sunrise is about 54° , the lowest about $38^{\circ} 40'$, and at 3 P.M. about 73° . The wind during the cold months * 178 ceases to blow from the westward, and comes from the eastward; it chops the lips, makes the skin rough, and is uncomfortable to the feelings of some people, particularly those who have been accustomed to the coast air, but it is bracing and wholesome. Showers of rain sometimes fall in these months, particularly about Christmas. The natives date the hot season from the new moon that falls about the end of February; but it is seldom insupportably hot abroad any time of the day.—All March the mornings are generally cool, soft, and pleasant, till seven or eight o'clock; the fore part of the day is calm; a hot wind sometimes sets in from the northward about one or two o'clock, which is succeeded in the evening by a refreshing breeze from the westward that blows till near midnight. The thermometer at 3 P.M. stands from 80° to 90° , and at sunrise from 55° to 65° . Storms of thunder, rain, and sometimes hail, are not unfrequent at the equinox.—April is perhaps the hottest month in the year; the air, however, keeps dry and elastic, and is never oppressive to the feelings. The hot land winds from the N. and NW. blow pretty constantly during the day; the cool evening breeze from the westward is as regular. A wind occasionally sets in for a few days at a time, during the hot months, from the southward; which is invariably cool, rather moist, and particularly pleasant: this may be accounted for, probably, from its blowing in the first instance over a great extent of sea, and afterwards over a woody and mountainous tract of country that is not likely to rob it of much of its cold and moisture. The average state of the thermometer at 3 P.M. in the shade is about 90° , and in the open air 108° , and at sun-

rise about 68° : thunder-storms are common during this month. —The weather in May is irregular: if the southerly winds prevail, and the thunder-storms are sufficiently frequent and heavy to soak the ground, it is generally pleasant; if otherwise, the air is often hot and oppressive, particularly at nights, which now have not the sea breeze with any regularity. The thermometer stands this month much higher in the morning and at night than it does in April, being frequently 73° or 74° at sunrise; but it is much *the same at midday. —June is an unpleasant month * 179 till the rains have fairly set in: after the thunder-storms, which commonly cease about the end of May, strong winds amounting to a gale set in from the westward, and blow constantly from nine or ten o'clock in the forenoon till eight or nine in the evening. The natives have a notion that the rains are more or less abundant according to the violence and continuance of this wind, and it is probably not without truth, as it is constantly wafting the clouds loaded with moisture from the sea to the eastward. Thermometer at sunrise this month about 75° , and at 3 P.M. about 82° .

THE TOWN OF LONY

is situated on a dry slope, overlooking its garden and arable lands, which extend to the eastward, and afford a pleasant prospect when the crop is on the ground. Its latitude is $18^{\circ} 37' N.$, and $74^{\circ} 8' E.$ longitude, about 12 miles N.E. of Poona, and 70 miles in a direct line from the western sea-coast, and about 1470† feet above its level. At a distance the town has the appearance of a mass of crumbling clay walls, with a few stunted trees growing out amongst them, and here and there a building like a barn or stable covered with red tiles: the whole is surrounded by a mud wall of a circular form that

† From observations of Lieutenant Jopp of the Engineers, who makes the top of the Bore Ghaut 1470 feet; and if we allow the same descent from the bottom of the Ghaut to the sea, or from the top of the Ghaut to Lony, the distance being nearly the same, the height at Lony ought to be the same as that at the top of the Ghaut; but I should have thought 1470 feet much too little for the elevation of Lony.

measures 5 furlongs, is from 10 to 14 feet in height, and 4 or 5 feet thick at the bottom, and increasing towards the top: it has two rude gates, 10 or 12 feet high and as many wide, made of two pieces of thick planks of teak wood, united by cross-beams let into an eye cut in the frame above, and resting on a hollowed stone below, on which it turns instead of hinges. On entering the town, appearances are not more prepossessing: nothing meets the eye but filth and misery, a total neglect of all regularity, neatness, and comfort; what seemed crumbling clay walls are the dwelling-houses of the great body of the inhabitants, made of sun-dried bricks of the white calcareous earth * that has been described, with terraced tops of the same material; some, however, are * 180 uninhabited ruins; and some have pieces of straw thatch thrown up against them, to shelter some wretched people and their cattle, who have not the means of getting better lodging. The inhabited dwelling-houses amount to 107; and the public buildings are the Chowree, or town-hall; three •Hindoo temples, one dedicated to Mahadeo, one to Hanuman, and the third to Byroo; and a Mahomedan place of worship at present in ruins. The buildings are put down apparently as if by chance, without any attention to regularity: narrow, dirty, crooked lanes wind through amongst some of them; some are in clusters of three or four, and others are entirely detached. The houses are generally constructed as if for defence, and have an impression of gloom and unsociableness: the best are surrounded by a square dead wall, which is entered by a low door; two or three sides are occupied by sheds for cattle, husbandry implements, &c., and one only by the dwelling-house; if a wall does not inclose the whole, there is a walled court in front, or in the rear, or both. The houses have all square gable-ends; a sort of open portico (wosuree) runs along the front of the dwelling-house; the poorer employ this to tie their cattle in, and the richer as a store-room, or keep it clean to sit in. From the centre of the portico a small door leads into the body of the house (muzghur), which is divided into two, three, or four small rooms, without any

openings to admit the air and light; at the back of which is another open poorusder corresponding with that in front, which commonly opens into a private court used by the women for bathing, &c. The poorusder is sometimes open, at other times divided into rooms more or less numerous: the rooms in the centre, or muzghur, are of a good size; some are $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad, and 6 cubits long; they generally are used for sleeping-rooms, and the hottest and darkest are chosen for child-bed women and the sick of the family. A good terraced house for a cultivator and six or eight bullocks will be 30 cubits long, and 20 wide: the walls, built of the sun-dried bricks, are five cubits high; the doors are three cubits high, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide; the roof is formed by small beams of wood, a span asunder, laid across the room; and across these, pieces of plank are laid, and on this chips, and the whole is covered with 8 or 10

* inches of terrace made of white earth, so as to give a * 181 light slope, which effectually keeps out ordinary rain, and, if the wood is good, will last 50 or 60 years.

When grass grows on this terrace, it must be removed from time to time, otherwise the roots give admission to the wet, and occasion it to leak. A house of this description will cost 300 rupees. Two or three houses have upper stories, but they are the property of some families who formerly inherited a portion of the Government revenues of the village, and had horse in the service of Government; these houses probably cost upwards of 1000 rupees. The houses of the poorest inhabitants are not more than 10 or 12 feet long, 4 or 5 wide, and covered with grass, and cost 20 or 30 rupees; they have square gable-ends, which also is the form of all the houses. The outcasts, till lately, occupied a place by themselves outside of the wall, and, as usual, on the east; but in consequence of their houses having been destroyed during the late campaign, they have been permitted to construct some temporary places within the wall. The Chowree, or town-hall, where the public business of the township is transacted, is a building 30 feet square, with square gable-ends, and a roof of tiles supported on a treble row of square wooden posts; it cost about 250 rupees, which

was paid out of the Government revenues of the village. Travellers put up here, and the Government messengers; a corner of it at present is occupied by the Kolee, or water-carrier. The temple of Mahadeo is built of hewn stone, and lime, with a terraced roof of the same materials; it is about 16 feet long and 10 wide, and is divided into two parts; the front, which is to the east, is a small portico, entered by three pointed arches; and the back part, which is entered from the portico by a small door, is the sanctum, and contains the Ling and Silvanka, or the emblem of the male and female organs of generation. This temple was built about 18 years ago by Eswunt Row Scindia, a relation of the present Patail, in the hope probably of covering some of his sins. He was employed for many years as a Siladar in Scindia's service and made a great deal of money. The temple of Hanuman is a building 26 feet square, with a flat roof terraced with white earth, open in front, supported on rows of wooden posts. The figure of the idol is placed against the back of the wall in a little niche facing the front: it is a rude imitation * of a monkey, covered with cinnabar. This temple, as well as all the others, is used as * 182 a lodging for travellers. The temple was built at the expense of the village, and cost about 200 rupees. The temple of Byroo is a tiled building, open in front, and meanly constructed. The idols are those of Byroo and his wife Jogeesuree, and two or three pointed stones; all so disfigured by the oil and cinnabar that have been thrown over them, as to have no traces of features. This idol is famed for preserving persons and cattle bitten by snakes: it is said many such patients have been brought to his temple, and have all recovered. The neem tree, which is used against snake bites, is not permitted to grow within the walls of the village by Byroo, as he takes all such patients under his own care. The building cost about 125 rupees. The Mahomedan place of worship is 10 cubits long and 5 wide, but at present only the bare walls are standing.

The following is an enumeration of the inhabitants—*July*, 1819 :

| | Number of Houses. | Number of Families. | Males. | Females. | Male Chil- dren. | Female Children. | Total Popu- lation. |
|--|----------------------|------------------------|--------|----------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Tulkarrees, or hereditary cultivators, in- cluding the Patails..... | 47 | 50 | 55 | 73 | 51 | 38 | 217 |
| Ooprees, or persons cultivating on lease. | 26 | 34 | 54 | 56 | 27 | 25 | 162 |
| Brahmins, including the hereditary Ac- countant and Priest | 3 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 21 |
| { Carpenter (Sutar) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | 5 |
| { Ironsmith (Lohar), non-resident | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| { Washerman (Pareet) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | 4 |
| { Barber (Navee) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | ... | 4 |
| { Potter (Koombar) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| { Silversmith and Treasurer (Sonar. Potdar) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| { Dresser of Idols (Goorow) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| { Water-carrier (Kolee), lives in the house of a cultivator... .. | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | ... | 4 |
| { Shoemaker and worker in leather (Chamar) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | ... | ... | 6 |
| { Royemaker (Mang), non-resident | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| { Watchman (Mhar) | 13 | 13 | 16 | 16 | 9 | 7 | 48 |
| { Mahomedan Sacrificer | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | 1 | 3 |
| Jain shopkeepers (Wance)..... | 2 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 21 |
| Marwarree ditto | 1 | 2 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Police servants (Ramoossees) | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 11 |
| Mahomedans | 3 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 17 |
| Hired servants | ... | ... | ... | 11 | ... | ... | ... |
| Slaves | 1 | 8 | 8 | 7 | ... | 3 | 18 |
| | 106 | 130 | 164 | 198 | 105 | 98 | 557 |

* The township, then, contains 568 inhabitants with an
 * 183 extent of land equal to about $5\frac{3}{4}$ square miles, which
 gives rather more than 98 $\frac{1}{2}$ persons to the square mile.
 The number of houses is 107, in a few of which are more than
 one family; and the proportion of persons to each house is
 rather more than five. There are 130 married men, 11 or 12 of
 whom have two wives; and the total number of children is 203,
 which gives only $1\frac{1}{2}$ each family, which seems a small pro-
 portion.

INSTITUTIONS.—The township has its own offices, is governed
 by its own laws and usages, and is in a great measure independent

of all without. Its boundaries and institutions have undergone no alteration from time immemorial ; while the great political changes that have been continually going on in the succession of the states it has been subject to have neither given it much disturbance nor excited interest. Its almost only intercourse with the Government is the payment of its taxes.† It is commonly left to protect itself from external enemies, and held responsible for the police within its limits. The Officers of the township are two Patails, who are its civil magistrates : the Chowgulla or deputy Patail, the Koolcurnee or secretary and accountant, and the Barra Balloota, are its twelve subordinate servants.

Patail.—The Patail holds his office directly of the Government, under a written obligation (*muhuser*, or *wuttun puttur*), which specifies his duties, his rank, and the ceremonies of respect he is entitled to ; and his perquisites, and the quantity of freehold land allotted to him as wages. The Patails about Poona, on being asked, generally say they hold their Patailship of the Emperor of Delhi, or one of the Sattara Rajas ; but many of them must be held of the Paishwas, which perhaps they do not wish to acknowledge, as the former are considered more sacred. The *muhuser* is sealed with the seal of the sovereign, has the signature of several witnesses to it, and ends with a malediction against any one who shall disturb or dispute the rights of the holder of it. The patailship is hereditary and * saleable ; but the office is looked on as so respectable, and the * 184 property attached to it is considered so permanent, that there are few or no instances of its being wholly sold, although, as a means of averting misfortune, part of it has been often so transferred. This has given rise to there being two Patails in many villages, and in some three or four ; in which case the duties and rights of the office are divided, according as it may be stipulated in the deed of sale ; the original Patail, however, always retains the rights of precedence. The prominent duties of the Patail are, in conjunction with the village accountant,

† Its members are connected with those of the neighbouring townships by intermarriages, and a friendly intercourse is kept up between them.

to ascertain and collect the Government dues from the cultivators, and see they are paid to the persons authorized to receive them; to encourage people to settle in his village; to let out wastelands, and promote agriculture by every means in his power; to punish offences, redress wrongs, and settle disputes amongst the villagers. In matters of a trifling nature he decides himself, and punishes the offender by stripes or reproof; but is not allowed to impose fines. In cases of more importance he calls a Punchayet; while those that are more serious, and particularly if of a criminal nature, are referred to the Amildar, or the Government. The Patail is also responsible for the police of his township. The Patail is punished by the Government, for neglect of duty, by fine and imprisonment; but, unless for treason or serious crimes, he is seldom deprived of his office. The Patail has necessarily great power and influence, which it cannot be supposed he always makes a good use of. It is said that he sometimes enters into collusions with the Koolcurhec, and imposes on the cultivators in the settlement of their accounts, and with the Kamavisdar in cheating the Government. The Patails are proud of their dignity; the ceremonies of etiquette and respect they are entitled to are all minutely laid down, and they would sooner quarrel with a person for withholding any of them than for doing them an injury. A greater proportion of them can write than of the Tulkarrees, but they are not otherwise more accomplished, except in knavery; and scarcely differ from them in dress, manner, or in their way of living. The Patails pay every twelfth year a tax to Government (duluck puttee) equal to one year's salary.

**Koolcurnee*.—The Koolcurnee keeps the numerous
 * 185 records and accounts of the village: the most important are—1st, The general measurement and description of all the village lands. 2nd, The list of fields, with the name, size, and quality of each; the terms by which it is held; the name of the tenant; the rent for which he has agreed, and the highest rent ever produced by the field. 3rd, The list of all the inhabitants, whether cultivators or otherwise; with a statement of the dues from each to Government, and the receipt and balance in the

account of each. 4th, The general statement of the instalments of revenue; and 5th, The detailed account, in which each branch of revenue is shown under a separate head, with the receipts and balance on each.—Besides the public records, he generally keeps the accounts of all the cultivators, with each other, and with their creditors; acts as a notary-public in drawing up all their agreements; and even conducts any private correspondence they may have to carry on. He has lands, but oftener fees, allotted to him by Government, from which he holds his appointment.

The Balloota are hereditary, and hold their situation of the township. Their grants (*wuttun puttur*) are in the name of the Patail and township, and witnessed by several of the inhabitants: it binds the holder to devote his services to the common good, agreeably to established usages, on the condition of being remunerated with a fixed proportion of the produce of the soil from each cultivator. The Balloota also have perquisites for exercising their particular callings at marriages, and other rites and ceremonies. The *wuttun puttur* sometimes has the seal and signature of the Daismook and Deshpaundee to it, and a copy ought to be lodged with the latter. The expenses to a Balloota on his appointment amount to 50 or 60 rupees, in perquisites and presents.

The particular duties of the Balloota are as follow.

Carpenter.—The carpenter makes, and keeps in repair, all the implements of agriculture that are of wood; which material is furnished by the cultivator himself. He gets as wages 200 sheaves of corn and about 24 seers of grain for every thirty begas of land under cultivation, and his dinner, or a few seers of grain, while employed putting the implements *of husbandry in repair at the sowing and ploughing * 186 seasons. He furnishes the chowrung, or stool, on which the bride and bridegroom are bathed at the marriage ceremony. He supplies travellers with pegs for their tents, and for picketing their horses. The Government, the Deshmook, and Deshpaundee, are entitled to his services for his dinner two or three days in the year.

The Ironsmith.—The ironsmith makes and keeps in repair all the ironwork belonging to the implements of husbandry. He makes the sickles, hoes, &c. of the cultivators, and the simple lock and chain which fasten their doors, but is supplied with iron and charcoal. On tiring the wheels of carts, as being a troublesome job, he gets a present of money. He performs the operation of bugar, or sticking the hook through the skin of the back of devotees who swing before the idols of Byroo and Hunman. He shoes the horses of the villagers, when they have any, and of travellers, but is not expert at this work. He furnishes a set of horse-shoes and 24 nails annually to Government, which supplies him with iron. His wages in produce are one-fourth less than the first class of Balloota.

Washerman.—He washes the clothes of all the male inhabitants: the women commonly prefer washing their own. He spreads a cloth for the bride and bridegroom to walk on at one of the marriage processions (meerwat). He also spreads clothes, often those left with him to wash, for the parties to sit on at marriages and other festivals, which entitle him to presents. He washes the clothes of travellers, but expects a present for his trouble.

Barber.—He shaves the villagers, cuts their nails, &c., every fifteen days; taking care that the operation is performed on a lucky day. He performs the operation of kneading the muscles and cracking the joints (chuppie) of the Patail and Kool-curnee on holidays, and of all travellers of distinction who come to the village. He is the village surgeon, and plays on the pipe and tambour at weddings, &c. He does not act as a torch-bearer in the Poona Praunt, as in some other parts of the country. When the Patail goes abroad, the barber accompanies him, and carries and cleans his copper pots; and on public festivals he acts, in conjunction *with the water-carrier and potter, as cook, and, before and after eating, hands the party water to wash. When the bridegroom arrives at the village to take away the bride, his horse is led by the barber to her house, when he receives a present of a turban. He trims the tails of the oxen at the sowing season,

which entitles him to a present of grain. His fees are the same as the other Balloota of his class.

Potter.—The potter supplies the community with the baked earthen vessels they use for cooking, keeping their spices, salt, grain, &c. in, and for carrying and holding their water. He also furnishes travellers with such of these vessels as they want. He beats the daka, a kind of drum, and repeats verses in honour of Jami (an incarnation of Bhowanny) at marriages. At the harvest homes (dowra) he prepares the burbut, or stewed mutton. He makes tiles and bricks, but is paid for them exclusively of his fees. The potters near Poona were exempted from paying the Baloot Sara by Balloojee Viswanat, in consequence, it is said, of having been active on some occasions in tiling his house.

Silversmith.—The Potedar, or treasurer, who is always a silversmith. He examines the coins when the taxes are paid in; and on ascertaining they are good, stamps his mark on them, and deposits them in his treasury till a suitable sum accumulates, when it is sent under a deputation of Mahars to the revenue collector. His allowance of grain and grass is the same as those of his class; and when employed as a silversmith he is paid from two pice to a rupee, according to the nature of the workmanship, for each tolah weight of gold or silver he manufactures.

Dresser of Idols.—Goorow, or attendant on the village idols. He pours water every morning over the idols of Hunman, Byroo and Mahadeo; puts a pigment of sandal wood and oil on their foreheads, and dresses them with flowers. He sweeps the temples, smears them with cow-dung every eight days, and lights a lamp in each every night. At the new moon he anoints the idol of Hunman with cinnabar and oil, and Byroo every Sunday with oil only. Each family in the village gives him daily a small quantity of flour; which he makes into cakes, and offers at noon to the idols, and afterwards takes to his family. During the nine days * (nowratra) preceding the Dusrah he gives each family a handful of flowers * 188 for making garlands, which are offered to Bowannee.

He supplies the Koolcurnee daily with platters made of the leaves of the Indian fig tree joined together with skewers (patroulee), for the use of his family, and on festivals to all the inhabitants.

Water-carrier.—He keeps vessels constantly filled with water at the public building of the village for the use of all Hindoos. If a mendicant resides in the building, which is usual, the water is put under his care that it may not be defiled. He supplies the water required by travellers, and for marriages and festivals. He brings the food for the persons who are fed by the village, from the inhabitants whose turn it is to supply it, pointed out to him by the beadle. He lights the lamps every night at the chowree, sweeps it, and every eight days besmears it with cow-dung. When the village is on the bank of a river, the water-carrier points out the proper ford to travellers; and when it is not fordable, he takes the villagers or travellers across on a float made of gourds, or inverted earthen pots. His wages, as well as all the Balloota of the third class, are one-fourth less than that of the second.

Shoemaker.—He keeps the shoes of the whole community in repair, and supplies the Koolcurnee, Patail, Chowgulla, Daismook, and Deshpandee, with a pair of new ones annually. The other inhabitants pay him about a rupee for making their shoes and supplying leather. He supplies the cart and plough-drivers with leather thongs for their whips (assoar). He mends the shoes, bridles, &c. of travellers, but expects a present. The skins of all sheep killed in the village are his perquisites. He does not eat beef or carrion, and is allowed to live within the village. His wages are the same as the carpenter's.

Ropemaker.—The Mang makes ropes of the fibres of the ambadee (*Hibiscus cannabinus*) for the use of the cultivators, and a kind of strong rope of raw hides used for yoking the oxen. The cultivators supply him with the materials. He castrates young bulls; and performs the operation in the fourth year of the animal's age, as follows: The bull is thrown down, and a cord tied rather tight round the spermatie cord. The glands

*are then well rubbed with ghee and turmeric, and beat with a tent-peg. Swelling and absorption of the *189 gland soon follow, and the animal is fit for work in a few days. He makes the muzzle (mooskee) put on the mouths of oxen when they are employed weeding and in treading out the corn. On the first of the twelve holidays celebrated by the cultivators (Pola), which happens on the new moon in October, the Mangs put mango leaves hung on a rope made of grass across the gate of the village, the chowree, and the doors of the principal inhabitants, which is supposed to ensure good luck to the village during the year. This holiday is in honour of oxen, which are released from all labour; prayers are offered up that they may be able to endure the labour of the year; they are fed with dainties, their horns painted, and garlands of flowers put round their necks. The Mangs have the character of being cruel and revengeful. They act as public executioners, and it is said may be hired as assassins. They live outside of the village, and are not permitted to enter the house even of a Mhar. They get the hack or customary fees of the first class of Balloota.

Watchman.—The Mhars, Dhers, Parwarrees, although considered outcasts, and not allowed to have houses within the village, or to enter the house of any of the inhabitants, have great weight and are of great importance as members of the community. The number of families of this class belonging to each township is from five to fifty, according to its extent, who reside in a hamlet (marwalla) situated on the east side, and within call, of the village. The duties of the Mhars are various; the following are the most important:—To prevent all encroachments on the boundaries of the township or its rules, of which they are supposed to have an accurate knowledge handed down to them by tradition. In boundary disputes their evidence is generally considered conclusive; which they are called on to give by walking round the boundary in dispute, under an oath, in a solemn and formal manner, accompanied by the Patail and villagers, who mark their track as they go along. They are the bearers of all letters on the

business of the township, and generally of all messages. They convey the money taxes of the township to the Government collector, or person authorized to receive them. They are * present at all Punchayets involving any of the * 190 hereditary rights of the community, and their evidence has great weight. They furnish wood at marriage-feasts, which entitles them to a present of clothes from the bride. They supply the Patail and his deputy (Chowgalla) and the Koolcurnee with firewood at the feasts of the Dusrah, Holi, and Dewalli. They carry the fuel required for burning the dead, and get the winding-sheet, in which some money is always tied, as a perquisite. They carry the baggage of travellers—except the cooking utensils, clothes, and articles of diet of Hindoos, which would be defiled, and are therefore carried by Koonbees—to the next village. They supply travellers, during their stay at the village, with firewood: clean their horses, and keep watch over them during the night. They furnish all guides (wattaree). They have charge of the flag and gates of villages that are furnished with them, and open and shut the latter morning and evening. Besides, a beadle (Yesker) of this tribe is always in waiting at the public building of the village (Chowree), and reports the arrival of all strangers, and all remarkable occurrences during the day to the Patail. He is instructed to keep all troublesome visitors from the Patail and Koolcurnee, by saying they are from home, or sick; and to protect the village generally from annoyance, by any subterfuge his ingenuity may suggest. He is the official medium of communication between the Patails and inhabitants. He is responsible that none of the inhabitants are called on to act as porters out of their turns. He keeps an account of the Koonbee families whose turn it is supply mendicants, servants of the Government billeted on the village, &c., with their dinners. He attends all travellers during their stay at the village; and all their wants are supplied and paid for through him. The beadle is relieved at stated periods, generally every week. While on duty, he receives daily from the Patail half a cake, and from each of the cultivators one-fourth of a cake

at noon, and every evening a portion of porridge (ghatta) from each family ; which is generally more than enough to supply himself and his family with food. The Government and revenue-officers have a claim on the services of a Mhar, for his food, a certain number of days during the year ; the Government for three months ; the Daismook, one month ; Despaundee, fifteen days ; * and the Sir-Patail, eight days. They are employed during this period to bring wood, grass, look after horses, * 191 &c. The service is termed vapta, and is sometimes commuted to money. The Mhars in each township have a portion of freehold land assigned them adjoining their hamlet, called Hadkee, or " the place of bones," where all dead cattle are brought and cut up. They also hold another portion of land (Haddola), which pays a small quit-rent. Services to the community are, besides, considerable. Each of the hereditary families gets forty sheaves of corn in the straw, and four seers of winnowed grain for every suzgunnee of corn land. The skin and carcasses of all dead animals, which it is their duty to remove, belong to them. The Mhars are extremely filthy and disgusting in their habits ; and it would add much to the respectability of Europeans, in the opinion of the Natives, were they to exclude them from being about their houses or persons. Those belonging to a village community are generally well behaved, intelligent, and active ; but those without this tie are often drunkards, debauched, and not unfrequently robbers and murderers.

Mahomedan Sacrificer.—The Mahomedan Sacrificer kills the sheep at sacrifices and festivals ; his wages are a portion of grain and straw, and when there is a Mahomedan place of worship in the village, a portion of land is usually attached to it, which he has the profits of.

CULTIVATORS—THEIR PHYSICAL AND MORAL CHARACTER.

The cultivators, it will be seen, form almost the whole of the population of the township. They are termed generally Koonbees, and belong to the fourth or servile class of Hindoos. They are rather low in stature, lean ; the hands, feet, and bones are small ; and their muscles, although not bulky, are prominent, and often

give a good shape to their limbs. Their average height is 5 feet 4 inches, and weight 7 stone 10½lb. This is an average of twenty men in every hundred. An average of twenty-eight measured was 5 feet 3¼ inches: 5 feet 6 inches is considered tall; and one weighing 8½ stone would be considered heavy. Their hair is black and straight, and is kept shorn, except on the upper lip, and a tuft on the crown of the head. Their complexion is bronze-coloured of different * shades; some * 192 families are nearly jet-black. The face approaches nearer to round than oval; the forehead is short and retiring; the cheek-bones rather high; the eyes are full and black; the nose straight and prominent; the teeth not remarkably good, and covered with a black pigment as a preservative, or stained with betel. The features taken together are often harsh, and the general expression is rather of sediteness and goodness of disposition than of quickness, and is entirely without any character of ferocity. Their organs of perception seem unfolded earlier than those of Europeans, and sooner show marks of decay. Their children, while mere infants, are often quick, intelligent, and highly interesting, while a man of forty is often stupid and getting into his dotage; yet they are by no means short-lived. Their average age, of a list of twenty-five of the oldest male Koonbees at present of Lony, given to me, is 96 years 8 months†; and that of the same number of females, 72 years 6 months; but, as it is not customary to keep registers of births, this account is not to be entirely depended on.

In their moral character they are temperate and industrious, which their hardiness and patience under fatigue enable them wonderfully to sustain. A school is established in the town, where reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught: but it is only attended by the children of the brahmins, shopkeepers, and patails, so that scarcely any of the cultivators can either read or write. Although they are not remarkable for sharpness, they are not wanting in intelligence. They are minutely informed in every thing that relates to their own calling; they

† In the same list, five of the males are stated to be upwards of 90; the oldest 96: and seven of the females above this age, and one as old as 99.

are fond of conversation, discuss the merits of agriculture, the characters of their neighbours, and everything that relates to the concerns of the community, and many of them are not without a tolerable knowledge of the leading events of the history of their country. On the whole, they are better informed than the lower classes of our own countrymen, and certainly far surpass them in propriety and orderliness of demeanour. They are mild and unobtrusive in their manners, and quickly shrink from any thing like an opposite behaviour in others. Litigation is not a marked *part of their character. They are forgetful of injury, or, if they harbour animosity, they are seldom * 193 hurried by it into acts of violence or cruelty. Custom has taught them not to have much respect for their women, or rather, indeed, to look on them with contempt; but they are always indulgent to them, and never put any restraint on their liberty. The great attachment they have to their children forms an amiable part of their character. They are usually frugal, inclining to parsimony, and not improvident; but at their marriage feasts they are lavish and profuse, and on these and other occasions often contract debts that are a burden to them for life. Their religion strongly enjoins charity, and they are disposed to be hospitable, but their extreme poverty is a bar to their being extensively so. No person, however, would ever be in want of a meal amongst them, and they are always kind and attentive to strangers when there is nothing offensive in their manners. They are just in their dealings amongst themselves, but would not be scrupulous in over-reaching the Government or persons without. Theft is scarcely known amongst them; and the voice of the community is loud against all breaches of decorum, and attaches weight and respectability to virtuous conduct in its members. The vices of this people, which they owe chiefly to their government, are dissimulation, cunning, and a disregard to truth. They are naturally timid, and will endeavour to redress their wrongs rather by stratagem than more generous means; when roused, however, they will be found not without courage, nor by any means contemptible enemies.

Food, Cookery, and Time of Meals, of the Koonbees.

Their ordinary food consists of different sorts of grain, pulse, greens, pods, roots, and fruits, hot spices, and oil, all the produce of their fields ; and milk, curds, and clarified butter ; but they are fond of the flesh of wild hogs and of sheep when they can get it. They are not restricted by religious prohibition from the use of spirituous liquors, but drinking is considered disreputable, and rarely practised. When they take a dram, it is as much as possible in private, and as if by stealth. No intoxicating liquor is sold in the town, and probably very

few of the inhabitants have *ever been seen drunk.

* 194 Vows are made in some families, not only against drinking spirits, but eating any sort of animal food, which give respect, and are commonly strictly adhered to. Their every-day fare consists of, 1st, Báker, or unleavened cakes, made of the flour of badgerce or juwarree (*Holcus spicatus* and *saccharatus*), with water and a little salt, about one-third of an inch thick, baked on a plate of iron, or on the ashes : 2nd, Badgee Palla, greens, pods, roots, or fruits cut in pieces, and boiled soft, and when the water is drained off mixed with salt, red and black pepper, asafoetida, garlic, onions, coriander seeds and turmeric, and fried in oil : 3rd, Ghatta, porridge made with coarse ground juwarree boiled in water with a little salt to a proper consistence : 4th, Wurrun, split pulse boiled in water with salt till quite soft and the water is nearly all evaporated : 5th, Allun, the flour of pulse, particularly gram (*Cicer arietinum*), boiled with spices or cumin and coriander seeds, black and red pepper, salt, turmeric, and shreds of roasted onions, to the consistence of pea-soup.—Their holiday fare is, 1st, Cakes made with wheat flour, split pulse, and coarse sugar ; the latter are made by first boiling the pulse soft and mixing it with the sugar, and then kneading them with the wheat paste : 2nd, Tailcher, pulse boiled soft and mixed with coarse sugar, and inclosed in a paste of wheat flour, which is rolled into a cake and dropped for a moment into a vessel of boiling oil, and then taken out for use : 3rd, Phoor, Phoomia, split gram, steeped over-night in water, and mixed with salt

and the hot spices, and made into balls, which are fried in oil for use : 4th, Kurree, the decoction of an acid fruit of the tamarind or amsula (*Tamarindus Indica*), the hot and aromatic spices, and salt, poured over and eaten with boiled rice : 5th, Sewea, paste of wheat flour rolled into threads and dried in the sun, and when wanted boiled in water and eaten with milk and sugar : 6th, Páper, the flour of ooreed (*Phaseolus max*), salt, asafoetida, and various spices, made into paste rolled as thin as a wafer, and dried in the sun, and when wanted for the table baked crisp : 7th, Chutnee, some of the hot spices made into a paste by being bruised with water.—When they eat animal food, it is generally dressed by being cut into small pieces and fried in oil or ghée, with asafoetida, garlic, onions, and hot spices, and eaten with cakes or rice ; or they first dry the pieces of flesh, and * 195 then boil them with the flour of badgerree into a kind of porridge. The large proportion of salt and spices in their food excites great thirst, which they quench by frequent and copious draughts of water : they conceive that good digestion and health depend almost entirely on the purity of this fluid, and are consequently nice in their choice of it. They have three meals daily : their breakfast generally consists of a cake, some of the spiced vegetables that had been cooked the day before, chutnee, or a raw onion. Except on idlo days, they take it in their fields about eight o'clock, after an hour or two's labour, by the side of a well or stream, on their haunches, the cake serving as a troncher. Their dinners are brought them by their wives about noon, and consist of two cakes, badgee palla, and alternately a dish of wurrun, allun, or ambtee, all fresh cooked ; and the supper consists of porridge, a cake, milk curdled or fresh. Ambtee is served up about seven or eight in the evening, after the close of the labours of the day. The holiday fare is reserved for feasts, and is eaten with their friends at home†. The ordinary daily subsistence required for a cultivator

† This food must be cooked by one of their slaves, or by one of an acknowledged superior caste. This point, and a jealousy of their women having any

and his wife, is two seers (of 37 ounces each) of grain ; which if they should have to purchase would cost 8 pice † ; garden-stuff, 2 pice ; split pulse, 2 pice ; fuel, 1 pice ; and tobacco, half-a-pice : making the total cost of the articles, were they to purchase them, $13\frac{1}{2}$ pice, equal to about $5\frac{1}{2}d$. But, with the exception of the tobacco, they are all of their own production.

Dress and Clothing of the Cultivators.

A cultivator, in his every-day attire, is a most wretched-looking being ; * and, when first seen by an European,
 * 196 can only excite feelings of pity and of disgust. In the warm weather, when at home or in his fields, he is quite naked, with the exception of a dirty rag between his legs, secured before and behind to a cord tied round his loins ; unless he should have on a pair of short drawers of coarse cotton cloth, meant to be white, and a dirty bandage rolled carelessly about his head. In the cold and rainy weather he adds a piece of coarse black woollen cloth, which is worn on the shoulders or tucked in at the crown, and thrown on the head, and allowed to hang like a cloak. His appearance is a good deal improved when in his holiday dress, but still is not very attractive : his turban is white, sometimes red or green, and put on with some care, and if he wishes to be a beau, it is set on one side, and a bunch of flowers or a fragrant sprig is stuck in it. The body is covered with a frock of coarse whitish cloth, extending to the knee, without a collar, fixed at the neck with a button, and made to cross over in front, and tied with tape ; a white cotton cloth (dottee) of a finer texture is thrown across his shoulders, or worn round his waist. His drawers are of the same materials with the frock, and tied above with a running tape, and

intimacy with persons of a low caste, are those alone in which they seem to have any strong prejudices.

† “ There must be some mistake here : for while I was superintendent of bazars during two years in the Deccan, the average price of badgerree was two pice per seer of thirty-two ounces avoirdupois : juwaree was a little cheaper. These are the grains which are principally used by the inhabitants of the Deccan. The average price of wheat was three pice and a half per seer. A pice is about $\frac{1}{4}$ halfpenny, but frequently varies in its value.”—*Note by the Secretary.*

are open at the knee. The legs are bare, and shoes, with round or rather square toes, worn down at the heel, or a pair of sandals, complete the dress. The wardrobe, therefore, of a cultivator contains the cumlee, or black or grey woollen cloth, six cubits long and two broad, which lasts a year, and costs from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 rupees; a turban of thin cloth, mostly white, 30 cubits long and 14 inches wide, that costs 2 rupees; the frock, which costs $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupee; and the drawers about $\frac{3}{4}$ rupee. The turban, frock, and drawers, each lasts about six months. The dotee, which is a double cloth 13 or 14 cubits long and 2 wide, costs $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 rupees, and lasts a year. A roomal or langootee, a piece of coarse cotton cloth, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits square, worn between the legs, as has been described, costs 7 or 8 pice, and lasts six months; and a pair of shoes, that cost 1 rupee, and are renewed every six months. The whole annual cost of his wearing apparel thus amounts to about $15\frac{1}{4}$ rupees, equal to about 38 shillings. The cumlee and dotee are not used exclusively as articles of dress: they are spread out on the stones, or under* the shade of a tree to sleep on; grain, garden-stuff, &c. are * 197 tied up in them, and carried on the head or on the shoulder, &c.

Furniture and Necessaries of a Cultivator's Family.

These are as simple and unostentatious as every thing else amongst these people, and consist of—A stone hand-mill; the stones are about two feet in diameter, the upper one being turned by a wooden handle, in a peg fixed in the centre of the lower one: the mill costs 1 rupee and 2 pice monthly for setting it; but if the stones are made of granite, which however are more costly, instead of that of the neighbourhood, this operation is seldom required. Two wooden pestles, three cubits long, shod with a hoop of iron, with a corresponding stone mortar set into the floor in a corner of the house; they cost about $\frac{1}{2}$ a rupee. A copper boiler, with a narrow mouth, capable of holding 20 quarts, used ordinarily by the women of the family for bringing water from the well; the value about 10 rupees. Two or three quart copper vessels of a similar,

shape, and for drinking out of, holding milk, cooking in, &c. ; that cost about 2 rupees each. Two or three round shallow dishes of copper, or a kind of bell-metal, for eating out of; the former cost $1\frac{1}{2}$, and the latter 1 rupee each. An iron griddle for baking cakes on, that costs $\frac{3}{4}$ rupee; a frying-pan that costs 1 rupee; four or five glazed earthen pots, for holding oil, ghee, sugar, and other dainties, suspended in a net from the roof to preserve them from rats, cats, &c. ; 20 or 35 unglazed earthen vessels, with small mouths, of a gradation of sizes, piled up in rows in a corner of an inner room, one upon another, so that the bottom of the upper one serves as a cover to the mouth of that below it; they hold the stock of grain, pulse, salt, spices, onions, garlic, &c. required for daily consumption. A large earthen jar of 30 gallons, which holds the water for daily use; and is washed out and filled every morning. The earthenware will all together cost about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 rupees. A large wooden dish for kneading dough in, that costs 10 pice; a flat stone, with a stone rolling-pin, for bruising and reducing spices, &c. to powder; some baskets and utensils of net-work for sifting and carrying grain in; some large cylindrical * wicker baskets of different sizes for holding seed, grain, &c.

* 198 Two iron cups for lamps, supported on wooden stands, or suspended from the roof by a chain. Two rude couches for sleeping on, 6 feet long and 3 wide, and 1 high, and laced with rope, which cost 1 rupee each. The above is an enumeration of all the utensils of a cultivator's family in ordinary circumstances: the value of the whole is about forty shillings. A rich man will have more copper vessels, a copper lamp instead of an iron one, and his couches laced with tape instead of rope.

Religion, Rites, and Superstitions of the Koonbees.

Their system of faith and worship is extremely absurd and lamentable, but many of its precepts are good, and have a wholesome influence on their moral conduct. It inculcates the belief in future rewards and punishments, enjoins charity, benevolence, reverence to parents, &c., and respects all other

modes of worship, but does not admit of proselytism. The Koonbees are sincere and devout in their worship, which is exempt from the idle and protracted ceremonies of the Brahmins, and does not restrain them from any of the duties of life. They are professedly followers of Mahadeo; but are led by a spirit of toleration, or rather superstition, to join in the worship of any sect or object that comes in their way. They constantly make vows at the tombs of Mahomedans, and occasionally even at those of Christians. The idols of Cundoo and Byroo, Jemnee Yemnee and Tookia, local incarnations of Mahadeo and Parwuttee, are their principal objects of worship; and are believed to be vindictive and prone to anger, and only to be appeased or conciliated by penances, sacrifices, and offerings. The figures of these idols are in relief, on plates of gold or silver, about four inches high and two broad, and every family has two or more of them placed on a stand (*dewarah*) in a suitable part of the house; which constitute their *Kooldiewut*, or household gods. Cundoo is represented with four hands, holding a sword and shield, and seated on horseback, with a dog by his side. Byroo has also four hands, which hold a trident and a small drum. Jemnee Yemnee and Tookia are females, with four or more heads, each holding weapons * of offence, with necklaces of human skulls, &c.; and they all have separate histories of their birth, ex- * 199 ploits, &c., not less interesting than those of the worthies of Greece and Rome. The idols are bathed and anointed, have offerings of grain, &c., and frankincense burnt before them by one of the family, generally by the grandmother or person who has least to do, every morning; after which all the members of the family, before going to their labours, and even the children, bow themselves before them and repeat short prayers: as that they may have health and strength of body to undergo the fatigues of the day, that their families and cattle may be protected from harm, that they may get their bellies filled, &c.

When a person has not the means of getting married, has no family, is without service, labours under any tedious or

severe sickness ; if his cattle dies or any misfortune befalls him, he proceeds, after consulting with his friends, to one of the temples in the town, or one in the neighbourhood more famed for working miracles, and makes a vow to perform certain penances, or make certain sacrifices and offerings in honour of the idol, if he vouchsafe to hear his prayers ; or that he will swing himself by a hook stuck through the skin of his back, or be carried suspended in that state on a jolting cart to the temple ; that he will roll himself on the ground, or measure his length, from his house to the temple of the idol, which sometimes happens to be a journey of several days ; that he will go to this temple handcuffed and in chains ; that he will sacrifice a sheep, goat, or fowl to him, or make him offerings of sugar, sweetmeats, cocoanuts, &c. These ceremonies in one form or other are constantly going on in the villages, during which the penitent is accompanied by his friends, and the pipe and tabor. The community all implicitly believe in the influence of incantations, lucky and unlucky moments, the ill effects of envious looks, the power of witchcraft, and the existence of ghosts, which have a great effect on all the concerns of their lives.

Their religion strongly enjoins marriage, which is by far the most important consideration on this side the grave, and considered so essential to respectability and happiness, that it is universally adopted, except by persons labouring under some incurable disease or deformity, or by the most wretched. One

who has not been married is not admitted to join * in
* 200 certain rites and festivals ; and the calamity of being
without a son to perform his obsequies and offer prayers to his name, extends beyond this world. Polygamy is allowed, but seldom practised ; except by the rich, or those who have no family by the first marriage. The marriage contract generally takes place at so early an age, that the affections of the parties can have little share in it, and the whole is arranged by their parents. Although contrary to the custom of the higher class of Hindoos, women are sometimes received in marriage after the age of puberty. The men are under no restric-

tion as to the time of marriage; and it is very common for old fools of 40 or 50, and upwards, to marry children of eight or ten years of age. When a marriage is contemplated, the following points must be settled: 1st, That the parties are not of the same kool or clan. They may both bear the same surname, but in this case their dewuck or family-crest† must be different. Consanguinity in the female line is no ground for objection. 2nd, That the planets under which they were respectively born are in harmony, and auspicious to the union; which is decided by the astrologer. 3rd, That they are healthy, and without any personal defect. The amount of the portion and quality of presents to be made to the bride are then settled, preparations are made for the marriage, and the lucky day and moment fixed by the priest for its celebration. The ceremony occupies three or four days. If the bride and bridegroom live in different villages, as is commonly the case, the bridegroom, painted with turmeric, with a crown of gilded paper on his head, seated on a pony, and accompanied by his relations and friends to the number of forty or fifty, proceeds with music to the village of the bride. As they approach, they are welcomed by a deputation of her friends, and conducted first to the temple of Hunman, where some offerings are made to the idol, and then to an arbour prepared for the occasion, adjoining the town of the bride, where the ceremony is performed. When the bridegroom and his party are introduced to that of the bride, she is seated in the centre of the arbour on an elevated spot, but concealed from the view of her future husband by a cloth held before her. As soon as the * auspicious moment arrives, the priest begins the * 201 ceremony. The cloth is removed from before the bride, the bridegroom is seated on her right side, and one of the attendants knots their garments together. The priest now repeats some Sanscrit verses, and exhortations in the

† Every Marratta family has a sort of armorial bearing or ensign to distinguish the kool or clan. It is commonly some plant or animal, as a sun-flower, &c.

Marratta dialect, part of which is rational enough, and part is unintelligible. The ceremony concludes by the whole of the party sprinkling rice, given them by the priest, on the heads of the bride and bridegroom. The party now separates: the bridegroom remains in the house of his father-in-law, and his friends and attendants proceed to a house set apart for their reception, or to that of some of their acquaintances. In the evening a formal deputation with music is sent on the part of the bride, to invite the relations and attendants of the bridegroom and the principal inhabitants of the village to a feast; and if any one was passed over who expected to be present, it is an affront scarcely to be forgotten. On the morning of the second day, the party all assemble at the place where the marriage ceremony was performed, and amuse themselves with games, joking (which is not always in very delicate language), telling stories, laughing, pelting each other, &c.; and in the evening they all meet at another feast given on the part of the bridegroom. On the third day the bride is bathed, anointed with perfumed oils, dressed in her best clothes, and formally given over by her mother and female relations, amidst tears and lamentations, to the protection of her husband and his family, to whose house she is now considered as belonging. The bridegroom is now seated on a horse with his bride behind him, and the procession passes on to his village, where it is met by the community; and after parading the streets for a time with music, the ceremony ends by a feast in the evening, to which almost all are invited. The bride lives alternately at the house of her father-in-law and with her mother, till she arrives at a proper age to live altogether with her husband; but even then she is not prevented paying occasional visits to her mother. The ordinary expenses of a marriage are 2 or 300 rupees, but often much more. When the family of the bride are in worse circumstances than that of the bridegroom, he bears the expense of the marriage, and besides often gives a sum of money to her parents; and the reverse takes place when the

* 202 bridegroom is poor and his consort rich. When the circumstances of the parties are the same, the expense

is usually borne in equal proportions ; but all depends on previous negotiations.

Widows are sometimes permitted to marry ; but it is looked on by some families as disreputable, and not practised. It is only widowers who marry widows, and the offspring are not entitled to inherit in the same proportion as those by a first marriage. Widows sometimes go with their husbands to the funeral pile, but this is very rare. It is between forty and fifty years since a suttee took place in a Koonbee family at Lony. About sixteen years ago a female devoted herself to the pile, but was taken ill and died before the ceremony could take place.

On the birth of a child, the event is made known to the priest, who, from the configuration of the planets at the moment it is brought to light, predicts its destiny. He now gives it a name, which is termed the *naw ras*, or name from the heavenly signs. A woman is considered unclean for twelve days after her labour. During this time anybody entering or coming out of the house where she is, is sprinkled with cow's urine in which the leaves of the lime-tree are infused as a purifier. On the morning of the twelfth day she bathes, her clothes are washed, the walls and floor of the house are smeared with cow-dung, which restores its purity ; and she proceeds to a spot outside of the village, accompanied by some female friends, and makes offerings to Setui, the goddess who presides over child-birth and children till their tenth year. In the evening the mother gives a feast to a party of her married female relations and acquaintances, when the child receives its *bata naw*, or name that it is to be constantly known by ; which is fixed on by the members of the family. Children, besides, often get a nursery-name, termed *awartee naw*, or name of affection, which they keep during life. The names usually given by the priest are,—Amrota, Dungeregee, Regojee, Ankorsa, Boobajee. Those in common use for males are,—Ragoo, Bala, Luximon, Cundoo, Rama, Etttoo, Pandoo, Beema, Nagoo. For females,—Gopee, Chimee, Radee, Simjee, Cassee, Tukee, Baggee: to which *Jee* and *Bae*, having nearly the same meaning as *Mr.* and

Mrs., are occasionally affixed. The common nursery names * are, Baba, Nanna, Bappoo, Appa, Nannee Bai, Tiee, * 203 Kackee, Abbie. And the surnames are Jaddow, Gykwar, Powar, Cuddum, Kattee, Sandajee, Seetolee, Muggur, &c. Some persons are named after their place of residence; as, Ragoojee Lonykur, *Mr. Ragoo of Lony*. In writings, the father's name of the person is subjoined; as, Luximon bin Kundoo Powar. When the child arrives at the age of about twelve months, its head is shaved, except a tuft on the crown, and the hair made an offering of to Setui. On this occasion the barber gets a present of a pair of gold, silver, or copper scissors; and the mother gives a feast to a party of married women.

They generally burn their dead; but it is also a custom in some families to bury them. When a person is on the point of death, his son or next heir, as a mark of affection, takes his head in his lap, and drops water into his mouth. The dying person is enjoined to perform acts of charity. If he makes a present of a cow and five rupees at this time to a Brahmin, it is considered very meritorious, and favours the flight of his soul to a happy abode. As the breath is gone, the females of the family make loud lamentations, and dishevel their hair; as much, perhaps, often from custom as from feelings of affection; however, they are not wanting in such a feeling. At this time a small piece of gold is put into the mouth of the deceased, the reason of which they do not explain. After an interval of an hour or two, during which the friends and neighbours assemble and condole with the family of the deceased, the body is bathed and wrapped in a white cloth, and the face sprinkled with a red powder, and then carried on a sort of frame to the funeral pile. The corpse is preceded by the son or heir carrying fire in an earthen pot; and is accompanied by his male and female relations and neighbours, without their head-dresses, all calling out, "Jei ram, Sree ram!" The corpse is put down at the appointed place, the winding-sheet is removed, and the body placed quite naked on the pile, made of dried cow-dung, and covered to the height of two or three feet

with the same material. The heir now puts the fire to the pile, while the priest repeats some prayers. The party wait till the body is nearly consumed, then bathe and return to their homes, with the * exception of one person, who remains till the fire is extinguished. The next morning the ashes are all careful- * 204 ly collected in a cloth, and thrown into the nearest running stream—if a sacred one, so much the better; and the spot on which the pile is, is smeared with a purifying mixture. It is believed that the soul of the deceased, from a longing after its earthly enjoyments, hovers about its late abode for ten days before it is disposed to take its flight to its new Jannum, or birth. During this period, or a part of it, every person of the same clan becomes unclean, and must go into mourning; which is shown by his laying aside his head-dress and shoes, sleeping on the ground, not drinking milk or eating sweetmeats, not shaving, renouncing business, and not going abroad, refraining from entering a temple, or having any intercourse with women. It is customary during this period for the nearest relations of the family to cover a portion of the floor of the apartment of the person who has died, with a fine white powder (the mineral zeolite finely powdered), which they cover with a large basket, and after an interval examine it; and if the mark of the foot of any animal, or any mark supposed to bear any resemblance to one, be observed, such, it is believed, is that which the soul of the deceased is to animate in his new birth. On the tenth day the heir and his family, accompanied by the priest, proceed to a stream of water nearest the village, and perform ceremonies for the rest of the soul of the deceased, and make offerings of hallowed food. If the crows come and eat of it, the omen is good, and it is believed the soul is happy and has entered its new birth: on the contrary, if they avoid it, the greatest consternation takes place; the friends of the deceased call on him to know why he is unhappy, that he has no reason to be so, as his family will be protected, &c. Every expedient is tried to get the crows to eat of the food; and if after waiting till night, without success, a figure of a crow is formed by the priest, and made to touch the offering; and the party go home, but,

generally persuaded that the soul of their friend remains at large, and becomes a ghost or demon. In September, on the day of the moon on which the person died, offerings are made annually by his nearest of kin to his manes.

The community all implicitly believe in incantations, witchcraft, a modification of fatalism, and in the existence of * 205 ghosts and evil spirits. When a person is seized with any uncommon sickness, or suffers from any calamity, his first concern is to find out whether it proceeds from natural causes, or from the displeasure of any of his gods, from witchcraft, from the malevolent look of some one, or from an evil spirit. With this intention, various experiments are had recourse to by himself or friends. A flower is slightly stuck on the breast of an idol; and according as it falls to the right or left, or does not fall at all, so is the omen interpreted. A sacrificial vessel is suspended by a string, and watched to see whether it turns inwards or outwards, or remains stationary, &c. &c. If these trials are not satisfactory, a Janta, or person versed in supernatural operations, is called in, who determines the question. The displeasure of the gods, which proceeds from some omission in their worship, or some vow not having been redeemed, is averted by suitable offerings and penances. The effects of incantations and witchcraft are dispelled by counter-incantations of the Janta; or the witch (Kupter) is seized, and compelled by threats to remove the spell, or is handed over to the Government and fined, or sentenced to drink water from the hands of a cobbler, which destroys the power. Injury from malignant looks is removed by ceremonies performed by the Janta or family. The mother of an infant which is supposed to be sick from this cause, is cured by her throwing a mixture of salt and red pepper into the fire, and repeating the following jingle:—

“ Drist mist Allee Galee chee.
Boota Kata papee Chendalachee.”

The person himself whose looks have done the mischief, as this is thought to be involuntary, is not liable to punishment;

but he is avoided ; cattle are not driven past his door, &c. In gardens or rich fields an earthen pot whitewashed is stuck up on a pole to attract evil eyes. The walls of houses are ornamented with gaudy figures or stripes. Beautiful women and children wear necklaces, &c. ; and beads are put round the necks and legs of cattle, &c. Connected with this superstition no person compliments another on prosperity, his fine oxen, or handsome wife.

* The male ghosts and evil spirits are termed Keins, or Joting ; and those of females, Hadalt. Those of * 206 Brahmins, Mahomedans, and outcasts, have different names ; and the general term Boot is applied to the whole. They are believed to be the souls of persons in their former existence who have been murdered, unjustly deprived of their inheritance, or otherwise ill-used ; or of persons still having a hankering after the pleasures of this life, who have left a good house, an estate, a female favourite, &c. behind them, or have buried treasures, &c. Their favourite haunts are large trees in lonely places, deserted buildings, and old wells. They are seen or heard making strange noises, especially at noon and midnight, and assume different shapes, often that of a deer, and suddenly becoming a very tall figure, or of a strange ox or goat, mixing in the flock for a time and vanishing into air†. If a person sleeps under a tree haunted by a ghost, or lops off any of its branches, defiles the ruin or old wall it frequents, or jostles it on the road, or if one appears to a person whose conscience pricks him and he is afraid, he becomes sick, or some calamity befalls him. Ghosts are otherwise believed

† The Sept-Asira, Aija, or Jeldoota, are seven water-nymphs, who destroy or carry off handsome young men for their own enjoyment.

‡ A ghost haunts an Indian fig-tree and well in a field near the Bungalow at Lony, and is occasionally seen in different shapes. It once carried a person, for presuming to bathe in the well, to the bottom, and drowned him, and has done other mischief ; but if not disturbed, it is harmless. It was seen last night (September 1819) in the shape of a dog, at first of the ordinary size, which suddenly grew to an enormous bulk, and then vanished into air. This ghost is ordinarily termed "Peepree Bana," from the peepree-tree, near which it stays.

to be harmless, except to those who had injured them in this life, and who are tormented in various ways. The evil spirits that possess them occasion madness and strange diseases ; they haunt them in their sleep, destroy their families and every enjoyment. The incensed spirits are attempted to be appeased by ceremonies, and are cast out by a numerous set of impostors, who derive a handsome livelihood from their trade. One way of casting out devils is by the exorciser placing the person possessed with the evil spirit in front of an idol, seizing him by the lock of hair on his crown, and threatening him, or actually scourging him, till the demon says what offering * 207 or penance will satisfy him.

Sports, Amusements, and Holidays, of the Cultivators.

Amidst their intense labour and anxieties, the cultivators have many intervals of idleness. Their least busy season is for a month or two before the rains set in, during which period their marriages are usually celebrated, which give a round of feasting. They are fond of attending the annual pilgrimage at the temples in their neighbourhood, which, however, have nothing of a solemn character, and entirely resemble our fairs. On these occasions the whole family generally issue forth dressed in all their finery. The old folks and children are seated on a bullock across the bedding, with two or three days' provisions, and the necessary cooking utensils, while the young and robust walk by their side. When the party reach the temple, they first bathe, and make a present each of a copper coin to a Brahmin, who says some prayers for them, then squeeze their way through the crowd to make their offering to the idol. When this duty of danger is safely accomplished,—for it is one in which persons are not unfrequently suffocated,—they partake of some sanctified food prepared by the priest of the temple, and devote the remainder of their stay to amusements. They saunter about in the crowd, converse with acquaintances that come in their way, listen to story-tellers, look at jugglers and tumblers, and finally purchase what they may be in want of, together with sweetmeats and toys for such of their family

or friends as have remained at home. Drunkenness, quarrelling, and rudeness, are unknown, and the tens of thousands that are often assembled on these occasions all return to their homes in perfect good humour.

They have many holidays. Those of greatest interest are the Holi, Duśrah, Dewalli, and one in honour of their cattle. The holiday of the Holi is said to be in celebration of the spring. It takes place at the full moon in the month of April, or at the end of March, lasts five days, and is a time always looked for by both old and young with great delight. Its approach is announced by the boys and men making a loud bawling, interrupted at intervals by stopping the * 208 mouth with the back of the hand, and uttering coarse jokes to persons that come in their way, particularly to women and men whom they at other times treat with respect. Fuel for the bonfire is stolen wherever it can be had, which the owners do not resent unless the thief is caught in the act; and the matrons of the family go to market and lay in a stock of luxuries for the expected festivities. On the evening of the full moon the whole of the community assemble (excepting outcasts, who form a party of their own) in front of the town-hall; and in the centre of a spot swept clean and sprinkled with water, the stem of a sugar-cane and one of the castor-oil plant are stuck, round which the fuel, consisting chiefly of dried cow-dung, is piled to the height of six or seven feet. The community now all sit or stand in a ring round the pile, which is personified under the name of Hoota Shence, while the Patails, assisted by the priest, worship it, and make offerings of grain, flowers, &c. But the principal offering is a cake, by the senior Patail, of which he is particularly jealous, as it is a mark of acknowledgment of his precedence. Fire is now brought from the burning pile of the outcasts, which is a service of danger, as it is opposed by their throwing brands at the person sent for it. This is put into the hands of the Patail, who applies it to his pile; and while it burns he goes round it three times making a noise, calling out "Phidew, Phidew, Oulous," which is repeated by all the male attendants. When

this ceremony is over, dances, songs and games, are begun, and are continued alternately all night†. The favourite dance is the tipree dance. Twenty, thirty, or more young men form a ring, each with a piece of seasoned wood a foot in length in his hand, which he strikes alternately with that of the person before and behind him, keeping time with it and his foot, while the circle moves round keeping time to a drum and shepherd's pipe of three or four sweet and plaintive notes. Boys and young men dress themselves and dance and sing in imitation of nautch girls. Others dress and personate different characters.— Their games are :

* The *Wag Mendee*, or Tiger and Sheep.—A number * 209 of persons sit down in a circle, and fix themselves firmly in their places by hooking their arms with those of their neighbour on each side of them. A strong and active fellow personates the tiger, and one equally so the shepherd. The shepherd stands in the centre of his flock with a hard twisted cloth in his hand, while the tiger is outside and endeavours to draw off one of the sheep, which they resist by sticking together, and the shepherd by making a noise and beating him. The sport consists in the perseverance of the tiger and his standing his beating well. If a sheep is carried off, the rest of the flock abuse the shepherd and proceed to appoint another.

Kokurachee Kail, or Game of Fox.—Any number of persons sit down in a row, facing alternately opposite ways; the half that look one way represent foxes, and the other half dogs: a dog stands at one end of the row, and a fox at the other; and the game begins by the dog trying to catch the fox, who runs up and down the line. When the fox is tired, he calls *Koke* into the ear of one of his brethren, who instantly starts up, and he takes his place. In like manner when the dog is out of wind he is relieved by one of his species;—and so the game goes on. When a fox is caught, his part of the play is at an end, and he becomes a spectator.

Meis Bate.—A number of persons sit down in a ring, and

† Those dances are performed by young men and boys; modest women never join in them.

one stands outside with a hard twisted cloth in his hand. The game begins by this person walking quietly round the circle a few times, then suddenly placing the cloth on the shoulder of one of the party and running off, while he who has got the cloth jumps up and buffets him with it till he is fairly seated in the vacant place. The person with the cloth now disposes of it as his predecessor had done, and endeavours to avoid a buffeting by speedily occupying the vacant seat.

Hootatooche Kail.—Similar to our Prisoners' Base.

During the remaining days of the Holi other amusements go on, many of which are not very seemly. The men and boys assemble in groups in the mornings; some go about in fantastic dresses, throwing dirt and mud at any one that comes in their way. If any one is absent, he is hunted from his hiding-place and ducked in a horse-pond. When women appear abroad,—but this they avoid as much as possible,—* 210 they are saluted with the most obscene speeches; and men of rank by coarse jests, which are always taken in good part. Other parties go to a spot of ground without the village, dedicated to Vetā, the prince of demons, where wrestling and feats of strength are performed; and all are ambitious to conquer the champion of the former year. About noon the gambols cease, and all proceed to a stream to bathe; after which each family partakes of a feast, which is followed by a nap; and in the evening moonlight dances and games, such as have been described, are resorted to. The holiday ends on the fifth day, which is termed the Rung Punchmee, in allusion to sports with coloured water and flowers. The coloured water is made by adding an alkaline salt to a decoction of the flowers of the pullas (*Butea frondosa*), which is thrown over each other, and on the clothes of travellers, out of pots and through syringes. They all dust each other with flour stained red. On this day the women take a part in a body, with a branch of the castor-oil plant in their hands, and lay hold of the Patāil and richest of the inhabitants, and if necessary are assisted by their gallants, and plague them till they consent to give them a *post*, or Holi present.

The Dusrah is the next of importance of their festivals. It is

celebrated on the tenth day of the new moon of Bhadrapud (a), which generally falls in the beginning of October, and is said to be in commemoration of the destruction of the demon Mheissassoor, that had tyrannized over the world, by the goddess Bhowannee. From the first to the ninth day is a time of mourning:—the goddess is oppressed with grief at the recollection of the miseries the world had sustained during this period, and she is not disturbed at any of her temples by supplications and vows. On the first day of the moon, the whole community go in procession with music to the temple of Bhowannee, offerings are made, and the eighteen kinds of grain are sown by the priest in front of the idol; and from this day till the tenth, a garland of flowers is hung up in the temple daily by one person in each family, who during this period must abstain from the use of grain, butter, animal food, &c., and carefully avoid all pollutions. The

* same observances are enjoined towards the household * 211 idols of the goddess. The Dusrah, or tenth day, is one of great rejoicing: almost every one is provided with new clothes for the occasion, and all are decorated in all their finery, and every family partakes of a feast of mutton. In the forenoon all weapons, and every implement belonging to each family in which there is iron, are brought forth and worshipped. Those who have horses bathe them, dress them with flowers, and sacrifice a sheep to them, and sprinkle them with some of the blood. In the evening all the men put some of the plants of the grain that had been sown in the temple in their turbans, and proceed with music to the boundary of the lands of the township, and worship the Aptee-tree (*Bauhinia tomentosa*); and all return home with some of its leaves, now considered emblematical of gold, and some ears of corn, which they first make offerings of to the village gods, then reciprocally interchange with each other. A part of the ceremony is the Seme wullungun, or passing the boundary. This consists in the party passing the boundary of the township, and bringing each some stalks of grain; but it is not always practised.†

(a) [This should be the 10th day of the first half of A'svana.—ED.]

† Sometimes a male buffalo is sacrificed in honour of Bhowannee.

The Dewali, Deepaullee, or Time of Lights, takes place twenty days after the Dusrah, and lasts three days; during which time there is feasting, illuminations, and fire-works; oil is burnt in earthen cups, which are placed in front of the village temples, public buildings, and each house. The boys let off crackers, and those who can afford it have blue-lights, flower-pots, and other kinds of fire-works. This is the commencement of the official year of native bankers and merchants, and the time of adjusting their accounts. It also commemorates, according to their fables, the destruction of the demon Narkasoor by Mahadeo; who, as a boon, ordained that the event should be marked by illuminations.

The holiday in honour of cattle takes place on the last day of the moon of the month Sravun, and happens this year in the middle of August. The oxen on this day are released from all labour; their horns are covered with tinsel or a red pigment, and tassels of the fibres of the root of the pullas shrub are tied to their tips; garlands of flowers are put round their necks, * and they are fed with sugar and other dainties, while their owners prostrate themselves at their feet and worship * 212 them. In the evening all the cattle are driven round the temple of Hunmunt, with those of the Patail in front,—which if otherwise he would resent as an encroachment on his dignity,—and all is concluded with a feast. In the hot months, when the cultivators have most leisure and the country is naked, they sometimes hunt hares, shoot deer and hogs. In the hot part of the day the hunters scatter themselves over the country; and when the game is started, keep it continually on foot till it is exhausted, when it is knocked down with sticks or caught by the ears. When a boar is brought to bay, he is shot with a matchlock, or boldly encountered on foot with a spear and sword.—During the moonlight nights throughout the year, in the fine weather, the Koonbees are fond of sitting in the open air, and chanting songs in chorus, with the accompaniment of a drum and the chondkia (a simple stringed instrument), and listening to stories.

Condition of the Cultivators.

The condition of these interesting people is extremely de-

plorable. Their houses are all crowded, and not sufficiently ventilated; and their cattle and families are often under the same roof. Their food, although seldom deficient in quantity, is not always wholesome and nutritious; and they are wretchedly clothed. Though exercise and water-drinking generally make them wear well, the constant labour of their women out of doors unfits them for nurses, and a large proportion of their children in consequence die in infancy. The heavy exactions imposed on them by the Government keep them always poor, and do away every prospect of independence, or an improvement in their condition: they are therefore improvident, and seldom trouble themselves with the future.

The township, as has been shown, contains eighty-four families of cultivators, all of whom, excepting fifteen or sixteen, are more or less in debt to moneyed men in the neighbourhood, generally Brahmins or shopkeepers. The total amounts to 14,532 rupees, besides which there is a debt owing by the community of 3,075 rupees. The usual rate of interest is twenty-four * per cent.; but when small sums are borrowed, it * 213 is often at two pice per month, or about forty per cent.

The average of the principal of the debts of individuals is from 40 to 200 rupees; two or three, however, of the inhabitants are upwards of 2000 rupees in debt. These debts have generally been contracted to defray the expenses of marriages, or to purchase cattle and food. Each debtor keeps a running account with his creditor, and takes a receipt for sums he may from time to time pay, while the interest is brought against him till it equals the principal, where it ought legally to stop: "*Dam doosur, kun teesur*;" or, "For money take double, and for grain or merchandize take treble," is the maxim that guides juries in adjusting these debts. Few of those in debt, however, know any thing about how their accounts stand with their creditor; and it is a common opinion amongst them, that they have discharged all just demands on them over and over again: and, as none of them know anything of accounts, this may not be without truth. About a fourth of the inhabitants are, besides,

indebted to their neighbours for grain and straw, borrowed to support themselves and cattle till the next harvest, which they are under engagements to repay in kind, and never less than with a profit of fifty per cent., and often seventy-five per cent.

The whole of the produce, therefore, of the cultivator is generally mortgaged before it is reaped, to satisfy the various demands on him. This is the case in ordinary times; but in bad seasons, or in case of any calamity, the evil is much increased. If any of their cattle die, they have no means of replacing them, but on the terms above explained; and if they fail in this, their only resource is to quit their fields for a time (for they always return if practicable), and endeavour to save a little money by becoming servants to Brahmins, &c., or perhaps soldiers. It is said the cultivators were in a state of comparative prosperity under the Peishwa previous to Bajee Row's time, of which there are traces. In those times the Government collected its revenues through its own agents: the maximum of the land-tax was fixed, and only charged on lands actually under cultivation; while remissions were made in bad seasons, and sums of money without, or on a moderate interest granted in cases of great distress. *The revenues, therefore, fluctuated according to the actual prosperity of the * 214 country; soon after Bajee Row became Peishwa, this system, alike beneficial to the Government and the people when not abused, was laid aside, and that of farming the revenues from year to year to the highest bidder was adopted in its stead. All intercourse now was closed between the Government and cultivators, who fell into the hands of a set of avaricious and unprincipled contractors. The consequences were certain: the farmers naturally made the most of their leases by every temporary experiment; the husbandmen were urged to cultivate beyond their means, and taxed for lands not even cultivated; remissions were not made in times of calamity. The people became loud in their complaints against the prince who thus abandoned them; and ultimately there were frequent defalcations of revenue, from the farmers being unable to realize their rents from the impoverished country.

This township came under the dominion of the British Government the beginning of last year (1818), which was hailed as a happy event by all the cultivators : and the abolition of the farming system which followed, and the liberal remissions of revenue in consequence of losses by the war, confirmed the high expectations that had been formed of our justice and liberality. The inviolable respect which has since been shown for the prejudices and ancient customs of the people, and the arrangements in progress for the further improvement of their condition, by the enlightened and able statesman under whose administration our late conquests in the Deccan have fortunately fallen, will, if followed up, not only secure a permanence to this feeling, but substantial happiness and prosperity.

If we may form an opinion, however, from the result of our government in many of our old possessions, this perhaps is too much to expect. With the best possible intentions, our revenue and judicial systems have not always had the effect of making the most of the fair resources of the country, and unfortunately have not tended to improve the morals of the people.

We still have a great deal to learn regarding the institutions and peculiar ways of thinking of our Indian subjects ; and, in any attempt to improve their happiness and condition, innovations and theorizing cannot be too carefully avoided,

*and particularly European notions, which are totally
 * 215 incompatible with those of Asiatics in their present state of civilization. The only means, perhaps, of making the condition of the ryots really comfortable, is permanently to lower the land-tax, and to look to an increase of revenue from other sources : but this is not to be done without making considerable sacrifices, at least for a time. The revenues at present are almost wholly derived from the soil, which is so taxed as barely to leave the cultivator the means of subsistence ; while merchants, bankers, and the moneyed part of the community, scarcely contribute in any shape to the wants of the Government.

The daily occupation of a cultivator is usually as follows :—
 He rises at cock-crow, obeys the calls of nature, washes his

hands, feet, and face, repeats the names of some of his gods, and perhaps takes a whiff of his pipe or a quid of tobacco, and is now ready to begin his labour. He lets loose his oxen and drives them leisurely to his fields, allowing them to graze, if there is any grass on the ground, as they go along, and takes his breakfast with him tied up in a dirty cloth, or it is sent after him by one of his children, and consists of a cake and some of the cookery of the preceding day, or an onion or two and chutnee. On reaching his field it is perhaps seven or eight o'clock; he yokes his oxen, if any of the operations of husbandry require it, and works for an hour or two, then squats down and takes his breakfast, but without loosing his cattle: he resumes his work again in a quarter of an hour, and goes on till near twelve o'clock, when his wife arrives with his dinner; he then unyokes his oxen, drives them to drink, and allows them to graze, or gives them straw. He takes his dinner by the side of a well or stream, or under the shade of a tree, if there happens to be one, and is waited on during his meal by his wife. After his dinner he is joined by any of his fellow-labourers that may be near, and after a chat takes a nap on his spread cumly or jota for half an hour, while his wife eats what he has left. He yokes his cattle again about two or half-past two o'clock, and works till sunset, when he proceeds leisurely home, ties up and feeds his oxen; then proceeds himself to a brook, bathes and washes himself, or has hot water thrown over him * by his wife at home. After his ablutions, and on holidays perhaps anointing himself with sandal-wood * 216 oil, he prays before his household gods, and also often visits one or more of the village temples. His wife by his time has prepared his supper, which he takes in company with the males of the family. His principal enjoyment seems to be between this meal and bed-time, which is nine or ten o'clock; he now fondles and plays with his children, visits or is visited by his neighbours, and converses about the labours of the day and concerns of the village, either in the open air or by the glimmering light of a lamp; learns from the shopkeeper or beadle what strangers have passed or stopped at the village, and their history; and

from any of the community that may have been at the city (Poonah), what news he has brought. In the less busy times, which are two or three months in the year, the cultivators take their meals at home, and have sufficient leisure for amusement; they sit in groups in the shade, and converse, visit their friends in the neighbouring villages, go on pilgrimages, &c. &c.

Condition, Manners, Amusements, and Dress of their Women.

The women of the cultivators, like those of other Asiatics, are seldom the subject of gallantry, and are looked on rather as a part of their live stock than as companions: and yet, contrary to what might be expected, their condition seems far from being unhappy. The law allows a husband to beat his wife, and for infidelity to his bed to maim her, or else put her to death: but I have never known these severities resorted to, and rarely any sort of harsh behaviour. A man is despised who is seen much in company with women: a wife therefore never looks for any fondling from her husband; it is thought unbecoming in him even to mention her name; and she is never allowed to eat in company with him from the time of their wedding dinner, but patiently waits on him during his meals, and makes her repast of what he leaves: but setting aside these marks of contempt, she is always treated with kindness and forbearance, unless her conduct is very perverse and bad; and she has her entire liberty. The women have generally

the sole direction of household affairs; and if clever,*
 *217 notwithstanding all their disadvantages, not unfrequently gain as great an ascendancy over their lords as in other parts of the world. They make their parties at each others' houses in their native villages, and go on pilgrimages almost without control. They all keep their private purse, and carefully conceal its contents from their husbands, which is supplied by the wages of extra labour, presents from their relations, and sometimes, when he is good-humoured, by a donation from the husband. If the wants of the lady are urgent, or she is less scrupulous, she pilfers grain and sells it to recruit her funds. This money is employed in procuring ornaments

for her person, or favourite child ; and if these should be so expensive as to excite the suspicion of her husband, she is obliged to attempt some satisfactory explanation ; she also defrays the expense of feasts to her friends, and buys fruits and sweetmeats for herself from this source. The women have their exclusive feasts and holidays. The feasts are on occasion of thanksgiving ceremonies connected with the birth of their children, and are attended by married women only. Their principal holidays are the Nagpunchmee and Gowree : the celebration of the former is supposed to be auspicious to fruitfulness ; and the latter, which is in honour of Lutchmee, to the acquisition of money. The origin of each is explained by a love fable. The Nagpunchmee takes place on the 5th of the new moon of Shrawun, which happens this year on the 25th of July. In the afternoon all the women, decorated in their best attire, go in procession with music to a white-ant hill, in which a Nag (*cobra de capello*) is supposed to be concealed, and make offerings of milk and sugar, while the priest says prayers. They then take hold of each others' hands, dance round the hill in a ring, alternately rising and kneeling, and keep time to a song which they sing in chorus. At intervals they amuse themselves by taking parched rice in a clenched hand and putting it on each other's heads, while they ask the names of their husbands ; which, as it is considered indecorous to answer directly, must be done in a rhyme, which seldom has any meaning.

The holidays in honour of Gowree or Lutchmee take place on the 5th of the Hindoo month Bhadrupud (this year 25th August). A figure of the * goddess is painted on paper, and worshipped with some ceremonies, which close with a feast. * 218

The women are modest, and, unless with strangers who do not know their language, without any appearance of prudery. They never drink, seldom make use of coarse or abusive language, and are generally remarkably chaste. Love intrigues, however, occasionally take place amongst the young folks behind a corn-stack : and if discovered, the lady must submit to be chastised by her husband, while the lover is reprimanded by the Patail, and hooted at by all the old folks of the community. A second

offence is more seriously noticed : and if the intrigue should be with a Mahomedan, or an outcast, there is some danger of the woman being excommunicated. The women are subject to incessant labour, and take a share in almost all sorts of out-door work with the men.

The daily round of employment of a cultivator's wife, during the busy times of the year, is mostly uniform. She gets up between four and five o'clock in the morning, and grinds as much corn as is required by the family for the day, then sweeps the house, and carries out the ashes and dung from the cow-house. A part of the dung is thrown into the ookerda, or place for manure, and the rest is made into cakes for fuel, and turned from time to time till it is well hardened by the sun. The ranzuna, or water-reservoir, is next cleaned, and filled with fresh water from the well : she then begins to cook, which occupies her till about ten o'clock, when she proceeds with her husband's dinner in a basket on her head, and often an infant alongside of it, and perhaps a child in her hand or under her arm, to the field where he is at work. If it is not yet noon when she arrives, she puts down her load in the shade and commences work, whether to weed or reap, till that time, when she waits on her husband at his meal and dines on what he leaves. After a short rest she recommences her labour, and continues it till the evening, when she returns home with a bundle of grass, or something in her basket that is useful to the family. The rest of the evening is employed in preparing supper, and in other domestic duties, till bed-time, which is nine or ten o'clock.

The women generally have no pretensions to beauty. There are, however, exceptions ; and when young, their round * 219 plump faces, smooth clean skin, fine long black hair, large sparkling eyes, and sprightly gait, make them sufficiently interesting. This period, however, is of very short duration : from their becoming mothers at so early an age, they look old by the time they are eighteen, and are wrinkled and ugly at twenty-five.

Their dress consists of the saree, 16 cubits long and 2 wide :

it is worn by two or three cubits of one end of it being thrown over the head and shoulders, a turn or two passed round their loins, and the rest puckered up and tucked in a bundle in front, and the ends passed between the legs and fixed behind. The cholee : a sort of short jacket with sleeves to the elbow, and which covers about half the body, and is tied by the corners in front over the bosom. The ornaments consist of ear-rings, a ring in the nose, a gold necklace, rings on the toes, and glass and wax bracelets on their arms. A woman requires two sarees during the year, which cost about 7 rupees ; and four cholees, at half a rupee each ; and the ornaments are worth about 50 rupees.

BRAHMINS.

It will be seen there are only three families of Brahmins belonging to the township ; who are relations, and hold the hereditary offices of Koolcurnee and priest, the duties of which have been described. The Brahmins are distinguished from the other inhabitants by being fairer, better dressed, and more virtuous in their manners. They observe the same absurd ceremonies and forms of worship as their brethren in the large towns, which have been so often and fully described, but with less strictness, and without allowing them to take up so much of their time. In their manners and moral character they seem to have more frankness and simplicity, and fewer vices ; but they will let few opportunities pass, and are not very scrupulous of the means, of forwarding their worldly interests. The wardrobe of a village Brahmin contains his turban, of fine white cloth, 30 cubits long and 2 wide, which costs 5 rupees : his dotur, of white cloth, 10 cubits long and 2 wide, which he wears round his loins, and tucks the skirts passed between his thighs behind, leaving his legs and hams bare ; it costs 4 rupees : his shela, of fine cloth, with a silk or gold *thread border, 7 cubits long and 3 wide, that costs 8 rupees, * 220 which he throws over his shoulders or wears round his middle : the soluh, a silk cloth of the same size as the dotur, which he wears at meals and when in a state of purity, which costs 10 rupees : and a pair of red leather slippers, that costs 5

rupee.—He requires for the daily food of himself and wife, 1 seer of rice, 8 pice ; 1 seer of badjaree or jowarree, 6 pice ; $\frac{3}{4}$ seer split pulse, 4 pice ; garden-stuff, 2 pice ; clarified butter, 4 pice ; salt and spices, 2 pice ; fruit, 4 pice ; leaves for platters, 1 pice ; and betel-leaf, 1 pice :—equal to about fourteen pence.

The Brahmin women do no work out of doors, except that of bringing water from the well. They are much fairer than those of the cultivators, are often very pretty, and keep their good looks much longer. They are correct and lady-like in their behaviour ; while in towns they have the character of being mercenary and fond of intriguing with men of their own caste. The duties of a Brahminee are much less arduous than those of a Koonbee's wife, but she is not treated with more respect or fondness by her husband. She rises at daylight ; and after washing her hands and face, superintends grinding the corn for the family, and has her house swept, and smeared with cow-dung. If her husband's circumstances do not admit of his giving her a slave-girl, she performs these offices herself. She next cleans the sacrificial vessels, and prepares the offerings required by her husband for his devotion ; then goes to her toilet ; combs, plaits, and nicely dresses her hair, adjusts her nose, neck, and ear ornaments, and puts a patch of vermilion on her forehead. She now bathes, and changes her clothes, taking care not to wet her hair, which is done either in a part of the house, or at a stream in the open air : in this case she shows great address and modesty in putting on her clothes. The water-reservoir is next filled for the use of the family ; after which she performs her devotions. These consist in making offerings of flowers, &c. to the Toolus (the toolsee or *Ocymum sanctum*) planted on a little mound, and walking round it a certain number of times, and repeating prayers for the long life of her husband, and that he may survive her ; for the happiness of her family ; or, if she should not have a family, that she may be *speedily blessed with one. She next cooks and serves

* 221 up her husband's breakfast, waits on him during the meal, and then takes her own breakfast. After removing the

platters of leaves, her slave smears the ground on which they were placed with cow-dung, and takes the cooking-utensils to scour, while she takes the clothes she had put off in the morning to the stream, washes them, and hangs them up to dry as a change for the next day. It is now about two o'clock; when she usually takes a nap, or amuses herself with her female friends till the evening, when she prepares her husband's supper, and then takes her own. She is employed the rest of the evening in looking after her family, putting them to sleep; and towards bed-time she prepares her husband's couch; and when he retires to it she shampoos him, converses with him probably for the first time since the morning, and tries to amuse him till he falls asleep.

SHOPKEEPERS.

Five families of shopkeepers reside in the town, all of whom are foreigners. Three of the families are natives of the Carnatic, near Nowlgoond, where the Carnatic language is spoken, and are of the Jain religion, and the other two families are natives of Marwar. The Jains do not differ much in dress or appearance from the village Brahmins, except that their clothes are dirtier, and not so well put on; and they seem smaller and shorter in stature. Their religious tenets differ from those of the Brahmins, between whom there is often a feeling of animosity, in consequence of former persecution, &c.; and they believe their religion is that which formerly generally prevailed in the south of India. They worship one god, under the name of Adeswur or Addenat, and some saints and holy men; but reject the adoration of the Trimurtec and the numerous idols of the Hindoos. They are firm believers in the doctrine of metempsychosis, which leads them to consider the destruction of animal life, in whatever shape, with peculiar abhorrence. Their rites of marriage, &c. do not seem to differ much from the Brahmins. The Marwarees are taller and stouter than the natives of the town: the face is long, the eyes rather smaller, the teeth better, and the whiskers and moustaches are longer and * more bushy. The turban is large and * 222 towering; the rest of the dress is the same as that of

Brahmins, but always looks greasy and dirty. Their women were sent away when the war with the Peishwa broke out, and have not yet returned; they are much larger than the Deccan women: they wear ivory bracelets on their arms up to the shoulder: the cholee is closed in front, and tied behind by strings; and they make a greater display of modesty by bringing the saree nearly to cover the face. The shopkeepers have great weight in the township; they are bankers as well as merchants. When they advance a few rupees to any of the inhabitants without security, they charge two pice interest monthly on the rupee, which is 37 per cent. They allow a credit of twelve months on the sale of their merchandize, after which interest is charged. A good deal of their traffic with the cultivators is carried on by barter, who give grain and the produce of their fields for groceries, &c., the settlement commonly taking place at the time of harvest. The village shop is also a place of great resort for hearing news; accounts are got here of all strangers and travellers, and what they have seen, or chose to invent. The following is a list of some of the many articles that are sold at the shops: All the kinds of grain and common cloths worn by the inhabitants, clarified butter (toop or ghee), sugar fine and coarse (suckar ghoolu), turmeric (hulud), almonds (badam), dates dry and moist (kareck, kujoor), gum-arabic (deekr), asafoetida (hing), cumin-seed (jeree), ginger (soont), cherita, a fine bitter, cocoanut (narail), mustard (morea), coriander-seed (matra), soap (sabon), poppy-seed (kuss kuss), blue vitriol (murchood), arsenic (somul), alkaline salts (padree loan, seinde loan), catechu (kát), honey (mudh), camphor (kaffoor), cloves (lounga), cardamom seeds (veildoore elichee), nutmeg (jaiful), mace (jaiputree), saffron (kesir), musk (cestooree), salt (meet), bang (the intoxicating leaves of the *Cannabis sativa*), opium (aphoo), wax (maim), castor-oil and seeds (yerendee), cow-itch (kedjguiree), quicksilver (para), brimstone (gunduck), saltpetre (shora), paper and ink (kaguz shae), sal-ammoniac (nowsagur), senna leaves, a species of (boye terwar), a salt of mercury like corrosive sublimate (pus-kapoor).

* RAMMOOSEES.

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The Rammoosee families are employed as police servants, and are paid a fixed salary from the Government revenues of the township, besides a contribution of grain and straw from the cultivators at harvest-time. The Rammoosees are a peculiar race: they are thieves by trade, and are members of a large community spread over the country on whom the Government has very little hold. In times of commotion, on any trifling offence they quit the villages, unite in bands, and subsist by plunder. They have no claims to caste, but are allowed to reside within the walls of the village. They refrain from eating beef, and adopt the dress and many of the rites and customs of the Koonbees. The idol at Jegjory is their great object of worship. Their complexions are much blacker than those of the other inhabitants. They are light, well-made, and active, and can undergo great fatigue. Their organs of sight and hearing are as acute as beings in a state of nature; which enables them to distinguish objects with great accuracy, and to trace the footsteps of men and animals with a certainty that is scarcely credible. They are treacherous and inconstant, but in the exercise of their profession are seldom cruel, and may always be relied on when they pledge their word. They dislike husbandry, or labour of any kind, and are fond of hunting, shooting, and idleness. They have a tradition that their name, Rammoosee, is derived from Ram wounchee, or the offspring of Rama; and that they were created by that divinity to assist him in his wars against the giant Rawun. If they could demonstrate they ever had tails, they would have fair claims to be considered the descendants of the monkeys who make such a figure in the *Ramায়un*. They have a language of their own, or rather a slang, and a set of watch-words, only understood by the fraternity; and they do not seem to differ much in their habits from the Bheels to the northward, and Beidars to the southward, nor perhaps from other hill people in different parts of India. The duties they undertake in the township are: to go rounds at different times during the night, and take care that the persons and property of the inhabitants are not

molested. If any property is stolen, and they cannot point out or apprehend the thief, they are bound * to make * 224 it good; unless it is proved that the loss arose from the carelessness of the owner. When the robbery, however, is committed by a gang too powerful for the Rammoosees to resist, their duty is fulfilled by tracing the robbers beyond the limits of the township: this must be proved to the satisfaction of the Rammoosees and Patail of the adjoining township, who then become responsible for the further apprehension of the offenders. In cases of murder, the Rammoosee in like manner must find the murderer, or trace him satisfactorily beyond his limits; else he is seized by the Government, and forfeits his life.

MAHOMEDANS.

Besides the hereditary sacrificer, who has been noticed, three other Mahomedan families reside in the town, who gain a livelihood by selling betel-nut and leaf-tobacco, bang, fruit, and garden-stuff. The men are occasionally employed by the shopkeepers to collect their outstanding debts in distant villages, and as convoys to their merchandize: they were also employed under the late Government by the revenue farmers in collecting their taxes. They dress better than the Koonbees, but are not so cleanly in their person and houses: their turban is often red; their angrecur, or gown, is larger, and is made of finer materials; they seldom wear the cumly or blanket. Their hair is sometimes worn long, and when they shave it they do not leave the tuft on the crown. Their skins are comparatively fair, and their features are good; but the eyes are often inflamed and staring from smoking, and there is a manner or an expression of haughtiness and debauchery about them not observable in any of the other inhabitants. They are considered honest, faithful, and intelligent, and have more active but less passive courage than their Hindoo neighbours. They pretend to high notions of honour, and even in their present fallen state show a disposition to be insolent and overbearing. They plead ignorance of husbandry, or rather despise it and

labour; but in some villages they turn themselves to agriculture. Their women do not work out of doors; but spin cotton, and are industrious at home. The Mahomedans have a place of worship in the town, and perform all the *rites of their religion without any interruption, and are even joined in them by the other inhabitants. Their * 225 abominably intolerant and bigoted principles in return lead them to revile and look with contempt on the institutions of their idolatrous neighbours; and, were they the governors instead of the governed, these feelings would again break forth in destroying their objects of worship, and saving their souls by making converts of them, or perhaps cutting their throats.

HIRED SERVANTS.

The number of hired servants amounts to 11. The Brahmins employ two of them to cultivate their freeholds, and the rest are employed as labourers by the husbandmen; they are all grown-up men, and have families in remote villages: their wages are from 25 to 30 rupees a year, which is made to consist of 13 months; together with their food, clothes, and lodging. They live under the same roof with their master, and their fare and clothing scarcely differ from his: their food will cost about two rupees a month, and their clothes about six rupees a year; which will make their hire amount to five rupees a month. They are hired from year to year, that is, for a period of 13 months; or sometimes only for a few months during the busy season. The servant sometimes calls on his master to advance him a sum of money for his marriage; and if it is complied with, it is generally on the condition of the servant binding himself to serve for a certain number of years for his clothes, board, and lodging: if the sum borrowed amounts to 100 rupees, perhaps he is engaged for six years.

SLAVES.

There are eight families of slaves, comprising 18 persons, belonging to members of the township. One of the families

have virtually, although not formally yet, got their freedom from their masters, in consequence of good conduct, and occupy a separate house, and cultivate on their own account: the others are inmates with their masters; their treatment is very good: they are clad and fed in the same way as the members of the family, scarcely any difference being observable, except their taking their * meals apart. They get presents of pocket-money on holidays, if they behave well; and their masters are at the expense of their marriages, which cost 50 or 60 rupees. The men labour in the fields; the women assist their mistresses; and when unmarried are sometimes the concubines of their masters. The present race are all home-born; but some of them are the descendants of women made prisoners, and brought from Hindoostan and the Carnatic. Freedom is sometimes given to slaves from religious motives, for good conduct, and sometimes from their becoming burdensome; such persons take the name of Scinde, and are looked on in an inferior light, and the other inhabitants rather avoid intermarrying with them. Traffic in slaves is not thought respectable, and is not much practised; boys are rarely brought to market; but this is more frequent with female children, who, if beautiful, are bought by the rich as mistresses, or by courtezans to be taught to dance and sing; they are sold for from 100 to 500 rupees. The less favoured are bought as servants in Brahmins' families.

Classes of Cultivators and Description of Tenures within the Township.

The cultivators are of two classes:—1st, Tulkarrees, also called Merasdars and Wuttundars, who are members of the township, and, if not proprietors, at least have an acknowledged right in the soil, of whom there are fifty families: and 2nd, Ooprees, Sookwust or Mayman, who are considered only as temporary residents or farmers, without claiming any prescriptive rights in the soil; there are thirty-four families of this class. Thirty-five of the Tulkarree families are branches of the Patail families of Scinde and Kund. They state that

their Tulkarree lands (this does not include the freehold lands of the patailship) were assigned them when the township was instituted, and were then cultivated in common, and have since been split into separate estates from the operation of their laws of inheritance. They consider themselves higher in rank than the other fifteen Tulkarrees, as being descendants of the Patail; but they have no superior privileges. The Marratta term Tulkarree seems to mean a person holding and cultivating a tul, or a defined portion of the land of the *township; the foreign terms Merasdar and Wuttundar imply inheritance. The Tulkarree has not only the as- * 227 knowledged right of cultivating his estate, to the exclusion of others, while he pays the Government land-tax, but of mortgaging or selling it; but, as the property is entailed, this is not done without the concurrence of the heir and members of the family. The Tulkarree lands of the Patails cannot be sold without the consent of all the family. When a member does dispose of his portion, it is almost invariably bought by some one of the clan. It does not seem essential that the Government should be consulted in these transfers; but the purchaser generally wishes for its concurrence, that the bargain may be more public, and thus less likely to be disputed; it is however always understood, if not specified in the deed of sale, that the purchaser becomes liable to his proportion of all taxes, and must conform to all the usages of the township.

The Tulkarree is always ardently attached to his estate, and sticks to it as long as he derives a bare subsistence from it; and when he is compelled to quit it, he returns as soon as circumstances will permit. It is always with great reluctance that he formally alienates it by sale to another; he rather goes abroad, and endeavours to accumulate a little money by labour to relieve his distresses, or he enlists for a soldier till better times. This attachment of the Tulkarree to his inheritance under the old Government, cannot have been influenced by the hope of obtaining much advantage from it; his experience must have taught him that the utmost he was to expect was

the means of existence : it must therefore have been from the respectable feeling of affection for the inheritance of his father, the scenes of his youth, and the importance public opinion gives to such possessions affording a home to go to.—From what has been said of this property, and particularly from the quantity of land lying waste from a want of hands, it will not be expected that it should be saleable ; yet such transfers are not unfrequent. The last sale of land here took place about two years ago ; the quantity sold was 30 beegas, besides a site in the village for building on, about 40 or 50 cubits square, paying a tax to Government of one rupee per beega†, besides contributions of produce to * the village servants ; and * 228 the cost was in money 375 rupees, presents and cloth to the Patail, Koolcurnee, and hereditary servants, worth about 30 rupees.

The number of Oopree cultivators amounts to 34 families ; the lands they cultivate either belong to Tulkarrees on the spot, who have not the means of cultivating them themselves, but are urged to do so, else to pay tax for it ; or they occupy gut kool lands, that is, literally, lands of a family extinct, which seem to have belonged to Tulkarrees whose families are extinct, or who have left the township, and of whom there are no traces. The condition of the Ooprees at present is not substantially worse than that of the Tulkarrees ; and in some respects it is better : they do not consider themselves liable to any extra contributions. They have no ties to bind them to any particular place ; and when they find they can subsist elsewhere, they quit the villages. This secures them every indulgence and consideration from the Patail, whose credit is at stake with the Government in having the lands of his township as fully cultivated as possible. The condition of the Oopree, however, would be different were agriculture a more profitable occupation, or were there more hands : in this case owners would start up to many of the estates now not claimed ; he would not be allowed to occupy lands except by paying a pre-

† This land was not under cultivation.

mium, and would always be liable to be turned out without a home to look to. It is the rule at present to give up to a Tulkarree his lands, should he return to the township, however long he may have been absent; but he must repay the Oopree tenant all reasonable expenses of improvement, &c. Ooprees do not at present become Tulkarrees, from the expense attending this kind of tenure; and because they can get plenty of land to farm, and are accounted as farmers. The 34 Oopree families do not all cultivate on the same terms: 16 of the number occupy Soastee lands—that is, lands that are clean, and pay the full rate of taxes; 15 cultivate by muckta, or contract, a certain portion of land that has been lying waste, and which requires considerable labour to clear it of weeds and roots, for which they pay rent according to agreement, without any reference to the established taxes; and two cultivate the same description of land by a cowl or lease, the terms of which are, to pay a small rent the first year, and increase it *yearly till the sixth year, when it becomes liable to the estab- * 229 lished land-tax of the township. Besides the cultivators who reside in the town, there are two other Ooprees who reside in adjacent villages, and cultivate lands of the township: they are termed Wowandkarrees, or persons who come and go. Partnerships (sirkuttee) are sometimes formed by the cultivators: they are commonly formed of four men, who each supply a woman and two bullocks, which are sufficient to do the work of one plough.

Six portions of the lands of the township, amounting to 260 beegas, are freehold. These tenures are termed enaums (gifts): one is jointly by the two Patails, one by the village accountant, and one by the village watchman, in lieu of wages as Government servants. The others are—1st, a grant to the temple of Mahadeo; 2nd, a grant to a religious mendicant, said to have been to his ancestors by one of the Sattara Rajahs; and 3rd, one to a des-pandee, or district register, granted about 50 years ago by Suwai Mahadeo Row Peishwa, in consequence of his services in realizing an extra tax levied at that time for the exigence of the state.

Diseases of the Cultivators, and their Knowledge of Medicine.

The cultivators are subject to few fatal diseases except during childhood, and when they get over this period generally live to a good age, and not unfrequently without ever having been on a sick-bed: I think one-half of their offspring certainly never reach the age of puberty, but probably not even so large a proportion. This deplorable mortality is owing to deficient nutriment and bad nursing. The women often become mothers at too early an age, and their incessant toil is always a bar to nature supplying food either sufficiently abundant or of a wholesome quality for their infants. Their employment out of doors also prevents their feeding them as often as is necessary; and for the purpose of keeping them quiet, the pernicious custom of giving opium is very generally resorted to. The diseases that immediately terminate their existence are enlargements and obstructions of the liver, spleen, and especially of the mesenteric glands, which are marked by a large belly and wasting of the limbs, and by purgings. The epidemic complaints the children are sub*ject to are the small-pox, * 230' chicken-pox, measles, and hooping-cough. The small-pox destroys at least one of five of those who are attacked with it; but of late this source of mortality has in a great measure been removed by the introduction of the practice of vaccine inoculation. The chicken-pox is always mild, and the fever is seldom so severe as to confine the patient to the house. The measles is a much less alarming complaint than in Europe, and rarely proves fatal: there is seldom much determination to the lungs, and when this happens, the inflammatory symptoms do not run high. The hooping-cough is as distressing as in Europe, and more frequently fatal: it is not considered infectious, but to occur oftener than once.

At the close of the rainy season, and beginning of the cold weather, grown-up people are liable to attacks of fever; but these are not frequent, and scarcely ever fatal. They sometimes put on an intermittent type, and probably proceed from vegetable exhalations that become abundant at this time; but they are generally ephemeral, and in this case are more likely to

arise from the sudden transitions that now begin to take place between the cold mornings and heats of the day. The intermittents, now and then in the form of a tertian or quartan, defy all their remedies for a long time, and end in enlargements of the spleen and liver, and ultimately dropsy. At the commencement, and during the rainy season, the prevailing complaints are fluxes, which are much dreaded: they seem to arise from insufficient clothing, and the abundance of greens, potherbs, and fruits at this time: old people and children especially are the sufferers. Rheumatism occurs much less frequently than might be expected amongst people so ill clothed, and so fond of dabbling in water, in a climate subject to considerable transitions of temperature. The women suffer most from this complaint, owing to a preposterous custom that prevails at childbirth. At this period, contrary to their habits of being constantly in the open air, they are shut up in a close hole, with the air and light carefully excluded, with a lamp, and generally a charcoal fire, burning in it: the patient besides is fed with spices and the most stimulating food; and, as might be expected, she is often attacked with fever, which, if it does not destroy her and her infant, not unfrequently ends in rheumatic affections *that make her a cripple for months or years. The rich suffer more from this treatment than the poor, whose *231 hardy constitutions enable them to get better over the ordeal, and often to return to their labours in the fields in a week or ten days after their confinement. Venereal complaints are scarcely known; and if by chance a rake should bring the infection from his travels with him, he is looked on with abhorrence. Liver complaints are uncommon; and when this gland is affected, it is rather with scirrhus than with inflammation and abscess.

The temperance and exercise of the cultivators, and especially their disuse of narcotics, exempt them entirely from nervous derangements, and the long and horrid train of symptoms,—from lowness of spirits to derangement of the mind,—which they give rise to in Europe. Pulmonary consumptions, gout, apoplexy, and palsy, are diseases of more refined life, and are of rare oc-

currence : the two former I have not known any native labour under. Their most troublesome local complaint is the dracunculus or Guinea-worm. The habits of this creature are still a desideratum in natural history : if we reason from analogy, it is not unlikely that it may be produced from the egg of some insect deposited from without. The natives, as usual, attribute it to water. It is certain that the inhabitants of some villages, and particularly those who take their water from wells, suffer more from it than others. The inflammation and pain it occasions are often severe, and when the worm is seated near any of the large joints, these symptoms, from a want of care, sometimes run to such a height as to end in the patient being rendered lame for life. Diseases of the eyes are another class of distressing local complaints. Simple inflammation not unfrequently is allowed to run to such a height as to end in opacity of the cornea, and even in a total destruction of the organ. The cataract is not an uncommon disease.—They are more free from cutaneous complaints than Europeans. The skins of their children in particular, from the custom of smearing them with oily and mucilaginous applications, are generally soft and clean. Cases of leprosy occasionally appear, both the white sort and that of the Arabians. Their practice of medicine is generally empirical.

When they attempt to *theorize, they class diseases into
 * 232 those arising from heat, cold, phlegm, or bile, like the

Greeks and their own more learned countrymen. Their remedies and regimen are also divided into hot and cold, and those suited to remove bile and phlegm, and are prescribed accordingly. The Brahmin physicians, often with great pretensions, know nothing of the circulation of the blood, or anatomy, and have no rational knowledge of physiology. They know something of practical chemistry : they prepare oxides of the metals, sulphuric acid from burning sulphur, &c., but have no notion how these changes are produced. Their *materia medica*, besides containing a vast list of roots and herbs that do not seem to possess much virtue, has many articles of value. We are indebted to them for our knowledge of stramonium as a remedy in asthma ; cow-itch against worms ; arsenic in intermittents,

&c. ; and mercurial fumigations, as a safe and speedy means of impregnating the system with that mineral. They use opium, a salt of mercury, camphor, brimstone, musk, cheereeta, a fine bitter. As a purgative, the cultivators use a species of senna that grows in their fields, the *Croton tiglium* that grows in their hedges, castor oil, aloes, *Cassia fistularis*, the milky juice of the jungle champa (*Plumieria alba*). As an emetic, they give cows' urine, the common black fly, the oil of tobacco taken from the inside of a pipe, &c. No person in the township practises medicine as a means of livelihood ; but some of the inhabitants have the character of a knowledge in the art, and are consulted ; besides, as at home, every old woman has her family receipt. Itinerant practitioners occasionally step in : they prescribe in cases that resist the common remedies ; they give arsenic, in pills, in obstinate intermittents, in leprosy, and in lues ; a muriate of mercury in cutaneous and venereal complaints ; and these people couch for the cataract with more success than surgeons in Europe ; and even extract the stone from the bladder, but they are not so successful in this operation, and perform it in a most rude way. The village practice is not so bold : in fever they give decoctions of a variety of simples, including spices, and some opening medicine ; they also give a bitter decoction of the neem (*Melia Azadirachta*) and cheereeta. In fluxes they give opium, acids, and laxatives ; but no steady plan is followed in the treatment of any of their complaints, and the medicines are changed from day to *233 day according to the advice of any one. For local complaints they apply a hot iron, caustic juice of euphorbia, the oil of the cashew-nut (*Anacardium occidentale*), and a variety of pastes. But in violent diseases it is common first to endeavour to ascertain whether they proceed from the anger of any of their idols, from witchcraft, or some evil spirit ; and if it is pronounced to arise from any of these causes, offerings, exorcism, &c. are had recourse to instead of physic.

Agriculture, Implements of Husbandry, Stock, &c.

Their method of tillage and implements of husbandry would•

be despised and ridiculed on a first view by an English farmer ; yet on closer observation he would probably admit that, under the circumstances of climate and poverty of the people, both were admirably suited to their end ; or, were he to adopt his own system with no better means, he would certainly fail. The cultivators divide their arable lands into bagheet, or gardens, which admit of irrigation ; and jeriet, where the crops depend on the rains and dews. The garden-lands, besides their fruit-trees, are almost constantly under a succession of crops of different kinds of garden-stuff, which will be afterwards enumerated. The water is supplied for irrigation partly from a stream, and partly from wells, and is conducted by channels adapted to the level of the plot (divided into beds with great ingenuity) which is to be irrigated. The wells are about 12 or 15 feet deep ; and the water is drawn up in leathern bags, that contain 25 or 30 gallons, by one or two pair of bullocks. The bullocks are driven down an inclined plane suited to the depth of the well, which brings the bag to the surface, when it empties itself by a simple contrivance, and is again filled by the bullocks being backed to the brink of the well. A constant stream is kept running into the plot to be watered, sufficient to water the extent of a beega in four or five hours. The bullocks are commonly yoked from six or seven o'clock in the morning till eleven or twelve, and again from two or three in the afternoon till night ; during which the driver cheers his cattle, while they pull up the bag, with a plaintive song that

* 234 conveys * the pleasing associations of peace and industry. The lands that depend on the rain and dews for the produce are classed into good, bad, and middling.

There are two harvests in the year : the sowing of one takes place in June and July, after the ground has been sufficiently moistened by the rain, and is reaped in October and November ; the seed-time of the other is in October and beginning of November, and the harvest is in January and February. The former, which is the principal crop here, is termed the Khereef, and the latter the Rubbee harvest. The different species of grain and pulse of these crops respectively will be detailed

hereafter. The advantages of a rotation of crops, and of fallowing, are well understood and generally practised. None but the finest grains are ever sown twice in succession on the same ground, and even this is avoided as much as possible. They have none of the trefoils; and, as grasses where there is no demand for animal food would not yield a profit sufficient to pay the land-tax, they are never cultivated on arable lands. Two crops are often raised on the best soils during the year; but for wheat and some of the other valuable products of the Rubbee crops, the usual custom is to let the ground lie fallow during the Khereef season, and to harrow it from time to time, and keep it free of weeds till the seed-time.

The great defect in their husbandry is, the inadequacy of their means to check the natural tendency of the soil being exhausted by being kept continually under the plough. Their knowledge of the advantages of a rotation of crops, and their constant practice of this system, are important; but they have no suitable substitute for green crops, or no market for such productions, and they have no adequate sources for the supply of manure. They, however, are well aware of the importance of this material, and hoard the scanty supply they have with great care; and, when they can procure it, purchase it for their garden cultivation. Each cultivator has a hole in front of his door (ookurda), into which he throws the ashes, and sweepings of his cattle. During the rest of the year—that is, in the dry months—the exigencies of the inhabitants oblige them to dry and stack this material for fuel. The fields near the village get a sprinkling of this manure once in every two or three years, while those at a distance rarely, * if ever, get any; so that in twelve or fourteen years they cease to yield any thing, or become what the cul- * 235 tivators term *nazoor* (without strength), and are neglected for three or four years, then broken up again. The material from his ookurda is the only substance the cultivator uses for fertilizing his fields, except occasionally sheep-dung, which is considered far more valuable.

In the dry season the shepherds drive their numerous flocks.

from place to place to feed; and, a permission for grazing within the limits of the township, fold their sheep at night on the arable lands in succession. But this is a precarious advantage, and only enjoyed by the Patails and inhabitants who have power, unless the others pay for it by presents of grain. A field well manured in this way is thought to yield luxuriant crops for six or seven years afterwards.

The plough and cart are the most rude of their implements, and have no claims to ingenuity. The plough is made of different sizes, and consists of three parts,—the beam, head, and handle. The beam in that of the common size is four or five cubits long, and a cubit in circumference at one end: the other end is smaller, and has a bend upwards, to which a cross-pole four cubits long is fixed for yoking the oxen to. The thick end of the beam is let into the head, which is a crooked piece of wood like the knee of a ship, with one half angled and brought to a point, to which a sort of share is fixed by a thimble. The handle is attached to the upright post of the head, and held with one hand by a peg let into it. There is no contrivance for turning the earth, and the substitute for the share is without breadth; so that there is merely the scratch left, and no appearance of neatness. The wood of the plough, and all the implements of husbandry, are made of a species of *mimosa* (babool) that grow spontaneously on the lands of the township, and is hard and tough, and well suited to the purpose. The whole cost of a plough is about five rupees.

The cart consists of a rude frame, four cubits long and three broad, supported by two solid wooden wheels three feet, or three feet and a half, in diameter. The wheels are bushed, and bound with a thick rim of iron. They cost from 40 to 50 rupees, are very durable, and are handed down * from * 236 father to son for two or three generations. The other part of the cart costs 10 or 12 rupees. This machine altogether is extremely ill contrived: it is top-heavy when loaded, and continually upsetting, while the wooden axle-tree often breaks. The scratching of the wheels and friction are prevented by keeping them constantly oiled. The cart is only

used during the fair season, and the rest of the year it is taken to pieces and laid up.

The other implements are: The drill-plough (pakbur); a sort of harrow with wooden teeth (ohun); an instrument for cleaning and loosening the surface of the ground (kulloo); an instrument for weeding, drawn by oxen (koolpa); besides pick-axes, hooks, and contrivances for winnowing: all of which are extremely ingenious, simple, and well suited to the purposes they are intended for.

The pakbur, or instrument for drill-ploughing, consists of four tubes of cane, about four spans long and an inch in diameter, brought together at the top, and let into a wooden cup; and below diverge, and are inserted into as many wooden teeth a span asunder, which are again fixed into a cross-beam of six spans long. It is drawn by a pair of bullocks yoked to a pole fixed into the beam. The cup is fed with seed from the apron of the man who directs the implement. When it is wished to sow a separate row of any other kind of grain, or the seed is too large to pass through the openings in the cup, one of the tubes is shut up, a separate and larger one is attached to the cross-beam, and held and fed by another person. The cost of a drill-plough is about six rupees.—The kulloo consists of a piece of iron with a cutting edge, four inches wide and three spans long, fixed to a cross-beam so as to form rather an acute angle with the surface. It is drawn by one or two pair of oxen, yoked as in the drill-plough. It loosens the surface of the soil to the depth of three or four inches, cuts up all weeds, smooths and levels the surface, and prepares the ground admirably for the reception of the seed. It is also used to cover the seed after it has been sown. The effect of the instrument is occasionally increased by the driver standing on the beam. The kulloo costs from two and a half to three rupees.—The koolpa, or weeding-instrument, consists of two pieces of iron with a cutting edge, let into a cross-piece of wood, leaving a space of about * four inches between them. This instrument is drawn by a pair of oxen, and * 237 is nicely managed, so as to cut up the weeds between the

rows of corn, loosens the earth and ridges it up, while the corn escapes being injured by passing through the space left below the iron scrapers. The cost of this instrument is about two rupees.

The following is an enumeration of the live stock belonging to the township :—

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----------------------|----|
| Oxen and bulls..... | 220 | Asses | 3 |
| Cows..... | 156 | Camels | 1 |
| Buffaloes | 17 | Goats and sheep | 28 |
| Calves | 37 | Hogs..... | 50 |
| Horses and ponies | 29 | | |

The breed of black cattle is small, but active and hardy ; the horns of some are small and erect, but in the best sorts they are large, arch forward, and look handsome. The prevailing colours are white or red. The male has a bunch on his shoulders, occasionally fine dewlaps, and is disproportionably larger than the female. The cow is small and delicate, and perhaps does not weigh more than stone. If she gives a quart of milk morning and evening, besides allowing a little for the calf, it is thought very well. The price of such an animal is 15 or 16 rupees. Only about one-third of the oxen are bred by the cultivators, and the other two-thirds are bought of drovers from the Carnatic or Candeish. Those from the Carnatic are considered the hardiest, and the best suited for the plough ; and those from the northward for pack. A pair of the best oxen costs from 80 to 100 rupees, and the middling ones from 40 to 60. A person possessed of eight pair of oxen, which are sufficient to keep two ploughs going, is thought to be in very good circumstances. Grain and straw are carried to market on pack-bullocks. A good bullock carries 180 or 200 lbs. eighteen or twenty miles a day.

As the riches of the cultivator—nay, his existence—depend on his cattle, he always nurses them with great care. They generally occupy a part of his house, and are always as well sheltered as his family. During the seasons of labour, the oxen are allowed a small quantity of grain or oil-cake. Towards the
 * 238 close of the dry season, however, grass is always *scarce ;
 and if the rains are late in falling, as seldom any pro-

vision is made for this, the cattle all become extremely thin and weak, and a murrain not unfrequently gets amongst them at this time, and destroys many ; which reduces the cultivators to beggary.—The buffalo is chiefly valuable on account of the milk of the female, which is much richer than that of the cow ; but the butter, though abundant, is white, and not thought so good. The male, however, is occasionally put to the plough, but he is so slow and sluggish, that it is only from necessity that this is done. He is generally used by scavengers for carrying the sweepings of the streets.—There are three varieties of this animal,—the mowree, desewul, and gooznee. The former is the best. A female of this breed costs 50 or 60 rupees, and will give six quarts of milk in the morning and eight in the evening for six months together after calving, besides feeding the calf.—The desewul is the common animal of the country, and is very inferior in size and appearance : the female does not give more than two quarts of milk morning and evening, and costs 20 or 25 rupees. The gooznee is originally from Guzerat, and is superior to the desewul, but inferior to the mowree. The calves are ill fed, and seldom look healthy. The males are seldom made oxen of until the fourth or even the fifth year.

Eighteen or twenty of the horses are of a good size ; the rest are ponies, and were employed in the Peishwa's cavalry during the late war. Two or three of the mares are valued at 300 or 400 rupees ; the average value of the rest is not more than 100 rupees. They are all ill-made, but active and capable of undergoing much fatigue : some of them have been bred in the town, and the rest purchased. The colts, when the owner can afford it, are fed with goats' milk, butter, sugar, and wheat-flour ; and are backed at two years old, and sometimes earlier, and are expected to work well till they are ten years. Horses are never used in husbandry, and those now here have been reared exclusively for war. The ponies, or tattoos, are wretched-looking animals : they are used to carry the baggage, children and old folks of the family, on visits and on pilgrimages : they are amazingly tough creatures, and will carry a load of 200 lbs.

thirty-six miles a day for weeks together.—The asses are the property of the potter, and are used by him for carrying clay to make his pots *with, and leaves, refuse straw, &c. to * 239 take them with. The cost of an ass is about 12 rupees.

It is looked on as a base animal, and only used and bred by particular classes,—as the potter, washerman, burners of charcoal, stonecutters, and all sorts of strollers, tumblers, &c.

The camel, or rather dromedary, is the property of one of the Patails: it was used during the late wars in carrying the baggage of a relation of the Patail, who commanded a few horse in the late campaign. When not much loaded, he carries perhaps 320 lbs., and will travel at the rate of 25 miles a day for weeks together.

The sheep are of one sort, and are either black, or white with black faces, without horns, and with long pendent ears. They are much like the small breed of Scotch sheep; and when the animal is fat and of a proper age, the flesh is not inferior. The ewe begins to breed in fifteen months, and gives a lamb once in nine or ten months for five or six times. The sheep are shorn twice a year, and the wool of three fleeces will weigh about two pounds, which is worth a quarter of a rupee. The wool is coarse and hairy, and made into blankets by the shepherds. The males are castrated when six months old. A three-year old wether, which is thought the best age for the table, costs from one rupee and a half to two rupees. The sheep are subject to a rot in the rainy months, which often destroys many; and the shepherds find it difficult to preserve them from wolves. Under the old Government, sheep paid a tax of three rupees a hundred.—Goats are kept on account of their milk. There are three varieties of these animals: a female of the best sort will give a quart of milk twice a day for five or six months together. The milk is given chiefly to children, with whom it is thought to agree well: the rich Marattas give it to their foals.

The swine are the property of the village. They are not used for food by any of the inhabitants, not even the outcasts, but

are given in presents to strolling rope-dancers and jugglers (Kolattees), by the Patail in the name of the village, when they exhibit their feats for the general amusement : these people eat them. They are also used as food by another wandering tribe termed Wudarrees, whose chief employment is that of *making embankments, wells, &c. The swine are small, black, half-starved, ill-looking animals ; but it is * 240 thought lucky to have them in the village, and they are useful as scavengers. They are not of value enough to have a money price.—The wild hog, which is common in the neighbourhood, is a cleanly animal, and its flesh is generally eaten, and thought a great delicacy by the cultivator.

AGRICULTURE.

The lands are never ploughed oftener than once in two years, and, when they are light and clear of weeds, sometimes only once in five or six years ; in the intermediate periods the surface is loosened and cleared by the kulloo or drag hoe. Deep ploughing is not thought necessary, or even advisable, except for the purpose of rooting out grasses and weeds ; and perhaps, under the circumstances of such deficient manuring, no advantage follows turning up the soil from a great depth. It is known that it is the surface of the soil, that has been exposed to the influence of the air and sun, that is particularly favourable to the nourishment of small plants, and that at a depth beyond this, which does not exceed a few inches, the soil is not suited to vegetation. In ordinary ploughing the depth of a span is considered sufficient ; but for rooting out grasses, particularly a species of the *agrostis* (khonda), and when new lands are broken up, a heavy plough, drawn by six or seven pair of oxen, is used, which opens the ground to a greater depth. In common ploughing, from two or four pair of oxen are used. If the field is very foul, it is ploughed lengthwise, and again across, but otherwise only in one direction. Ploughing dry forming ridges is not practised, as it is an object to have the soil arranged to retain as much moisture as possible, and not, as in Europe, for it to be carried off. The ploughman.

prides himself on making straight furrows. He holds the plough with his left hand and drives his cattle with the right, by means of a whip with a short handle and long leathern thong, but occasionally applies both hands to the plough, in which case he throws the whip over his shoulder. The plough is yoked about six or seven in the morning, and goes till ten or eleven in the forenoon, and again from two * or three in the afternoon till the evening; and in this * 241 time about half a beega of the tenacious black soil is ploughed, or a beega of those that are light and gravelly. In such fields as are to be ploughed, the operation begins the moment the harvest is reaped, and before the surface has been hardened by the sun; after this, all the lands are totally neglected till after the holiday of the Aksha Tritra (in honour of the manes of warriors to the third generation, to whom offerings are made on this day), which happens about the end of April. From this time all is activity in preparing the ground for the seed-time of the Khereef or principal crop. The lands that had been ploughed, as well as those that had not, are subjected to the kulloo or drag hoe, first lengthwise and then across, which cuts to the depth of three or four inches, loosens the surface, and destroys all weeds except the deep-rooted grasses. This operation is repeated three or four times, at an interval of eight or ten days, which brings the field into a clean, level, and admirable state for the reception of the seed. If the field is very foul or hard, it is broken up by the ohun, or harrow, previously to the drag hoe being used.

The seed-time of the Rúbbee crop, consisting of wheat, peas, and gram, commences after the feast of the Dussera, commonly by the middle of October. Previously to this the ground is kept clean, if it has lain fallow during the Khereef crop, by the occasional use of the kulloo; or if it has borne this crop, it is ploughed up as soon as the crop is cut, and immediately prepared again for the seed of the Rubbee produce. The peculiarity in their agriculture of mixing and using a variety of seeds in the same field has an appearance of rudeness, but in practice seems to be attended with advantages; and the

prejudices of the cultivators in its favour are so strong that they would on no account relinquish it. The grains thus sown are not indiscriminately mixed; not only the proportion of the seed, but the habits of the plant, are nicely attended to. The sorts of corn that ripen early are sown in alternate rows with those of slower growth, and are thus reaped without inconvenience, while the latter are left to stand and ripen in their turn. The crops ripen and are reaped in succession with scarcely any inconvenience; while the hardier plants support and give* shelter to some species that would not grow without this aid; and in a climate where the crops are * 242 always precarious, the expedient almost always ensures some reward for the husbandman's toil.

The following is an enumeration of all the products of their fields and gardens, with some description of them, and peculiarities of their cultivation.

Corn Khareef, or Summer Produce.

Holcus spicatus, Botanic; *Suzgoora*, Marratta; *Bajura*, Hindoostanee; *Kunghoo*, Sanscrit.—The time of sowing is regulated by the fall of rain; the common period is about the middle of June, but is sometimes as late as the middle of August, sown by the drill-plough (pakbur) in rows a span asunder: sometimes alone, but generally mixed with other grains. The following are the usual proportions:—Sixteen parts bajaree; toor, cooltie, and mutkee each one part, ambadee and jewaree each one-half, and sesamum one-eighth. About two seers and a quarter of the mixture (the seer measuring forty ounces) are required to sow a beega of the best soils. The inferior soils require one-fourth or one-fifth more. When the soil and season are favourable, the increase is as high as two hundred and forty fold; but the crop ordinarily does not yield more than one hundred and twenty, and is often as low as eighty or ninety. The late sort ripens in four months and a half, the early in three and a half. The latter is that generally cultivated in the township, and is comparatively a much poorer though a hardier plant than the former. The late species, when cir-

cumstances are favourable, will grow to the height of seven or eight feet, and one seed will produce six or eight stalks, each bearing an ear containing two thousand seeds. Bajaree is the principal wet season produce generally, though jewaree is grown more largely immediately in the vicinity of the city (Poonah). This grain is the principal produce of the season, is the chief food of the inhabitants, and next to wheat is considered the most nutritive. A quart measure weighs about thirty-seven ounces and a half, and is the quantity eaten by a healthy man in a day. The medium price is sixteen seers or quarts for one rupee: twenty-four seers are considered extremely cheap, and ten very dear. The straw sells from two and a half to five rupees per thousand bundles of three handfuls each.

Holcus saccharatus, Botanic; *Jonedullah*, Marratta; *Jewaree*, Hindoostanee; *Yawanul*, Sanscrit—is, next to bajaree, the principal produce in the Marratta country, and near the city is cultivated more than bajaree, in consequence of the high price its straw bears as a forage. The seed-time is earlier than that of bajaree, and is over by the end of July. Of the varieties, the neelwa is the most valuable, and the argude the least so. The former requires five months to ripen, the latter only three. Sometimes it is sown alone, but more generally mixed with a small proportion of toor, ambadee, ooreed, and cooltie. The quantity of seed per beega on the best soil is about two seers and a half, and the medium increase not more than one hundred fold. Near the city, five or six seers of seed are sown per beega, in which case there is scarcely any grain, but sheaves of straw. The plant seldom produces more than one ear, and the increase on one seed is ordinarily not more than five or six hundred. Jewaree exhausts the soil greatly, and two crops are never had in succession except in particular situations, when the soil is very rich and highly manured. The usual practice is to crop alternately with bajaree and jewaree. The crops of jewaree and bajaree are often injured by an insect of the cantharis kind, and a sort of spider which envelops the ear in a web. This grain is considered easier of digestion and as

wholesome as bajaree, but less nutritive in the proportion of one-fifth. The flour is made into cakes and porridge, for which it is more esteemed than bajaree. Medium price, 18 seers; cheap, 25; dear, 12. The straw, particularly the neelwa sort, contains a great deal of sugar, and is an excellent forage for horses. Ordinary price of the straw (kirba) at harvest time, one rupee and a half per hundred sheaves of three handfuls. It is sometimes as high as four or even five rupees when the green forage is late.

Panicum italicum, Botanic; *Rahle*, Marratta; *Kangunnu*, Hindoostanee; *Prejengoo*, Sanscrit.—Cultivated only in small quantities, and that *generally for the use of the cultivator, and seldom for the market. Sown by itself, *244 commonly in slips of a few feet in breadth in the bajaree fields; about two seers of seed are sown per beega, and the medium increase is about 96-fold; under very favourable circumstances it is more than double; the increase on one seed is 2000. The grain ripens in three months and a half; when the ears are broken off and conveyed to the farm-yard (kulli). The straw (ralwan) is a bad forage; indeed cattle, unless in great distress, will not eat it: it is often left to rot on the ground, but sometimes cut for thatch. The grain is very small, and is enveloped in a husk, which when removed reduces the quantity one-half. It is boiled soft, and eaten as rice with curries, &c.; it is considered slightly astringent, and a wholesome food in a loose state of the bowels. The medium price of the grain in the husk is 25 seers; when very cheap, 40; dear, 16.

Cynosurus coracanus, Botanic; *Nafchunee*, Marratta; *Raggy*, Hindoostanee; *Gewindook*, Sanscrit.—Will grow on all the soils. The most approved mode of cultivation is to raise the plants on seed-beds highly manured, and when a few inches high to transplant them. The seed is also sometimes sown in the common way; three-quarters of a seer of seed will produce plants sufficient for a beega. Increase from 400 to 900 fold, according to circumstances. The straw, when broken down by the tread of bullocks, is considered a good forage; the usual price is one rupee for as much as a cloth four cubits square can

inclose by the corners being brought into contact. The grain is ground, and made into cakes : the allowance for a man is one seer and a half—considered poor fare by the Marrattas, and not used by the rich. Medium price in the Poonah market 30 seers ; cheap, 48 ; dear, 16 or 18. A loss of about one-eighth in bran.

Buztee.—Sown in small quantities on moist rich soils. The plant is very productive ; in favourable situations the increase will be upwards of 1000-fold. The grain, when deprived of its bran (which decreases its bulk about one-half), boiled soft, and eaten with milk, is a light and wholesome food ; it is used in this way by the natives, and with curries. The grain is sometimes sown mixed with rice ; at other times, and most com-

* monly, alone, by the drill-plough in the usual way.

* 245 This grain bears about the same price as natchnee before deprived of its husk. The straw is used as forage, though not in great estimation.

Paspalum pilosum, Botanic ; *Badulee*, Marratta ; *Badulee*, Hindoostanee.—A hardy plant, that will grow on the worst soils, and with very little moisture. Not much cultivated, unless the rains are too scanty for other crops. The plants grow from one foot and a half to two feet and a half high ; and the seed, which is very small, forms a long hairy spike, whence the trivial name. Three seers of seed required per beega ; and the increase is not more than 50 or 60 fold. The grain bears the same price in the market as rahle, and is cooked in the same way ; the straw is broken down by the tread of bullocks, and kept in large baskets (boossahra), and is considered a tolerable forage for black cattle.

Panicum miliaceum, Botanic ; *Sawa*, Marratta ; *Sama*, Hindoostanee ; *Shamak*, Sanscrit.—Is not cultivated in the Havillee, except where it borders on the Mahowl country. Generally sown on the tops and sides of hills by broadcast, but by the drill when the surface will admit of it.

Oryza sativa, Botanic ; *Tandool*, Marratta ; *Ohawl*, Hindoostanee ; *Tandool*, Sanscrit.—The rains near Poonah generally do not afford moisture sufficient for the growth of this plant ; the small quantity cultivated is on spots naturally swamps, or on

the edges of small streams which are made to overflow. It is sown by the drill-plough, and not transplanted from seed-beds as in rice countries. Seed per beega six seers, and produce from 15 to 20 maunds. There are a great many varieties of this plant; those cultivated in the Havillee township are the coarse sorts (kalla sal and vagowl). When cleansed from its husk, it is reduced about one-half in bulk. This grain is not used by the labouring people in the upper country, except on holidays: this rises partly from its comparative dearness, and partly because it is thought that it digests too rapidly, and does not give strength. Concan Brahmins, who form a large proportion of the Poonah population, use it largely; it also forms a part of the daily food of the Daishists, but not the principal part of the Concan Brahmins. It is boiled soft (bhat), and eaten with milk and sugar, with stewed vegetables, curries, &c.; it is also made into cakes, roasted, &c. The medium price * 246 of the best sorts is 9 or 10 seers; of the coarsest kinds $10\frac{1}{2}$ or $11\frac{1}{2}$. The straw (batwurr) is used as forage, but thought by the Poonah farmers heating and unwholesome; it makes a good thatch. The grain ripens in three months and a half.

Zea Mays, Botanic; *Mucka*, Marratta; *Boottah*, Hindoostanee; *Yawunalee*, Sanscrit.—This grain requires a rich and well manured soil; the seed dibbled about eight inches apart. Seed per beega four seers, and produce about 200 maunds. Each stalk produces two ears, and there is not more than one stalk from each seed. The ear, before the grain becomes hard, is roasted, and when spread with melted butter and pepper is considered a great delicacy. The grain is made into flour, of which a thick round cake (deewsee) is made; a porridge is also made of the grain coarsely ground; but it is not used in any shape as food (the roasted ears excepted) unless by the poorest people. Price at harvest-time about 25 seers; it is seldom to be got at other times. The grain ripens in three months; but the ears are ready in two and a half. The straw (muckwan), except its green leaves, is not used as forage.

Amaranthus polygamus, Botanic; *Rajgeem*, Marratta; *Shakinee*, Sanscrit.—This plant does not belong to the class of grain;

but bread is made from its seed, which is eaten by Hindoos on feast-days : it is also roasted, and eaten with milk and sugar on like occasions. The plant requires a very rich soil and abundance of rain to bring it to perfection. The seed is sown by the drill-plough ; but it is so very small that two parts of earth are mixed with it to prevent the plants being too crowded. One seer of seed will sow a beega, and the increase is about 20 maunds. The seed is detached from its cells by rubbing between the hands. A spinage is made from the young leaves of the plant. The medium price in the Poonah market is 8 seers ; when very cheap, 12.

Pulse Field Produce—Rainy Season.

Cytisus Cajan, Botanic ; *Toor*, Marratta and Hindoostanee ; *Adakee*, Sanscrit.—This is perennial, but in agriculture is renewed annually from *seed. It is sown on the jewaree * 247 and bajaree fields (most commonly in the latter), either mixed with other grain in the proportion above described, by the drill-plough, or in separate rows by the mogah, a cubit and a half asunder. The seed requires six months to ripen ; so that the plant remains $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 months on the ground after the other products of the field are reaped in the usual way : the pods are detached by beating each plant against a log of wood, and afterwards submitted to the tread of bullocks to separate the seed. The ordinary increase on one seed is 600, the greatest 1400 or 1500. This pulse is made into a sort of pea-soup (wurrun), and when split (dhal) is an ingredient in kitcheree. The medium price, 24 seers ; dear, 16 ; very cheap, 32. The husks and dry leaves are excellent forage for bullocks. The stalks of the plant are used by the farmer for making large baskets (kuning) for containing grain, &c., also as a watling on the eaves of their houses to keep the tiles from falling. Crops are sometimes injured by the cold weather, and a caterpillar (alleep).

Phaseolus Mungo, Botanic ; *Moog*, Marratta ; *Moong*, Hindoostanee.—This pulse ripens in three months, and is sown as early as the season will admit ; for immediately that it is reaped the field is prepared for one of the dry-weather crops,

as gram, or wheat, &c. It is sown by itself, and in the usual way. The plant does not grow to a greater height than 12 or 15 inches. When ripe, it is pulled up by the roots; and when sufficiently dry, the pods and leaves are detached by being beaten with a stick, and are afterwards trodden by bullocks. The pods and leaves thus broken down, and the pulse removed, are carefully preserved in large baskets (boossahra) as a forage for black cattle. Four or five seers of seed are required to sow a beega, and the produce is not more than 60 or 70 seers. The crops are often injured, or nearly destroyed, by a caterpillar. Moong is considered unwholesome food: it is used in the form of cakes, or boiled soft and eaten with salt and pepper, and ghee when it can be got. Medium market-price, 16 seers; dear, 12; very cheap, 24.

Phaseolus Max, Botanic; *Ooreed*, Marratta and Hindoostanee; * *Masha*, Sanscrit.—This pulse is cultivated exactly as the above, which it resembles, except that the * 248 seed is black and white, and the moong is yellowish or green. The leaves of the plant are larger and more hairy than the moong. The increase is not so great as that of moong: one seed of moong in a healthy plant will produce one hundred-fold, and one of ooreed only sixty. The paste of its flour is so sticking and glutinous, that it is not made into cakes. It is cooked in the form of pāper, sandgee, wurree, and ambtee. This pulse, as also moong, when boiled is considered a good food for horses and milch cows.

Phaseolus aconitifolius, Botanic; *Mutkee*, Marratta; *Mut*, Hindoostanee; *Sutteenuck*, Sanscrit.—The leaves of this plant are jagged, and not plain like the two other species of *Phaseolus*, and it is not like them erect, but rather creeps along the ground. It is sown on the poorer soils. When the soil is rich, the plant becomes very luxuriant, but produces few pods. It is seldom sown by itself, but generally in the bajaree and jewaree fields, mixed with other grains in the proportions above mentioned: the increase on one seed is about 300. It requires $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 months to ripen; and the reaping and thrashing are managed in the same way as moong and ooreed. It is

considered a flatulent and not very wholesome food, and is only used by the poor. When cooked, it is in the form of wurrun, pâper, wurree, and goozna. It is commonly given to horses and black cattle ; but it is necessary to steep it for some time in water, otherwise the distention and flatulence it produces in the stomach of the animal are dangerous. Medium price, 18 seers ; cheap, 34 ; dear, 12.

Glycine tomentosa, Botanic ; *Holga*, Marratta ; *Kooltee*, Hindoostanee ; *Kooleetwa*, Sanscrit.—Sown on the gravelly and poor soils ; sometimes sown alone, sometimes mixed with other grains, and sometimes in separate rows in the bajaree and jewaree fields, which is the method most commonly practised. One seed produces about eighty-fold : the reaping, &c., conducted in the same way as moong. The plant, when broken down by the tread of bullocks and mixed with the pods, is preserved for forage. Medium price in the Poonah market, 20 seers ; dear, 15 ; cheap, 30. * Not in estimation amongst the

* 249 Marrattas as food : when used as such, it is boiled soft and eaten with spices. It is given boiled to milch cows and horses.

Dolichos Lablab, Botanic ; *Powta Wall*, Marratta ; *Bullar*, Hindoostanee ; *Neerpowa*, Sanscrit.—Two varieties of this pulse are cultivated in the fields, and a third and inferior sort planted in the sand on the banks of the rivers towards the close of the rains. Of the varieties cultivated in fields, the pods of one are broad, and the bean and the blossom white ; this is called by the Marrattas pattara, or wâll. The pods of the other (toormôra or chanooree) are round, and the pulse small. It is sown separate, or in rows in the bajaree and jewaree fields. Increase on one seed 50-fold. It ripens in 4 or 4½ months, when the pods are picked off by hand, and the pulse detached from the pod by beating with a stick. Medium price, 12 seers ; cheap, 16 ; dear, 10. The green pods are sold in the season at the rate of two pice per seer weight. The pods of the smaller sort are boiled whole, and eaten with ghee and spices. The bean of the large sort is eaten in the same way, but without the pod, which is tough and coarse. The dry pulse is made into dhal

by the common people, and is boiled soft, and, after being deprived of its skin, is eaten by the better sorts with melted butter and spices.

Dolichos Catiang, Botanic; *Chowlee*, Marratta; *Lobeah*, Hindoostanee; *Lassunda*, Sanscrit.—Not much cultivated, and chiefly on account of the green pods, which are used as a kitchen-stuff, and sold at the rate of four pice per seer. It is sown separate, mixed with the other grains, or in rows in the bajaree fields. When sown by itself, eight seers of seed are required per beega, and the produce is forty. The chowlee throws out long creeping arms, and will ascend to a great height, which the other variety does not. This pulse is sold in the bazar at the rate of 14 seers, is used as dhal, and in making wurrun, a kind of pea-soup.

Dolichos fabæformis, Botanic; *Gowarree*, Marratta; *Gowar*, Hindoostanee; *Bawanche*, Sanscrit.—Grows erect to the height of about three feet, and does not throw out runners. Cultivated on account of its green pods, which are in great estimation as a kitchen-stuff, and are cooked in * the same * 250 way as all greens. The pods are boiled tender, and the water well drained from them, when they are mixed with salt and the hot and aromatic spices, and fried for a short time in oil and ghee. They are eaten in this state with bajaree, cakes, or boiled rice, &c. The green pods are sold when plentiful at two pice per seer, and when scarce at eight pice. It is sown in the gardens as well as fields: when in the latter, in narrow slips by itself, or mixed with dhal.

Dolichos, Botanic; *Geheura*, Marratta.—This species of *Dolichos* is a creeper, and if trained will grow to a great height: its blossoms are purple. It is also cultivated on account of its green pods, which are dressed in the same way as those of the gowarree, but are not in equal request.

*Plants from the Seeds of which Oil is expressed—Field
Produce; rainy Season.*

Sesamum orientale, Botanic; *Howrea Till*, Marratta.—Sown on gravelly and red soils by the drill-plough, mixed with other,

grains in the proportion of one-tenth of a seer per beega. The increase on one seed 150. The plant grows to the height of between three and four feet; the blossom resembles the fox-glove, and the leaves have a faint aromatic smell. Medium price of the seed, 10 seers; very dear, 8; cheap, 14. Offerings of the seed are acceptable to the idol of Mahadeo; and presents of it, roasted or sugared, made up in little boxes, are exchanged by friends on the day the sun takes his northern declination. It is chiefly valuable on account of the oil it produces: three seers will yield by expression one seer of oil. The oil-seed is in request by the Koonbee Marrattas as an article of food, and is used to fry vegetables with; also by bread being soaked in it. Women, for 12 days before their expected labour, which it is thought to facilitate, eat a quarter of a seer daily. Medium price of the pure oil, $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 seers; but, from a custom of adulterating it, it can seldom be got in this state. The oil-cake is a valuable food for milch cows and buffaloes, and is sold at the rate of 16 seers per rupee. Very poor people use this cake as food. It is subject to a disease (mattoo sool) that destroys the crop.

* *Verbesina sativa*, Botanic; *Karulle Soortee*, Marratta;

* 251 *Jugunee*, Hindoostanee.—This plant grows to the height of two feet and a half when luxuriant, producing a yellow flower, button-shaped, slightly fragrant; which gives the fields a showy appearance. The seed is sown by itself on the poor and middling soils, in the proportion of three seers per beega, which will produce 65 seers if the crop is good. The plant, when the seed is ripe, is pulled up, and when dry the seed is beaten out, generally on a spot prepared for the purpose on the field, with sticks, and not collected in the farm-yard with the other produce: one man will beat out 120 seers of the seed in a day. The refuse of the plant is not in estimation as fodder. Camels will feed on it. In wet seasons the crops are sometimes entirely destroyed by an insect (kurkee). The flowers are made into garlands by the village females, and hung up in the temple of Bhowannee during the ten days of the feast of the *Dusrah*. The only use made of the seed is to express the oil

from it. Six seers yield half a seer of oil. Medium price three seers and a half: used as food, but principally for lamps, &c. The oil-cake (pained) is sold at 25 seers, and is a valuable food for milch cows, &c.

Ricinus communis, Botanic; *Yerendee*, *Marratta*; *Arrend*, *Hindoostanee*.—This plant will live three or four years, and the mogulee longer, but it is commonly renewed annually from seed. The mogulee sort, from the red tuft formed by its seed (capsules), is ornamental, and of very rapid growth. The seed is planted in rows a cubit asunder, on the skirts of fields, or as a hedge to red-pepper and sugar-cane fields. The seeds ripen in five months. Three seers of seed will yield one seer of oil. The oil is procured by boiling the seed, previously pounded, in water, and when cold skimming it off. The oil, besides its use medicinally, is burnt in lamps, &c. The women give a few drops of it to new-born infants, which is an excellent practice. The tender leaves of the plant are applied to biles, and to the head to remove headache. The plant itself is of no further use than as firewood. Medium price of the seed three seers.

* *Plants from the Bark of which Cordage is made.* * 252

Orotalaria juncea, Botanic; *Tag*, *Marratta*; *Sun*, *Hindoostanee*; *Sana*, Sanscrit.—Not much cultivated in the Poonah Havillee. It impoverishes the soil much, so that a year fallow is required after the crop. The plant grows to the height of five or six feet, and produces a yellow pea-shaped blossom. It is sown by itself, in the proportion of seven or eight seers per beega, which will yield 60 seers' weight of hemp (wa). The plant is pulled up and tied in bundles of 50 handfuls. In the hot weather the bundles are steeped for six days in water, to detach the bark from the stalk, which is stripped off by the hand. The hemp plants contain an acid juice, which renders the water it is steeped in poisonous to fish. It also blisters the hands in pulling off the bark. The hemp is sold at the rate of five or six seers per rupee, and made into rope by the village Mang for the use of the cultivators. It is also made into a coarse cloth (tant), by the Brinjaries and people who use

pack-bullocks, for making bags (gonies) for holding grain, &c., and for making pack-saddles. The stalks, after being freed from the bark, are sometimes smeared with sulphur and used as a match for lighting lamps, &c.

Hibiscus cannabinus, Botanic; *Ambadee*, Marratta; *Ambaree*, Hindoostanee; *Karni-Kara*, Sanscrit.—Is never sown by itself, but in small proportions in the bajaree and jewaree fields, to the extent of about one-fifth of a beega, and the medium increase is 30-fold. Medium price of the seed in the bazar 35 seers; very cheap, 50. An inferior sort of oil is extracted from the seed, which is used for lamps, cart-wheels, &c. Eight seers of seed will produce one seer of oil, which is sold at four seers per rupee. The plant grows to the height of about four feet, and its large yellow flower makes it showy. The plant when ripe is pulled up by the roots, and tied in bundles of 15 handfuls, which at the proper season are steeped for eight days in water, to loosen the bark, which is then stripped off, and after being well cleaned the hemp is dried and preserved for use. The hems of a coarse description are only used by the cultivators for making traces for their ploughs and carts, and for ropes for drawing *water. Each farmer grows sufficient for his * 253 own consumption, but seldom any for sale. When sold, it is at the rate of about eight seers per rupee. The young leaves of the plant are used as spinage. The stalks, when freed from their bark, are tied across the rafters of the farmers' houses as a support for tiles.

Corn—cold and dry Season Produce.

Triticum Spelta, Botanic; *Gowhoo*, Marratta; *Gehoo*, Hindoostanee; *Godoom*, Sanscrit.—The buckshee is the most valuable of the varieties, which is distinguished by the beard being black, or dark-coloured. It is only sown on the rich black and loamy soils, which, if a good crop is expected, must be manured with 12 cartloads per beega. The field intended for wheat is, immediately after the bajaree or jewaree harvest, ploughed, and allowed to remain in this state till March, when it is cleaned and made light by the kulloo; and this operation

is repeated at intervals till seed-time, which is the end of September and beginning of October. It is sown by the drill-plough. The rows are four inches asunder: 13 or 14 seers of seed are required per beega, which, if the crop is extremely good, will produce 500 seers; but the medium produce is not more than 350, and as low as 160: one plant, under very favourable circumstances, will put forth six ears, each yielding from 25 to 30 grains. When the seed begins to vegetate, a shower or two of rain is required to ensure a very good crop: after this it is brought to perfection merely by the night dews. It ripens in four months and a half, is pulled up by its roots, and made into sheaves of 10 handfuls. The grain is trodden out by bullocks, 10 or 12 of which are tied by the neck to a long rope, and one end of it fixed to a post in the centre of a floor on the open ground, on which they are kept moving. The winnowing is performed by a person elevated about six feet on a sort of stage; after which the chaff and broken straw are preserved in large baskets as forage. The wheat crops are subject to a disease from a small insect, which sometimes entirely destroys them. The ear and straw become red and corroded as if by rust. The medium price of wheat in the Poonah bazaar is 12 seers; very cheap, 16. The flour is *made into a variety of sorts of pastry by the rich: the common *254 people only use it on holidays.

Triticum monococcum, Botanic; *Kopla Gowhoo*, Marratta.—This is a poor species of wheat, and I believe not cultivated in Europe. The grain is small, and covered with a strong husk, which is detached by being beaten with a wooden pestle in a stone mortar. The plant requires a good deal of moisture, and must be irrigated once in 10 or 15 days to bring it to perfection. Forty-eight seers of seed in the husk are sown per beega, which yield on an average 600 seers. The grain ripens in three months and a half or four months, is reaped with the sickle (relah), and made into sheaves of three handfuls, which are beaten against a log to detach the grain; the grain loses half in being detached from its husk. Its flour is of a reddish colour, and is considered much inferior to the other species for,

pastry, but makes good cakes. It is sold a seer cheaper than the other sorts of wheat.

Hordeum Distichon, Botanic ; *Sattoo*, Marratta ; *Jow*, Hindoostanee ; *Satta*, Sanscrit.—Only cultivated in fields that can be irrigated. Seed per beega 15 seers, and medium increase 120. The grain not held in any estimation as food : the small quantity produced near Poonah is used chiefly as offerings at funerals, and in other Hindoo rites : the grain ripens in three months : the straw is considered an inferior forage to that of wheat.

Holcus, Botanic ; *Shalloo*, Marratta.—This variety of *Holcus* is very little cultivated within the Poonah Havillee ; but it forms the principal cold-weather crop a little way to the eastward. The plant does not differ much in appearance from the sorts cultivated in the rainy season. The fibre down the centre of the leaf is darker coloured, and the straw, in consequence of not being exposed to rain, looks cleaner and fresher : the grain is larger and plumper, and is rather preferred ; but the price in the bazar is nearly the same. It is sown in September, a few days before wheat ; about four seers per beega. Medium increase 800 ; increase in one seed in a healthy plant, 300. Commonly sown alone ; but sometimes a small quantity of hardie is mixed with it, in the proportion of one seer to twenty. The grain ripens in four months and a half ; and the plant
 * is pulled up by the roots : it is considered a crime to
 * 255 reap it with the sickle ; the ears are broken off, and submitted to the tread of bullocks to detach the grain. The operation of breaking off the ears (moornee) is performed by women, who are considered more expert than men ; when finished, they receive two seers of grain, or 100 sheaves of four handfuls. The plant gets one or two showers of rain soon after it is sown, and is brought to perfection afterwards by the dews.

Pulse.

Watana, Marratta ; *Battana*, Hindoostanee ; *Hurreenoo*, Sanscrit.—This plant, compared with that cultivated in Europe, is diminutive : the blossom is purple, and the pea grey or speck-

led. It is often brought to perfection merely by the night dews. Seed per beega 20 seers; average produce 700; average price 16 seers. It is split (dhal), and boiled soft with rice; also made into a sort of pudding (basean). The straw and pods are good forage.

Oicer arietinum, Botanic; *Harbura*, Marratta; *Ohenna*, Hindoostanee; *Chennuka*, Sanscrit.—Requires the best black soils. The ground is commonly fallowed, and prepared as for wheat, but is not manured so richly. A crop is sometimes taken after ooreed and moong; and sometimes, but more rarely, immediately after bajaree. It is sown by the drill, except after the bajaree crop, when the seed is dropped in with the hand immediately after the plough. Thirteen seers of seed are sown per beega, and the average crop is about 120. A strong acid liquor exudes from the plant during its growth; which is collected by moistening a dry cloth with it, and afterwards wringing it. The acid is used medicinally as a stomachic, and with good effect. This pulse ripens in four months. Medium price in the bazar, 16 seers; cheap, 20; dear, 11 or 12. If the weather is cloudy, the crop is often destroyed by a caterpillar. The stalks a good forage for cattle.

Ervum lens, Botanic; *Mussoor*, Marratta.—Sown by itself in narrow strips, generally on the edges of the wheat or chenna fields; but only cultivated in very small quantities in the Havillee. The plant does not grow * higher than six or eight inches, and comes to perfection in three months * 256 and a half. Seed per beega 12 seers; medium produce 100. The pulse is made into soup (wurrun), and made into dhal, but is considered inferior to that of toor. Brahmins are forbidden to eat it, as it is not one of the eighteen holy grains. Medium bazar price at Poonah 14 or 15 seers. The refuse of the plant, after the pulse has been separated, is good forage.

Oil Plants—dry and cold Season Produce.

Carthamus persicus, Botanic; *Kerdie*, Marratta; *Kurrud*, Hindoostanee; *Kosoomb*, Sanscrit.—The plant grows to the height of about two feet; the leaves prickly, and flowers orange,

coloured. The bastard saffron, or safflower, used by dyers, is the dried petals of the *Carthamus tinctorius*, which differs from this species in the leaves of the calyx being short and spinous. It is either sown by itself, or mixed in a small proportion with wheat, chenna, or shalloo: the increase on one seed is about 200. The plant ripens in five months and a half, and is reaped with the sickle, and the seed beaten out with sticks. The stem and stalks of the plant are of no use as fodder, but are used by tile and brick makers, &c. for fuel. Medium price of the seed, 40 seers; very dear, 30; cheap, 50. Twelve seers yield about two seers and a half of oil; which is sold on an average at the rate of four seers per rupee. The oil is used chiefly for lamps, but is also eaten by the poor: the seed is good for fattening fowls, pigeons, &c., and, ground coarsely, is given to cattle: the oil-cake is sold at the rate of three maunds per rupee, and is also a good cattle food.

Linum usitatissimum, Botanic; *Jowus*, Marratta; *Jeese*, Hindoostanee; *Alussee*, Sanscrit.—No use is made of the fibres of the plant, as in Europe. The seed, boiled soft and mixed with spices, is used as food by the common people; it is also used as a condiment (chatnee), mixed with red pepper, salt, asafetida, &c.; but it is cultivated chiefly on account of its oil. It is sown on the best soils, and generally on strips of four rows on the edges of the wheat and chenna fields. A beega requires five seers of seed, and will yield 100. The seed ripens in four months and a half; * when the plant is pulled

* 257 up by the roots, and submitted to the tread of oxen. Medium price, 14 or 15 seers: twelve seers will yield three seers of oil, which sells at four seers per rupee. The oil is only used for lamps, cart-wheels, &c.; the oil-cake is given to cattle, but is not in estimation.

Kulli, or Thrashing-Floor.

Each cultivator, when the harvest begins, fixes on a suitable place, in one of his fields, where all his produce is collected, for the purpose of thrashing and securing the grain. A level spot, 15 or 20 cubits in diameter is chosen, and in the evening well

soaked with water; the next morning it is again sprinkled with cow-dung and water, and eight or ten oxen in a string are led round it till it is trodden dry and like a floor, when a pole four or five feet high is put up in the centre: the different kinds of grain are stacked round this floor, and the women are employed in breaking off the ears and throwing them on it. When a sufficient quantity is collected, the oxen, six or eight in number, are tied to each other, and to the post, and driven round till the corn has been sufficiently trodden out. The oxen generally work four or five hours in the forenoon, and as many in the afternoon, and the operation takes two days. In breaking off the ears of grain, some of the finest and plumpest are thrown on one side and reserved for seed. The different sorts of corn and pulse are in succession submitted to the same operation, and winnowed, measured, and carried home, or distributed on the spot to persons who had forestalled it. The winnowing is performed by a person standing on a high stool and submitting the grain and chaff from a basket to the wind. When the harvest is over, it is usual to sacrifice a sheep and have it cooked on the spot, and for the cultivator to invite his friends to the feast. Some ceremonies in honour of the five Pandoos, &c. are also performed on this occasion.

The kulli is protected from cattle from without by having some thorns stuck round, and one or more persons of the family keep watch at night. The successive Khareef and Rubbee harvests give employment at the kulli * for four months. The grain, after having been winnowed, * 258 is preserved in large conical baskets smeared with cow-dung and ashes to keep away insects, and is sometimes secured in excavations underground.

REVENUES.

The revenues are derived from a direct tax on the land, and some extra impositions, which must also indirectly come from the same source. The land-tax varies from year to year, according to the quantity under cultivation. Lands are classed into three kinds, and pay a fixed tax according to their quality;

agreeably to a rate and measurement made 200 years ago by the Mahomedans : previously to which time the custom seems to have been for the Government to have a certain proportion, about half of the produce, or to commute it for money at the market price. The land-tax is not increased in favourable seasons, and in very unfavourable ones the Government makes a remission. Waste and foul lands pay a small rent, as may be agreed on between the tenant and Government agent, till they have been brought fully under cultivation, when they become liable to the established tax. The Government settlement with the township for its revenues for this year (1818) amounted to 1301 rupees : 1200 rupees of this sum were derived from the direct tax on the land, and 101 from indirect taxes : 244 rupees of the amount were granted to defray the expenses of the religious and charitable establishments of the township, and various customary charges and presents allowed by the Government ; and 200 rupees were remitted by the collector, in consequence of the unfavourable season and the poverty of the cultivators.

The annual settlement with the township for the revenue it is to pay for the ensuing year, takes place a little before the commencement of the rainy season. The Patail and Koolcurnee first assemble all the cultivators, when the Lowgum Jara, or written details of cultivation for the past year, is produced, and an agreement made with each of them for the quantity he is to cultivate in the approaching season. As the Patail's credit with the Government depends on the prosperity of his township, and the

* state of cultivation, he endeavours to extend this by
 * 259 all the means in his power. He will not allow a Tulkarree to throw up lands he had cultivated the year before ; and should any part of his tul be lying waste, he upbraids him and threatens to exact the land-tax for it if he does not bring it under cultivation. He has less hold on the Oopree, who will go where he can get land on the best terms, and is obliged to treat him with great consideration. If the Oopree threaten to throw up his lands, from any cause, he is promised privately better terms and greater indulgence ; or if he is in distress for

money, to get him advances (tuggee) from the Government, &c. When the Patail and Koolcurnee have made these preliminary agreements, they proceed to the collector, or his agent, and enter into another agreement for the amount of revenue to be paid for the approaching year, subject to remissions on account of asmanee and sultanee, that is, losses from bad seasons, including the crops being destroyed by locusts and other insects and the plunder of armies.

The revenues are usually collected by four instalments. The first begins about October, and is termed the Toosur Puttee, in allusion to the name of the crop reaped at this time, which consists of rahle, moong, ooreed, mucka, sawa, and wuryi. This instalment is in the proportion of one-eighth or one-tenth of the whole revenue. The second takes place in January, and is termed the Khereef Puttee, or tax, and is the largest instalment, being about one-half of the whole. The third is termed the Rubbee Puttee, and begins in March; and the fourth the Akar Sal Puttee, a final settlement, and usually takes place in May.

The following is the process usually observed in realizing the revenues:—The Native Collector of the division (Mamlutdar) sends an armed messenger with a written order on the Patail to pay him an instalment of the revenue, mentioning the amount, on account of a specified crop. The order runs as follows:—

“Tuh Muccadum Sook Lonee Turruf Sandis Praunt Poona (the Arabic year follows) Mouzé Muskoor sal Muskoor Peikee Toosar Puttee buddul Rupees 200 geoon Hoozur yeneya Kamas Sepoy patweelee ahe.”

(Signature.)

*The Patail on this sends the beadle (yeskur) to the house of each cultivator, and summons him to attend at * 260 the chowree the following morning, and be prepared to pay his proportion of the instalment of the revenue that is due. The Patail, Koolcurnee, and messenger, accordingly proceed to the chowree, and squat themselves down on a cloth on the cow-dunged floor, and the cultivators all attend in succession. Some at once pay their share, and take a receipt (powtee) from the

Koolcurnee ; but many beg for a few days' respite, seldom more than a week, to enable them to discharge theirs. The amount of annual tax paid by any individual is not more than 50 rupees, and that of the majority is 20 rupees ; so that the sum to be paid at an instalment is often only two or three rupees. The money is paid to the Patail, who hands it to the Potedar, or Treasurer, to ascertain whether it is good ; and if so, he stamps his mark on it ; and when the collections of the day are over, he takes it to his house. As soon as the whole instalment has been realized, it is sewed up in a leathern bag by the shoemaker, sealed by the Patail, and sent by a Mahar, under charge of the messenger, to the Mamlutdar. If the Patail has not been able to realize the amount of the order on him, he sends all he has collected, with an explanatory letter, to the Mamlutdar : but the messenger does not in this case quit the village till he has been ordered to do so by his employer.

* The following translation of the Settlement with the * 261 Township for this year will give a better notion of its resources, and the revenue details :—

Total Arable Land of the Township: 9 tucka 2 chour 2 rooka (the rooka equal to 19,630 square yards).†

FREEHOLDS.—1 tucka 1 suzgunnee.

HOW APPROPRIATED.

| <i>Particulars.</i> | <i>Tuc. Suz. Roo.</i> | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|
| Held by a religious Mendicant | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| —— the District Register | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| —— the Patails, 1 S. each | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| —— the Koolcurnee | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| —— the V. Watchmen | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| —— the Temple of Mahadeo | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Carried forward..... | 1 | 1 | 0 |

† LAND-MEASURE.

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 36 pends..... | 1 beega (3926 square yards). |
| 5 beegas | 1 rooka. |
| 6 rookas | 1 suzgunnee. |
| 4 suzgunnees | 1 chour. |
| 2 chours | 1 tucka. |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|----|----------------|
| Brought forward..... | 1 | 1 | 0 | |
| Appropriated as Government grass-lands | 0 | 2 | 0 | |
| Land disputed with the neighbouring township of } Wagolee, and lying waste | 0 | 6 | 0 | |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| | 2 | 1 | 0 | |
| Land lying waste, from a want of hands..... | 1 | 1 | 4 | |
| Land lost by roads | 0 | 1 | 4 | |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| | 1 | 6 | 2 | |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| Remaining land paying tax..... | 5 | 4 | 6 | |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| Land fully cultivated, and paying the established tax } of 280 rupees per tucka..... | 3 | 6 | 1½ | Rupees. = 1050 |
| Land not brought fully under cultivation, and let by the year } at different rates, making a total of | | | | 150 |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| Total Land-tax | | | | Rupees 1200 |
| Extra assessment (Sewie) Jumma; total amount | | | | 101 |
| | | | | <hr/> |

* PARTICULARS.

* 262

| <i>Tax on Shops.</i> | | | | <i>Rs. gr. a.</i> |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------|
| Mahadeo, Jain Shopkeeper | 3 | 0 | 0 | |
| Boloo, Jain do. | 4 | 0 | 0 | |
| Mankoo, Marwadee do. | 4 | 0 | 0 | |
| Motee Ram do. | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | 12 0 0 |

Tax on Hereditary Servants of the Township (Baloota).

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|--------|
| Carpenter..... | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| Barber | 1 | 2 | 0 | |
| Washerman..... | 1 | 2 | 0 | |
| Silversmith (Treasurer) | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| Shoemaker | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| Ropemaker | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| Gooroo, or Dresser of Idols | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | 11 0 0 |
| Tax on the Watchmen's hereditary lands..... | | | | 15 0 0 |
| Tax on Grain; in kind, but commuted for a money payment. | | | | 30 0 0 |
| Tax, in kind, on articles sold by weight, as butter, oil, and hemp..... | | | | 19 0 0 |

Other demands :

| <i>Particulars.</i> | <i>Rs.</i> | <i>qr.</i> | <i>α.</i> |
|---|------------|------------|-----------|
| A pair of Shoes from the Shoemaker, or | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Two tanned Hides from ditto, or | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| A Sheep at the Dusrah, or | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Till at the Winter Solstice (Till Sankrant) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| An Offering (Bete Nuzur)..... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| In Commutation of Servitude, from the Watchmen. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| In lieu of Straw | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | | 14 | 0 0 |
| Total Extra Taxes..... | 101 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Land Tax | Rs. 2100 | 0 | 0 |

DISBURSEMENTS.

Hereditary Claimants on the Revenue (Hackdars).

| | <i>Rs.</i> | <i>qr.</i> | <i>α.</i> |
|------------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Daismook | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Daispandee | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir-Patail | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Koolkurnee | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | 95 | 0 | 0 |

Village Expenses paid by the Government (Gankurtch).

Total..... 149 1 12

* 263

* PARTICULARS.

Rs. qr. α.

| | | | |
|--|----|---|---|
| Lamps night and day burned at the Temple of Mahadeo | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Priest, for chanting the praises of Mahadeo from the <i>Sew Selem Sankrant</i> | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Expenses at the Festival of Sew Ratra | 12 | 3 | 0 |
| Lamps at night at the Temple of Byroo and Hanniman..... | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| Oil at the Feast of Now Ratra..... | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Cinnabar for mixing with oil, and smearing the idols..... | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Flags for the Temples | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| | 37 | 3 | 0 |

Donations to Holy Men (Wershasuns).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A Minstrel (Hardas) of Punderpoor | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| The Tomb of the Mahomedan Saint Shaik Sullah at Poonah ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|
| A Mahomedan Mendicant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Carnatic Brahmin | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Brahmin Mendicant of Benares | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Holy Brahmin | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A Cloth for a Holy Mendicant living in the Village... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To the Village Priest, for officiating on New Year's day, the holidays of Now Ratra, Dusrah, &c. | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| A Sheep as a sacrifice, to the Temple of Byroo | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Religious Ceremonies at the Temple of Marotee, or Hanniman | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Customary Presents at the Festival of the Dusrah ... | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Do. do. at Dewali | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Do. do. at Till Sankrant | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Do. do. at the Holi | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Expenses for Stationery | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Present of Cloths to the Patail on making the Annual Revenue Settlement | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Koolkurnee Settlement | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| To the Chowgulla, or Patail's Deputy, ditto | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Salary of the Ramoosee or Village Police | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Patail and Koolkurnee, on bringing the Ten Years' Accounts of the Township to Poonah, for their Expenses ... | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Patail, for his Expenses in attending the Mamlutdar on Government duty | 5 | 0 | 12 |
| Carriage of Straw for Government | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| To the Mahomedans at the Feast of the Mohorum | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Ceremonies at the Temple of Moroba connected with the Epidemic | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| For repairing a Cart belonging to Government, &c. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Hereditary Claims | 95 | 0 | 0 |
| Expense for Worship at the Temple, and other Village Charges admitted by Government | 149 | 1 | 12 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | 355 | 1 | 8 |

| | * INSTALMENTS. | Rs. | gr. | a. | * 264 |
|---------------------|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| January 2nd | | 140 | 0 | 0 | |
| — 17th | | 58 | 0 | 0 | |
| February 14th | | 100 | 0 | 0 | |
| — 22nd | | 49 | 0 | 0 | |
| March 25th | | 52 | 0 | 0 | |
| June 21st | | 43 | 3 | 0 | |
| July | | 338 | 0 | 4 | |
| September | | 40 | 0 | 0 | |
| | | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | |
| | | 320 | 3 | 4 | |

| | <i>Rs. gr. a</i> |
|---|------------------------|
| Revenue remitted by the Collector, on account of the unfavourable season, and the poverty and distress of the Cultivators | 200 0 0 |
| Total Village Charges admitted, and deducted from the Revenue | 244 1 12 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1265 1 0 |
| Balance due by the Village to Government | 44 3 0 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total Revenue | <i>Rupees</i> 1310 0 0 |

Of which 200 Rupees was remitted by the Collector; *Rs.* 244-1-12 allowed for the Temples, &c. of the Township; and the remainder, viz. *Rs.* 765-2-4, is the balance actually paid into the Government Treasury.

(Signed) T. COATS, Surgeon.

[NOTE.—This account appears to have been compiled from information collected on the spot, and so far as the facts go, it gives a fair picture of an old Dekkan village. The Hon'ble M. Elphinstone's Report on the Territories conquered from the Peishwa (Second edition, pp. 14-33) confirms most of Surgeon Coats' remarks. Loni is on the road to Ahmadnagar. It has a Government vernacular school and a travellers' bungalow. Its present boundaries may be roughly stated to be as follows :—

To the north lie Vadhiva Phulgámva; to the west, Bhávadi and Tulápura; to the south, Vághuli and Kesanana; to the east, Bakúri and Perane. Its area is 4211 acres and 11 chains; of this, 911 acres and 18 chains is *máta* land or *kharábá*; 418 acres and 11 chains is kept by Government for pasture, roads, &c.; and 2881 acres and 22 chains is culturable.

Out of the culturable land, 205 acres and 32 chains is Inám land, and 2675 acres and 30 chains is assessed to the land tax. The total revenue is 1351 rupees 8 annas. The actual sum received by Government for the year 1875-76 is 1308 rupees 3 annas and 9 pies, and 53 rupees 1 anna is received by Inámdárs. The total revenue of Inám land is 112 rupees 8 annas, out of which Government receives 59 rupees 7 annas, and the remainder goes to Inámdars. Its chief products are *Jvári*, *Bájari*, sugarcane, and plantains. It contains 29 wells. The water tax received by Government for the year 1875-76 is 60 rupees 8 annas. Its population is 954. The number of houses is 186.—Ed.]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAVES OF ELLORA.

By Captain W. H. SYKES.

[With thirteen Drawings, and one sheet of Inscriptions.]

Read 28th March, 1820.

The following account of the excavations in the neighbourhood of the village of Ellora was drawn up previously to my seeing Sir Charles Malet's Paper, in the *Asiatic Researches*, on the same subject. On a comparison of the accounts, I was gratified by finding the correctness of the information I had obtained established, with some exceptions, by Sir Charles's authority.

This general coincidence would seem to render questionable the propriety of giving a further description; but as Sir Charles did not visit all the caves, as he has barely noticed the division into Boodh and Brahminical caves, and as the accounts are occasionally at variance, I have thought the whole of my observations might prove acceptable to the Society, made, as they were, under a perfect freedom from any bias arising from previous information.

In a subsequent arrangement of my notes, I have once or twice pointed out the differences, and commented on them; not in refutation of Sir Charles's opinions, but simply with a view to enable those mythologists who may take an interest in identifying the various sculptures at Ellora, to form their own judgment by a comparison of the variations.

The excavations are in a hill of moderate height. The hill runs in the form of a crescent, the concavity facing the west, and the horns rising to an elevation considerably above the level of the intermediate ridge. The slope of the hill is in general easy; but it is occasionally interrupted * by a * 266 disposition to stratification in the rock; which in such

places presents a perpendicular face of from twenty to sixty, and even a hundred, feet.

The extreme sculptures are Parusnath and the Dehr Warra. The former is situated about two hundred yards up the hill, forming the northern horn of the crescent, and the latter is a little more than a mile south of Parusnath: the remaining caves occupy the face of the hill between the two above mentioned, but at irregular distances from each other, and seldom on the same level, the workmen generally having availed themselves of a mural disposition in the rock to facilitate their labours.

In the extent of hill between the extreme caves, the rock varies in its nature, very considerably. Basalt, black and grey, is most abundant. A hard vesicular rock is common, and the figures cut out of it have the appearance of being marked with the small-pox: the third kind is a rock of a gritty loose texture, which rapidly absorbs moisture, and crumbles away on long exposure to the weather. Narrow veins of quartz frequently intersect the sculptures; and the elephant on the left hand of the entrance to Kylas has an horizontal vein running quite through the body. The hill is strewed with fragments of quartz, and other siliceous stones; and it is not uncommon to meet with fine specimens of blood-stone.

It will be necessary to premise, that the names of the several excavations have been arbitrarily fixed by the Brahmins, from particular associations with which it pleased them to connect each cave, in many instances perfectly independent of any reasonable interpretation of the objects of the sculptures; and with respect to the Dookyaghur, the Carpenter's Cave, and the Dehr Warra, the names are founded on the most puerile beliefs. The progress of my observations will show this more fully.

The Brahmins have also a set of popular tales, which they retail to every visitor with a senseless garrulity; but in case you demand the reasons for their assertions, and interrogate them closely and severely, they acknowledge that custom only justifies them in repeating these stories, and that their genuine opinions are not unfrequently at variance with them.

* I shall commence my description with the most northern sculptures, and proceed regularly, but rapidly, * 267 on to the most southern.

In the hill about 200 yards above Indra Subbah, in a mural rock of black basalt, a colossal figure of Boodh is sculptured, perfectly naked. It is in a sitting posture, on a throne, from the centre of the front of which a wheel projects to half its diameter; on either side of the wheel are elephants' and tigers' heads supporting the seat. On a tabular projection, immediately above the wheel, an astronomical table is carved, thus associating the image with ideas respecting the motions of the heavenly bodies: I shall have occasion to mention again this association when speaking of other Boodh sculptures. The image, which is ten feet high, sits with the legs crossed; the hands in the lap are laid one into the other, with the fingers extended and the palms upwards: the head is covered apparently with curly hair, and is shaded by the seven-headed snake, the folds of whose body, doubled behind the image, serve it as a cushion to rest against. There are six figures in attendance, in the attitude of prayer—five sitting and one standing; one of them has a beard, and they are all decorated with earrings, necklaces, bracelets above the elbow, and chains for the ankles.

About 100 years ago, the piety of a Shroff at Arungabad, of the name of Naimeedas, led him to erect a handsome porch of stone, to preserve the figure from the weather. He also caused a long inscription to be engraved on the front of the throne on which Boodh sits.

This image, which corresponds in every respect with the figures of Boodh all over India, is the object of worship of the Goojur Bunneecas and the Boodhists generally: it is called Parusnath, and there is a yearly pilgrimage to it on the 14th sood of the month Badwa. The Pooja, however, is too expensive for the vulgar, as the offering must never be under the value of a maund of ghee.

From Captain M'Murdo's description of Parusnath†, wor-

† See *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. i., p. 190.

shipped in the *Desert of Parkur, it would appear there
 * 268 is some similarity between that deity and the Ellora

Parusnath : both have the hands laid on each other in the lap, and both are sitting ; and the Parkur idol has the right foot laid on the left knee in one of the attitudes of Boodh.

The next excavations are those called Indra Subbah. They consist of three caves communicating with each other : they are all dedicated to Boodh ; and there appears no just reason for the appellation of Indra Subbah, which was explained to me to mean "The Court of Indra," unless indeed a large male figure with a tree growing out of its head, sitting on a couchant elephant at the extremity of the front veranda of the cave sacred to Runchor, be acknowledged as Indra, and possessing a right to give a name to caves in which it is only of secondary consequence.

The first cave is the most western of the three : it faces the south ; it is 61 feet long by 48 broad ; the ceiling is flat, and is supported by sixteen pillars and twelve pilasters ; it varies in height from thirteen feet eight inches to fourteen feet six inches. In a recess from the grand room is a figure of Boodh† in the same attitude as Parusnath on the hill ; the head being shaded by three mushroom-like figures, one above the other, instead of the snake. All round the walls of the grand room, in compartments, are figures of Boodh, either sitting or standing ; some of them sit cross-legged, others sit as Europeans do, on benches : they are everywhere destitute of kurras (bangles), kunta (necklace), mala (rosary), or personal ornaments of any kind. The image in the grand recess is called Juggernath Boodh ; and some servants of Madras officers came into the cave while I was in it, and made their offerings to the idol. On being questioned, they identified the image with that worshipped at Juggernath.

It may be necessary to remark that the figures of Boodh, so often repeated in each cave, resemble each other so close-

† See Sketch No. I., fig. 1.

ly, and differ so widely in appearance from their attendants and votaries, that they never can fail of being instantly recognized. The attitudes are all contemplative : and *the only variation in the figures is in the position of the limbs. Mr. Salt, in his account of the Kenera * 269 caves, has given sketches of four attitudes of Boodh : I have copied these to assist my descriptions.

In Jüggernath Subbah, on the right of the sanctuary, in a large compartment, is the group in Sketch No. II.† The principal figure is found in Boodh and Brahminical excavations : in the latter it is generally recumbent ; and in Ceylon it would appear to be also recumbent, from descriptions given by Captain Colin M'Kenzie‡. The Brahmins call it Shaish-shai Bugwan, being the first incarnation of the Supreme Being. In Brahminical temples, the Shaish-shai Bugwan has Brahma seated on a lotus flower springing from his navel : but in Boodh caves Brahma is not in connexion with the figure, although the correspondence is complete otherwise. What is probably not less curious in a Boodh temple, is a figure called by the Brahmins Bhagisree Bowanee, seated on a tiger, on the left of the sanctuary§. The tree growing from her head would seem to identify her with the figure called Inderanee in Indra Subbah ; but as it is plainly not Inderanee, and as both figures are seated on a tiger, and have a tree growing from each of their heads, it is more reasonable to suppose both figures are intended to represent the same personage. But whether it is the real Bhagisree of the Hindoo mythology, or the original from whence the latter was copied, or the Boodh personification of the female energy, cannot well be determined. Bhagisree has the metal rods round her arms, described by Mr. Erskine as distinguishing Sew, his retinue, and votaries ; the ornaments called kundalin in her ears are like small solid wheels, and on her feet she has the chains (paejun) worn at the present day, and on her great toe the ring which few females are without.

† See Sketch No. II.

‡ See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 453.

§ See Sketch No. I., fig. 1.

In the centre of the hall of Juggernath Subbah, three simple circles are cut in the floor, at equal distances from each other; some mystic or astronomical idea having probably been attached to them.

The second cave is entered by a narrow passage from the first, which it resembles generally with respect to the sculptures. The principal figure* in the recess, perfectly *270 similar to Parusnath on the hill, is called Parusram.

Half the diameter of a wheel projects from the throne on which Parusram is sitting, with its edge to the spectator. In this cave we see Bowanee again, in two compartments, in sitting postures: in one she is represented holding a looking-glass, flowers, &c., and having the mushroom-like figure over her head; in the second she has the tiger by her side. The cave is flat-roofed.

The third cave is entered from the second. It is $68\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $66\frac{1}{2}$ broad; the ceiling, which is flat, varies in height a few inches above and below 15 feet; it is supported by 16 pillars and 20 pilasters. The principal image in the sanctuary or recess is a cross-legged sitting figure of Boodh, exactly similar to the Boodh in the first cave; but the Brahmins have thought it necessary to give a different name to it, and they call it Runchor, the god worshipped at Dwarka. All the compartments round the cave have each a figure of Boodh—some standing and some sitting: the attendants are riding on elephants, tigers, and bulls. An erect naked figure of Boodh, on the left of the sanctuary, has a couple of women in attendance on either side: a votary is sitting at his feet with his hands joined, in the attitude of prayer, amidst reposing sheep, rats, a snake, and a scorpion. This state of repose doubtless bears some relation to the fabled slumber of the divinity between the destruction of one world and the renovation of another.

The doorway to the sanctuary is highly decorated with minute figures of men and women, in attendance upon figures of Boodh. This is supposed to represent Dwarka, because the figure inside is called Runchor. In the centre of the cave is a basement

very much resembling the basement which usually supports the Ling; but whatever figure was on it has been removed: the groove, however, for the passage of the water remains: the spout resembles the mouth of an animal; and, it will be remembered, the water used in the Ling Pooja is carried off through the mouth of a cow.

At the extremities of the front veranda are the figures called Indra and Inderanee, the former seated on a couchant elephant, the latter on a tiger. *They have each a tree growing from their heads, on which pea-fowl are roosting. The *271 female is the Bhagisree of the first cave; she has the paejun round the instep, and rings on the great toe. Observing the uncommon ornament of a knutt, or nose-ring, which is nowhere discoverable in any excavation on the western side of India, I was induced to apply my stick rather forcibly to it, to ascertain whether it was coeval with the sculpture, or of later origin: I found it composed of chunam (mortar), as it immediately gave way, and satisfied me it was the addition of the workmen who at one period had painted and chunammed the whole of the caves at Ellora. The male is the personage after whom the caves are called (Indra Subbah).

In front of the Indra cave is an area cut out of the rock, with a small temple in the centre of it, which, from a supposed resemblance to the fortress, has been called Dowlutabad. In the temple is an altar, on the faces of which are figures of Boodh: on one side is a single elephant, without covering or ornament. An obelisk left standing in the area has a good effect.

These excavations are of two stories, but the lower caves are destroyed by damp, and partially filled up by the earth washed into them. The front of the Parusram cave, which looks into the area, is divided into compartments. In one is the representation of a battle (which is a very unusual piece of sculpture for a Boodh cave); in another, figures are engaged in a sacrifice; above this is Boodh; and above the last, a male caressing a female. The balustrade, which has the device of

urns between pillars† (as in the cave of Kylas), is supported by elephants alternating with an uncouth animal intended probably to represent a lion or a tiger. There are no cells to these caves.

Forty or fifty paces east of Indra Subbah is another Boodh excavation of one story: it is too much choked up with earth, which rises three-fourths of the way up the pillars, to admit of a particular description; but, from what is visible, the workmanship does not suffer in a comparison with Indra *Sub-
* 272 bah. Still further east is a Boodh temple; I say temple, because it stands in the midst of a large area cut out of the rock, on the same plan with the Brahminical temple of Kylas. The rains have washed the earth into it up as high as the capitals of the pillars; it can only be viewed, therefore, by crawling on the hands and knees. It consists of a portico, a large hall, and the sanctuary. The remains of painting and chunamming are visible, which are the best proofs that the excavation was once complete, since this attention and labour would scarcely have been bestowed on an unfinished work. Ages have probably elapsed in accumulating the quantity of earth which has choked up the temple, and partially the area in which it stands.

The Doomar Leyna is the next cave: it is distant about 200 yards, or more, from the last. The meaning of the appellation is Nuptial Palace, derived from one of the groups being supposed to represent the marriage of Sew and Parwutee. The excavation is Brahminical, being dedicated to the Ling, that emblem occupying the sanctuary, which is a square room at the end of the central colonnade, having four doors into it, each door being guarded by two colossal Dharpals 14 feet 8 inches high. The Doomar Leyna is the most extensive excavation under one roof at Ellora, as the length is 185 feet by 150 broad, the ceiling varying in height a few inches above and below 19 feet. There are twenty-eight pillars, and twenty pilasters. The principal figure on the left hand of the western

† See Sketch No. X.

entrance in Sew, is his character of Ehr Budr†. Sir Charles Malet says, he strikes the Dytia Airawutee with his sword, and transfixes Dytaseer with a spear. The former was represented to me as Gujasoor Dytia, and the latter as Rutnasoor. The Dutckhs Rajah‡ is represented as held by the leg in the air; and Parwutee sits on the opposite side, exulting in the revenge which had been taken for the insult offered to her. The group opposite to Ehr Budr, on the right of the entrance, is Sew and Parwutee on Kylas, and Rawun endeavouring to lift it. In the south-eastern corner is a group of the first personages of the Hindoo mythology. Sew and Parwutee are the * 273 principal figures in the piece; Brahma with his Wahun (monture) of geese, and Vishnoo on Garuda, appear in a subordinate light. A skeleton figure in the corner of the compartment is well executed; and this personage is seldom omitted in groups of Sew and Parwutee, and their followers. This piece is supposed to represent the marriage of Sew and Parwutee, being the mystic union of the two productive principles.

It is often repeated at Ellora, and corresponds in almost every particular with Mr. Erskine's description of No. 7 of Niebuhr's drawings at Elephanta§, and which Pyke and Moor justly thought represented a nuptial ceremony.

In the north-eastern corner is the figure of Jum Dhurm. In Sketch No. IV.|| I have given a drawing of this figure, because it corresponds in a singular manner with sculptures¶, described by Mr. Salt, in Boodh caves at Kenera; and because a similar piece of sculpture in Elephanta suggested to Mr. Erskine the possibility of a former union between the Boodhists and Brahmins. That groups consisting of two figures with curly heads, each shadowed by the seven-headed snake, and

† See Sketch No. III.

‡ Niebuhr, in his description of Ehr Budr at Elephanta, calls the pendent figure a child.

§ See *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. i., pp. 227, 228.

|| See Sketch No. IV.

¶ See Mr. Salt's drawings, Plate No. I., fig. 2, *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay*, vol. i.

holding a lotus stalk, on the flower of which is seated a third figure in the Boodh attitude, should be found in common in Boodh and Brahminical cave temples, can scarcely be deemed accidental. But as I shall have occasion to notice other coincidences in the course of this description, I shall reserve my comments on them for the close of this paper.

Adjoining the Doomar Leyna, on the south, the rock presents a perpendicular face of about 100 feet. Over this height the water of a nullah is precipitated, forming a pretty cascade. I must now ascend the hill, and follow up this nullah about half a mile, to a small cave of Dawai on the right bank. The ex-

cavation is of no size or beauty, and has only a * mis-
* 274 shapen incomplete female image in it. A yearly Jatra†,

and the fame of the miracles worked by the goddess, however, have induced her votaries to build a flight of steps from the cave down to the water, and to cut small koonds ‡ in the bed of the nullah, the rock of which is otherwise worn into many fantastic shapes by the action of the water. The stream whirling round these koonds, and occasionally dashing over rocky obstructions, combined with the luxuriant foliage about, in the month of October, renders the spot extremely romantic.

Returning down the nullah, several small caves present themselves in both banks, each cave being in the form of a cube of six or seven feet. In the centre of each is the Ling; the right and left walls are destitute of sculptures; but the wall fronting the entrance has the bust of the celebrated triad represented at Elephanta.

These busts, which are nowhere found in the large caves,—and, with the exception of two busts in the hill above Kylas, nowhere out of this nullah,—are almost all free from mutilation. I chose the most perfect and highly finished for the Sketch No. V.§, which is a faithful representation of the triad, having de-

† A religious festival, which greatly resembles a fair. There is a great concourse of people, and as much attention is paid to worldly as to spiritual concerns.

‡ Small pits by which the water is formed into pools.

• § See Sketch No. V.

voted particular attention to the emblems and minute ornaments of the head and person. On examination it will be found to correspond so closely with the bust at Elephanta, as to put it beyond doubt that the different figures are intended to represent the same personage. From this resemblance in the parts that remain, it will be but reasonable to conclude, that the mutilated hands of the bust at Elephanta hold the same emblems which are shown in the hands of the figure in the accompanying sketch†.

The central figure has a placid countenance. It holds in the right hand the mala, or rosary; the left holds a cocoanut. In most of the busts the left hand is perfect; and in no instance did I observe any lines in the * spherical substance in the hand, which might be supposed to represent the * 275 closed leaves of the unblown lotus. Both arms above the elbow have something resembling a thin rod or snake twisted round them. The cap of the figure has the crescent attached to it by one of the braids running over it. In the cap on the left side a human skull is represented. The Janwa (Brahminical thread) appears like a thick rope, instead of a fine thread. The cord over the shoulders of the Boodh attendants is equally thick, and unlike the Janwa of the present day. It will be observed, the female in Sketch No. II.† has the cord; which determines at once that in former days it was not an exclusive badge of the sacerdotal order.

The right-hand face of the triad has a very strong expression: the eyes are distended, the mouth is open, and there are deep lines in the cheeks indicative of age or passion. The right hand holds a dish: for what purpose appears doubtful. It was however suggested to me by the attendant Brahmin, that as the bust is intended to represent Sew, who constantly breathes fire, the dish was probably for the purpose of holding the powder of rahr (a kind of rosin), which burns almost with the rapidity of gunpowder, when thrown up into the air from the

† See Sketch No. V.

‡ See Sketch No. II.

palm of the hand through a lighted wick held between the fingers, the flame being strong and lurid. Sew is supposed sometimes to indulge in this amusement (which is practised at the present day by the Hindoos), firing the powder by breathing on it. The left hand holds the Nag (sacred snake).

The left face is smaller than the other two, and more feminine. The head-dress is composed of the Nag binding up the hair, the head of the reptile forming a top-knot. It will be observed that both arms are ornamented with bangles, the sculpture being most distinct, and thus fixing beyond question the sex of the figure. The bangles appear to be connected together by a longitudinal bar, and they resemble those which the women of Guzerat are in the habit of wearing. The right hand holds something resembling a plate, but which

being sculptured with a handle in the cave immediately * 276 above Kylas, indicates its being a looking-glass. *The left hand holds a pencil, or brush, probably used in applying paint to the eyelids. All the busts, ten or a dozen in number, resemble the one above described, with the following exceptions: The female face, which in this bust is represented on the left hand, in the bust above Kylas is on the right, and the strongly-marked countenance on the left; and in some busts the bangles are not distinctly sculptured.

All the emblems point out the triad to be Sew, and the appearance of the female does not militate against this conclusion. It may be supposed the centre face is Sew individually; the right and left faces represent him in the mystical compound of Ard-Nari (male and female), which is typical of the fecund power of the sexes in combination. The Ling and Yoni are the organs in union; and through these sensible objects the vivifying principles of nature are adored.

The worship of the Phallus in Egypt, and of Mylitta in Babylon, as mentioned by Herodotus, seems to correspond with the Ling and Yoni Pooja, and proves that at an early period the mystic operations of nature excited the attention and reverence of mankind.

It will be remarked that the figures above the Triad,† with garlands in their hands, resemble those on the front of the Boodh cave of Biswa Kurm.

Returning down the nullah to Doomar Leyna, and then crossing the stream, two caves called the Janwasee are met with. Janwas was explained to me to mean the "bridegroom's residence;" and the name has been attached to them from their contiguity to Doomar Leyna, being only separated from it by the stream. The caves are small and low, and are both dedicated to Sew. They do not require a particular description, being almost destitute of sculptures. The first has only Vishnoo in the Wara-awtar, and three figures of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Sew; the second has no representations of deities, but a few sculptures of saiweeks, or servants. Neither of them has been finished. The nullah forms a pretty cascade over the entrance to the most northern of the two.

* A short distance south of the two Janwasees, is the cave called the Koonar-warra, or the Pot-makers'. There * 277 is nothing whatever in the cave or the sculptures to which the origin of the name can be traced. The cave is sacred to Sew.

The next excavation is called the Tailee ka Gana, the Oil Press or Mill: and this name has been given it in consequence of a hole sunk in the floor resembling the mill used by an oilman; but the hole corresponds exactly with one in Ravun kee Khaie, which in the latter cave is said to be the place for the sacrifice. The Tailee ka Gana is dedicated to Sew.

Ascending the hill a little, there are three small caves, destitute of sculptures, but with Lings in them: they are called Neel Kunt (blue throat), a name of Mahadeo. The appellation is derived from a blueish stain on the principal Ling, which is a nicely polished stone of a different nature from the rock in which the cave is excavated.

The Brahmins usually send on some one secretly to throw water over the stone; and then, putting the visitor in a particular

† See Sketches Nos. V. and XII.

light, make a miracle of showing him his face reflected in the stone, and insist upon his paying for the cheat.

A short distance south is Rameswur, but considerably below the level of Neel Kunt. Rameswur derives its name from one group being supposed to represent the marriage of Ram and Seeta. The cave is small, but highly finished: the extreme length is ninety feet, breadth twenty-six feet six inches; but this measurement is independent of the recess or room in which is the Ling. The first compartment on the left of the entrance is occupied by Kartek Swamy; the goose is close to his feet, because he is a Brahmacharee. The father of Parwutee, the Dutckhs Rajah, is on his right hand, with a ram's head which Ehr Budr supplied him with in place of his own, which had been cut off by Mahadeo while the Rajah was offering a solemn sacrifice.

The whole northern wall is occupied by many figures, which have an evident relation to each other, and apparently illustrate some particular event. The centre group of figures on this wall is declared to represent the marriage of Ram and Seeta: Sir

Charles Malet calls it the marriage * of the Jemnek Rajah, * 278 who was the father of Seeta. Bringing to the notice of the Brahmin who attended me the correspondence between this group and similar sculptures in other caves, called the marriage of Sew and Parwutee,—adverting also to the dedication of the cave to Sew, the actions of whose life are pourtrayed in adjoining compartments, and whose gana, or retinue, fill a narrow slip which runs along the whole length of the wall at the feet of the principal figures,—noticing also the absence of sculptures (with the exceptions hereafter mentioned) at Ellora connected with the Awtar of Ram,—and finally pointing out a third eye (a peculiarity of Sew's) in the hero of the piece, the Brahmin acknowledged the sculptures most probably represented the marriage of Sew and Parwutee so often repeated at Ellora, but that custom had attached the story of Ram and Seeta's nuptials to the group. There are seven figures at the eastern end of the northern wall forming part of the piece. Two men are represented with heads shaven up the middle,

leaving hair on either side in a semicircular form above the ears. The first man appears addressing a female, and holds in his hand something exactly resembling a decanter: the object of the sculpture is unintelligible; the shaven heads would seem to point out a particular class of people, who must have been held in some reverence to have obtained the honour of being associated with deities. They are not intended to represent Brahmins; because the Brahmin shaves his head clear, leaving only a tuft (chohtee) on the crown. The people of the present day whose practice comes nearest the particular mode described are the Marwarees; but still they retain the chohtee, and I am not aware of any class of Hindoos who are destitute of this distinguishing mark.

The first compartment on the right of the Ling represents Bowanee in the Maeesassoor, or Buffalo Awtar. The death of the demon occasioned the institution of the festival of the Dusra, in commemoration of the event.

The second compartment, on the right of the Ling, has Sew and Parwutee on Kylas; Ravun, with his ten heads* and numerous arms, is lifting heaven and endeavouring to remove it: an ass's head is peeping out from *the centre of his own ten heads, aptly enough conveying the lesson that * 279 even numerous heads are useless without wisdom.

The first compartment on the left of the Ling represents Sew and Parwutee playing at chowsur: the board and dice resemble those in use at the present day, the dice being long four-sided prisms. The Nundi (Mahadeo's bull) and Sew's Gana (Mahadeo's retinue) are below. There does not appear to me that disposition to feud in this piece which Sir Charles Malet speaks of: the shake of Parwutee's hand, with the extended thumb and fingers, indicates unsuccess or denial, a similar jerk of the hand being used at present to express similar circumstances; but the expression of Sew's countenance is placid, and he is quietly preparing to throw the dice with his inner right hand. The Gana (attendants) in the lower compartment are all playing pranks: one bites the tail of the Nundi; another seizes his leg; one is holding a brother on his back by,

the heels, while a third mischievous rogue performs an office of nature on the pendent Peishash (pigmy demon).

Sew's Gana, or attendants, are always represented as being very short and pot-bellied, with large heads, curly wigs, and having a grotesque expression of countenance; they are usually playing on instruments, plaguing each other, or teasing the Nundi.

The two compartments on the left from the Ling represent Byroo preparatory to killing the demon Sewassoor Sonassoor. This action is supposed to have occurred at the village of Sonary, near Kurmulla, in the Deccan.

The southern wall is occupied by seven females, in a row on a bench in sitting postures, each with a child in her arms; at their head is Gunnesh, and at the other end of the bench is Byroo. These figures are called the Now Ratree: the seven females, representing the seven principal goddesses, are multiplications of Daivai. A narrow compartment runs along at the feet of the assembly, and underneath each goddess is sculptured the wahun (monture) of her husband, identifying the character assumed. The assembly are supposed to be engaged in a hom, or sacrifice. Daivai was created to * 280 kill the Macessassoor (buffalo demon): *Dytia and she are a compound of part of the divinity and energy of each of the principal gods. The festival of the Dusra commemorates her victory over the demon; and, with Gunnesh and Byroo, she is worshipped for the first nine days of the moon Aswun; the tenth day terminating the Pooja, and giving a name to the festival (Dusra).

Seven being a favourite number of the Hindoos, it has probably some mystic application in the seven forms of Daivai.

A compartment on the right of the entrance, and forming an angle with the southern wall, contains three skeleton figures and two other figures, one in the air, and the other standing on the same level with the skeletons. These are the sculptures which are supposed to represent the miser and his family, with the thief stealing his money. The tale is repeated by the Brahmins to every visitor, but not on any good foundation. In the first

place, the figures are only found in connexion with the Now Ratree, in Kylas, and in Rawan kee Khaie. Secondly, the supposed thief is flying in the air with a purse, or batwat, in his hand, towards the principal skeleton, who is armed with a crooked knife. The lesser skeletons are hanging round the knees of the principal figure. From these circumstances, I concluded they were victims intended for the sacrifice in which the goddesses are engaged, or were raksheshas (demons) in attendance, impatiently expecting the blood and carcases, which are their usual food. If they have any relation to humanity, the flying figure with the purse, or batwa, might be supposed a Dewta deputed by the assembly to purchase a mortal for the sacrifice. The head of a starving family concludes the bargain, and is flourishing his knife, while his wife and children are clasping his knees and imploring his clemency. The Brahmins admitted the relation of the skeletons to the Now Ratree, and in abandoning the common tale, seemed to think the skeletons represented raksheshas.

The roof of Rameswur is supported by pillars† very highly finished, and of considerable elegance.

Ascending the hill from Rameswur, three very small caves are met with *immediately above Kylas. They are seldom shown to visitors. Each cave has a Ling in it. * 281 Over the door to the first cave is sculptured Luximee, with elephants pouring water over her in minute figures. I have given a sketch§ of this design, because in Mr. Salt's drawings of the Kenera caves elephants are employed in a similar manner in Boodh temples, either pouring water over a tree or over stones which he says resemble lingams. The second and third caves have each a bust of the Triad in them behind the Ling.

About twenty yards below these caves is the entrance to Kylas, or Mahadeo's heaven. The limits I have prescribed to

† A bag in which betel, sooparee, tobacco, and chunam are carried.

‡ See Sketch No. VI., fig. 1.

§ See Sketch No. VII., fig. 8.

myself will not admit of my giving a minute description of this splendid work. Notices of the figures alone would fill a volume; I must satisfy myself, therefore, with brief accounts of the principal sculptures.

Kylas consists of a pagoda 100 feet high, of a sugar-loaf form, surrounded by five chapels, being nearly miniatures of the greater temple. In front is a portico, a chapel for the Nundi, or sacred bull, and Nagara Khana (room for music); the whole situated within an area cut out of the rock.

The extreme depth of the excavations into the rock is 401 feet, measuring from the foot of the hill to the back of the eastern colonnade; but from the wall across the area, in which is the doorway, it is only 323 feet. The extreme breadth is 185 feet, which is the length of the eastern colonnade, which runs true north and south; but the breadth at the gateway is less considerable. The scarp of the rock at the north-west angle, outside the gate, is 46 feet 3 inches; at the north-east angle 104 feet; at the south-east angle 101 feet high.

The lower part of the pagoda is cut off from the view in front by a wall which runs across the area. In this wall there are niches with gigantic figures in them. In the centre is the door, on either side of which is a female door-keeper, with the mushroom-like figure shading their heads, which is so frequent in

Boodh caves. Over the door is the Nagara Khana, * the
* 282 floor of which forms the ceiling to a passage leading from
the door into the area. At the end of the passage, and facing the entrance, Luximeet† is sculptured on the western face of the basement of the Nundi's chapel.

Luximee is sitting in the Boodh attitude, on lotus flowers, on the surface of the water. Two elephants are pouring water over her head, while two others are replenishing the empty vessels.

She has the umbrella (in this instance not like a mushroom) over her head: this symbol of dignity over a woman in a Brahminical cave is not usual. This symbol, her attitude, and the employ of the elephants, would seem to connect her with Boodh

† See Sketch No. VIII.

sculptures; particularly as she resembles many of the Boodh figures, in being naked, and destitute of those ornaments (excepting earrings) with which women in general are so lavishly decorated. In the character of Luximee, being worshipped as the goddess of fecundity, she is possibly the Mylitta of the Babylonians, the Isis of the Egyptians, the Cybele or Tellus of the Phrygians and Greeks, and the Magna Mater of the Romans.

The passage at the figure of Luximee opens to the right and left into the area. On either hand are elephants standing in the open air. Two flights of steps, by the north and south sides of the basement of the Nundi's chapel, lead up into the portico to the great temple. The sketch of the portico†, which is taken from the door of the Nundi's chapel, gives but an imperfect idea of the laborious and not inelegant finish of the work. The sculptures of human figures, wreaths, festoons, bands, cornices, minute pillars, &c. were too numerous to insert in a small drawing. An estimate of the magnitude of the labour may be formed by reflecting that the great temple is 100 feet high; that it is covered with sculptures, from its summit to its base, both within and without; that it is surrounded by five chapels, lavishly ornamented, and as large as the portico, the whole being decorated with sculptures similarly laboured.

The balustrade to the portico, with the device of urns between pillars, *and supported on elephants' backs, is very general at Ellora; being common to Boodh and Brahmin- * 283 ical excavations. The front of the Boodh cave of Indra Subbah has this balustrade, indicating that one design is taken from the other.

The deductions which may assist to distinguish the original from the copy are reserved for the close of this paper.

Entering the temple from the portico, the Ling is observed at the further end in a recess, or room, fixing the dedication to this emblem of fecundity.

The hall, of which the sanctuary occupies a part, is 66 feet

† See Sketch No. IX.

4 inches long by 55 feet 8 inches broad. The ceiling is flat, varying in height from 16 feet 6½ inches to 17 feet 10 inches. It is supported by sixteen pillars and twenty-two pilasters. The pillars run in right lines, but are discontinued in the middle of the hall, leaving an open space in the form of a parallelogram. There are five entrances into this room: one from the west, north, and south, and two from the east, on each side of the sanctuary.

The height of the three first-mentioned entrances is 12 feet by 6 broad, with a trifling variation. The door-keepers to the Ling are females, and have the mushroom-like figure over their heads.

In the centre of the ceiling of the hall Luximce Narrain is sculptured; and the Brahmins point out as a miracle that the eyes of the figure are upon you in whatever situation of the cave you may view it. On the steps to the western door of the hall some pious visitors have caused their names to be engraved in the Balbood character. Yenkojee, Mowjee, Dewjee, Ram, and others, might have immortalized themselves by handing their names down with works which bid defiance to time, had they chosen a better situation for them: but being cut in the steps and floor, the names will ultimately be worn out by people passing and repassing.

Returning down the northern steps from the portico, a vast number of minute figures are cut in rows and divided by lines in the northern face of the basement of the portico. These sculptures represent the history and exploits of the Pandoowa as related in the *Pandoo Prutab* and * *Mahbharut*. The heroes Arjoon and Bismush are * 284 fighting in chariots drawn by horses. These noble animals are now never used in harness except by those natives who adopt our customs, and chariots are unknown in war. The only weapons in use amongst the combatants are bows and arrows, spears and swords. In a similar manner, in the southern face of the basement of the portico, the actions of Ram are represented. Hunooman, Ram's monkey friend and servant, elongating his tail and sitting on it in a

coil, until he elevates himself above Rawan on his throne at Lanka, is distinctly sculptured. This is the only figure of Hunooman in the many thousands at Ellora; and as, in the other excavations, few if any sculptures that bear any relation whatever either to the Pandoowa or Ram are met with, may it not be supposed the illustrations of the history of these heroes was sculptured subsequently to the completion of the caves? If the work is coeval with Kylas, the slight notice of the heroes, and the inferior situations in which they are placed, favour the conclusion, that that reverence for them and their dependents was then only in its infancy, which has since grown up into a worship. This neglect appears unaccountable with respect to Ram; since Kristna, a subsequent awtar, is honoured by being sculptured in the southern colonnade, in several actions of his life.

The whole of Kylas, with its five chapels, portico, &c., is supported on the backs of elephants alternating with an animal which in some instances appears a tiger, and in others a griffin.

Between the scarp of the rock and the temple there is an open space, all round the temple, which varies in breadth, agreeably to the projections, from 22 to 36 feet.

In the north, east, and southern scarps are colonnades on a level with the base of the temple. They consist of a single row of pillars in front, with corresponding pilasters at the back. Between the pilasters are compartments, in which are figures of Sew and Vishnoo in the different characters in which the Hindoo mythology clothes them. I must premise, that the information respecting the sculptures in the colonnades, communicated by my Brahmin, is at variance in so many instances with Sir * Charles Malet's account, as to leave me destitute of the power of noticing the variations particularly, with- * 235 out going into arguments which would render this paper too voluminous. I therefore give my information as I received it.

Northern Colonnade†.—This colonnade has fifteen pillars,

† See Sketch No. X.

with a similar number of pilasters. The sculptured designs commence between the third and fourth pilasters; thus limiting their number to twelve. At the third pillar a partition wall has been left across the colonnade, with a doorway in it. Measuring through this doorway, the extreme length is 175 feet; height varying from 14 feet 8 inches to 15 feet; breadth, including the thickness of the pillars in front, 11 feet 2 inches. Entering through the door in the partition wall, the first compartment or design on the left hand represents a circumstance in the history of Sew, which is recorded in the *Sew Kawch*. The design is divided into two parts: in the upper, the Ling is represented garnished with nine human heads†. These heads belonged to Rawan, who had sacrificed them to propitiate Sew. Rawan is sculptured in the lower part, with a sword to his neck, in the act of cutting off his tenth head. Such surprising instances of self-devotion move Mahadeo to demand Rawan's wishes, and he pledges himself to grant them. Rawan asks for universal dominion, immortality, the Ling, and Parwutee. He obtains his wishes, and is carrying off his gifts in triumph, when he is met by Vishnoo in the form of a Brahmin, who at the request of Sew is to attempt to recover the gifts by stratagem. He succeeds: but the story is too long to detail. Sew and Parwutee are represented in the upper part of the two compartments, Vishnoo and Rawan in the lower.

The third compartment represents Parwutee after being abandoned by Rawan, endeavouring to restore herself to her original purity by the worship of the Ling, which is sculptured between two figures: the Nundi is below.

The fourth compartment has Sew and Parwutee on Kylas:

Sew is with * his back to her, affecting to avoid her
 * 286 touch in consequence of her pollution, originating in her
 having been in the hands of Rawan. Parwutee appears to prevent his leaping down. The Nundi is below them.

The fifth compartment has one figure only, Swamy-Kartek, son of Sew: the Nundi, Nag, &c. indicate his relationship;

† See Sketch No. X.

but his connexion with the previous history is not very intelligible.

Sixth compartment. Parwutee listening to a male figure reading sacred sentences, being part of her purification.

The seventh compartment contains one figure standing: he is called Moorkund Rooshee; probably the male personage of the preceding design.

Eighth compartment. Sew and Parwutee. The goddess has an arm entwined in Sew's; he appears speaking in an authoritative manner to her. A figure below supports Kylas (Mahadeo's heaven).

Ninth compartment. Sew and Parwutee, with the Nag and Nundi. They appear on a more amicable footing, Sew having his left rear arm thrown over Parwutee's shoulder.

Tenth compartment. Sew and Parwutee sitting; Sew has one finger erect, as if interrogating her, and she shaking her hand with the fingers open (as is the practice of the present day) in token of denial. At the bottom is the Nundi, with numerous Peishashes (pigmy demons) in curious attitudes; one of them grasps the leg of the Nundi.

Eleventh compartment. An erect figure of Sew: he has the Nag in his left hand.

Twelfth compartment. A Brahmin worshipping the Ling; a figure behind the Brahmin has slipped a chain round his neck, and is about to strangle him, when Mahadeo issues out of the Ling, one foot resting in it; with the other he kicks the villain, perforating his body at the same time with the trisool (Mahadeo's trident). On the arms of Sew, instead of the usual bands, human faces are sculptured. This is the last design of the northern colonnade.

Eastern Colonnade.—18 pillars in front, 20 pilasters, 19 compartments; length, 185 feet; breadth (including pillars), 13 feet 1 inch; height, 14 feet 10 inches to 15 feet.

* First compartment. Two erect figures, and one sitting. Sew has one hand laid upon one of Parwutee's, * 287 as if engaging in some promise: he is supposed to be apprising her that no act of devotion on the part of any of his

worshippers, however rigid or continued, shall ever induce him to part with her again. The sitting figure is Brahma, a witness of the pledge. These figures are seen at the end of the northern colonnade.†

Second compartment. One principal figure and several smaller ones: the principal figure is Sew in his character of Ehr Budr; he has the roond mala (necklace or band) of human heads over his shoulder. The dumroo (small drum) in one hand, a spear across his chest, held in two others, on the point of which Rutnasoor Dytia is fixed. From drops of the blood of this demon, if they reached the earth, fresh demons sprung up; not unlike the story of the Hydra of the Peloponnesus. One of the hands of Ehr Budr holds a cup to catch the blood of the demon, that he may drink it, and thus destroy its virtues. The figure corresponds in almost every respect, substituting a sword for a spear, with Mr. Erskine's drawing of Bhyrava at Elephanta.‡ Ehr Budr is represented very frequently at Ellora in the Brahminical caves; the most complete and colossal figure§ being in Doomar Leyna.

Third compartment. One figure with six arms, standing in a chariot or car drawn by four horses: it is understood to be Sadasew, who having turned the four Waids (scriptures) into four horses, took the chariot of Soorya (the sun), made Brahma his charioteer, and rushed to the attack of Treeepoorisoor Dytia: one left hand extended holds a bow; the front right hand is drawn back to the ear, as if the arrow had been just discharged. But for the trisool, or trident, in the rear right hand, and a small Nundi supported in the rear left hand, I should have taken the whole design for Soorya. I have given a sketch of the car,|| the ornamental part not being destitute of elegance.

Fourth compartment. Sew and Parwutee sitting (the * 288 Nundi under*neath): the trisool and dumroo in his hand; the front left hand over Parwutee's shoulder.

Fifth compartment. A single four-armed standing figure,

† See Sketch No. X.

‡ See *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay*, vol. i., p. 229.

§ See Sketch No. III.

|| See Sketch No. VII., fig. 4.

called Kartek Swamy. The figure holding the gudda or mace in one hand and a lotus flower in another, led me to believe it was intended to represent Vishnoo; particularly as the next compartment is dedicated to his awtar of the pillar.

Sixth compartment. Vishnoo is represented in a pillar, being the first part of the Narsing Awtar. This bears some relation to the circumstance of Keerunkuchboo Dytia having put Vishnoo's assertion, of his pervading all space and matter, to the test.

The seventh compartment is said to begin the series of the Bunde Khanu, where the gods are represented to be prisoners in the hands of Rawan. Brahma is shown with chains on his legs.

Eighth compartment. Sew under similar restraint.

Ninth compartment. Vishnoo in the same state.

Tenth compartment. A figure of Sew holding the Nag, but without chains: the Nundi near.

Eleventh compartment. Brahma: three faces visible: the goose at his feet.

Twelfth compartment. An upright figure called Mahadeo; the hands empty: a figure at his feet called the Nundi, but to me it appeared a ram.

Thirteenth compartment. The first figure of the Usht Byroo, or eight representations of Mahadeo in that character: they are all standing.

Fourteenth compartment. Bopal Byroo.

Fifteenth compartment. Baltook Byroo; the trisool in the left hand.†

Sixteenth compartment. Seedeeyognee Byroo; the trisool in the left hand: a Peishash in attendance.

Seventeenth compartment. Nowjognee Byroo; the right hand holding the trisool; the rear left hand resting on the head of a female.

Eighteenth compartment. Kupal Byroo; trisool in *289 the rear right hand: *the five fingers of the front left

† See Sketch No. XI., fig. 1.

hand held by a female : the right foot lost in a bundle of lotus flowers.

Nineteenth compartment. Kal Byroo ; the last of the eight Byroos : trisool as usual.

Southern Colonnade.—This colonnade is 115 feet long : there are ten complete pillars, and three broken, in consequence of the rock, which projects several feet over the pillars in the colonnade, having fallen. There are twelve compartments.

First compartment. A single standing figure of the Ard Nari, half male and half female : the Nundi on Sew's side. This figure is a type of the two generative principles.—Mr. Erskine mentions this figure being in Elephanta.†

Second compartment. A figure of Sew : the Nundi below.

Third compartment. A figure with four faces and four arms ; two of the arms grasp a pillar ; the right rear hand holds a sword, the left rear hand a mala or rosary. The Brahmin called it Brahma ; but as the next piece of sculpture is indisputably the Narsing Awtar of Vishnoo, where the god issues from the pillar and destroys Heerunkuchboo Dytiā, this figure has most probably some relation to it, instead of being Brahma.

Fourth compartment. Vishnoo, in his Awtar of Narsing, tearing out the bowels of Heerankuchboo Dytiā.

Fifth compartment. Shree Shai Bugwan, a recumbent figure of the Supreme Being on the Nag (sacred snake), whose seven heads form a canopy : Brahma is seated on a lotus flower, which springs from his navel. This is the figure which so much resembles the principal image in Boodh temples : the same figure, but in an erect posture and without Brahma, is sculptured in Juggernath Subbah, confessedly a Boodh temple. Parusnath on the hill has the snake in a similar manner, folded behind his back ; its numerous heads overshadowing the god. The mysterious figure of Jum Dhurm in Doomar Leyna, a Brahminical cave, is sitting on a lotus flower, the stalk of which is
 * 290 held by two figures, each having the Nag, forming a
 *canopy over their heads ; and Mr. Salt gives a drawing

† See *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay*, vol. i., p. 220.

of similar figures in a Boodh cave at Kenera. These resemblances are scarcely accidental.

Sixth compartment. Vishnoo, in his Awtar of Krishna; an erect figure. The cattle which he is fabled to have attended are not badly represented.

Seventh compartment. Vishnoo in his Bawun Awtar. The principal figure has six arms, in which are held the gudda (mace), chukkur (ring), shunk (shell), a sword and shield: the sixth hand has the forefinger extended. The object of this Awtar was to deprive Bulee Rajah of universal dominion; Vishnoo, assuming the appearance of a dwarf, presents himself before the Rajah, asking a boon. The Rajah offers him an urn full of pearls, this circumstance being part of the sculpture; the dwarf refused the present, but begged three pán and a half of land, the pán being as much as he could stride. The Rajah swearing upon his life to the grant, Vishnoo assumes his own form, and in three strides measures the earth: there was yet half a pán due to him, which the Rajah being unable to give, yields his forfeit life. Vishnoo is sculptured making a monstrous stride.

Eighth compartment. Vishnoo on Garuda (Vishnoo's "mon-ture"), who is in the human shape, with the addition of wings; his hands form stirrups for Vishnoo's feet.

Ninth compartment. Vishnoo in the Warra Awtar, or Hog incarnation. He is represented with the hog's face, holding up the earth on his tusks.

Tenth compartment. Vishnoo as Krishna, holding the Kalecah Murdun by the tail, and treading on his chest.

Eleventh compartment. Vishnoo as Ballajee when he killed Indrageet, the son of Rawan.

Twelfth compartment. Anna Poorna; an Awtar of Parwutee. The rear right hand holds the Jut Mala; the front left hand holds a lotus inverted; the rear left hand holds something like a horn; the front left hand is open, with the finger downwards, fronting to the spectator. She presides over the fruits of the earth; and those who worship her with sincerity will never want maintenance. In the character of Anna Poorn, she bears .

* some resemblance to the Ceres of the western mythology. Anna Poorna is the last figure in the three colonnades.

The compartments in which the several designs are represented, vary in height from eight to nine feet, and in breadth from four to five feet, agreeably to the number of figures sculptured.

Further down the southern scarp, towards the gateway, in a long narrow cave, are the Now Ratree. The assembly, as usual, consist of Gunnesh (god of letters) at the head; seven robust females, each with a child; a skeleton Rooshee; and a very fat jovial-looking male personage, who is also dignified with the appellation of saint. The figures are all seated on a bench which runs round three sides of the cave, and are really statues, being detached from the rock. Sprawling on the floor under the feet of the skeleton Rooshee, is a human skeleton figure in the agonies of death. This circumstance confirms the opinion I advanced with respect to the skeleton figures in Rameswur cave. On the front of the bench the Wahun (monture) of each goddess whom Daivai personifies is sculptured, identifying the character assumed.

Adjoining the Now Ratree, on the right hand of the gateway, is an excavation extremely singular, adverting to the belief of arched excavations being exclusively of Boodh origin. The accompanying sketch† will afford satisfactory proof of the perfect resemblance between this Brahminical work and the arched excavations dedicated to Boodh. The roof is ribbed, and the order of the pillars is the same as is found in some Boodh caves: in short, it wants only a figure of Boodh to fix its origin. There are not any sculptures in it; but the Ling is observed in the corner of a very small cave which opens into it. On the left of the gateway, in the northern scarp, and immediately opposite to this arch, are the outlines of a similar cave: it has only been excavated a few inches, and barely serves to show the form. Below this unfinished work there are some

† See Sketch No. VII., fig. 5.

cells. Tradition points out one of them as having been occupied during a long life by a Gosaigh about 100 years ago.

* Above the northern colonnade in the scarp a large cave is excavated, dedicated to Sew. It is 106 feet long * 292 and 72 broad ; the flat ceiling is supported by 32 highly ornamented pillars and eight pilasters. In one large central compartment Brahma, Vishnoo, and Sew are sculptured standing side by side. Other sculptures represent Vishnoo in some of his awtars, and Sew in some of the actions of his life, already described.—There is also a large Gunesh. This cave is called Lunka. In the southern scarp, above the colonnade, is a cave called Peer Lunka. It communicated by a bridge of rock with the great hall of Kylas ; but the bridge having fallen, all access to it is now cut off.

* Before the entrance to Kylas is a Moosulman building, consisting of a square room surmounted by a dome : a few paces south of it is a large Chubootra, elevated five or six feet, with a peepul (*Ficus religiosa*) tree growing on it ; and the ancient door of Kylas, which was of very considerable size, has been built up into a common-sized modern door. The Brahmins, who are seldom without a tale to account for any thing when it conduces to their interest, relate that the gods, to punish Aurungzebe for his sacrilege in defacing the caves by filling them all with combustibles and firing them, which ruined the chunam and painting, had his wife snatched from him by death. To appease the angry divinities, the emperor built the room with the dome to their honour. His son died, and he raised the Chubootra for the sacred tree : his favourite horse died : he completed the doorway. His repentance could not compensate for his impiety ; and finally, the gods visited his crime upon himself, and he died.

I cannot quit Kylas without expressing my opinion of the utter impossibility of doing justice to it by any description, however diffuse. The design and magnitude of the work indicate a fertility of invention, and ability, energy and perseverance in the execution, incompatible with the apathy and indolence of the present Hindoos. Kylas must be seen to be justly appreciated,

Ascending the hill, a few paces south of Kylas, the cave of the Dus Awtar is met with. This name has been attached to it from some few of the *sculptures * 293 representing part of the incarnations of Vishnoo.

But on this ground every other cave has an equal claim to the appellation; like every Brahminical cave at Ellora (with the exception of a small one to Daivai on the rocky nullah), it is sacred to the Ling, and Mahadeo and Vishnoo appear in attendance on, and inferior in dignity to, this mystic emblem, since it occupies the place of honour in every cave.

The Dus Awtar is of two stories: an area in front cut out of the rock has a room standing in the middle of it for the Nundi. There are not any sculptures in the lower cave: the upper one is 102 feet long, and 98 broad; the height of the flat ceiling varies from eleven feet four inches to twelve feet. The figures are all in recesses round three sides of the cave, the fourth side, as in every other excavation of the same form, being open to the light its whole length. The figures are in such considerable relief as to be nearly statues.

Commencing on the left of the entrance (which is a small hole in the northern wall), the first recess has a figure of Ehr Budr in it.

Second recess. Sew.

Third recess. Sew and Parwutee; the Nundi and the Gana below.

Fourth recess. Sew and Parwutee in the same attitudes as in the fourth compartment, eastern colonnade, Kylas.

Fifth recess. Rawan crushed in lifting Kylas.

Sixth recess. Sew issuing from the Ling, as in twelfth compartment, northern colonnade, Kylas.

Seventh recess. Sew and Parwutee: the heads of the five Pandoos at their feet; at least there are five human heads, but whether those of the Pandoos, or not, is very questionable, because, with the exception already mentioned, there are not in any cave sculptures connected with their history.

• Eighth recess. A gigantic Gunesh.

Ninth recess. A deep recess, with a pedestal, but no figure on it.

Tenth recess. Seeta, properly Luximee. The fruit called seetaphul in her left hand is well sculptured: a lotus flower is in her right; elephants are pouring water over her, as in the design fronting the entrance to Kylas. Luximee, holding the fruit seetaphul, does not appear to me to be * 294 any proof of the relation of this piece of sculpture to the Awtar of Ram. Doubtless the fruit was called after Seeta, but there are not any sculptures in this cave which relate to Ram; I cannot suppose, therefore, there would be a *solitary* representation of his wife.

Eleventh recess. Swamy Kartek.

Twelfth recess. Vishnoo in the first part of the Pillar Awtar.

Thirteenth recess. Sew in the chariot, having shot the arrow which slays Treepoorassoor Dytia. This is the same figure as in the third compartment, eastern colonnade, Kylas.

Fourteenth recess. Vishnoo, the chukkur and shunk identify the figure.

Sixteenth recess. Vishnoo upon Garuda.

Fifteenth recess. Shree Shai Narrain, the Supreme Being; a lotus issues from his navel, on which is seated Brahma.

Seventeenth recess. Vishnoo in the Hog Awtar.

Eighteenth recess. Vishnoo in the Dwarf Awtar, taking three strides of the earth.

Nineteenth recess. Vishnoo in the Narsing Awtar, destroying Heerunkuchboo Dytia.

At the end of the grand central colonnade, the Ling is placed, as usual, in the sanctuary. The groups on the right of the Ling appear to illustrate the history of Sew, and those on the left the awtars of Vishnoo.

From the above account of the sculptures it will be seen with how little propriety the distinctive appellation of Dus Awtar has been attached to this cave. It is not dedicated exclusively to the incarnations of Vishnoo; and even were the numbers complete, the circumstance of the consecration of the excavation to the Ling would render the name inappropriate. The cave,

although Brahminical, has some cells in the scarp of the area in front. The cells are, like those usually found in Boodh excavations, opening into a kind of hall. It is curious that the three Subbahs of Juggernath, Purusram, and Runchor, though unquestionably of Boodh origin, have no cells about them.

In the upper cave of Dus Awtar there are 48 pillars, each about three * feet two inches square, and 22 pilasters.

* 295 The capitals of the front pillars are adorned with figures in the Boodh attitudes.

The next cave, at a short distance, is called Rawan kee Khaie : it is small but highly finished : it is considerably below the level of the Dus Awtar, the floor of the latter being higher than the ceiling of the former. I cannot speak with any certainty whether the name is justly affixed, or not, from the want of a distinct idea with respect to the signification of Khaie : the Brahmin interpreted the name "Rawan's Place of Sacrifice," and a circular hole in the floor for the Hôrn seems to corroborate it : but the sculptures do not differ from those in other caves. Rawan kee Khaie has only one story : the first piece of sculpture on the left hand of the entrance is Bhagisree Bowanee, the tiger being with her, as the name implies.

Second compartment. Luximee, with elephants pouring water over her.

Third compartment. Vishoo in the Hog incarnation.

Fourth compartment. A male with two females—one on each side, all sitting : four female attendants with chowries (fly-flaps) ; six small male and female figures below, one of them playing on a flute. The design is called Sew, with Gunga and Gowree : it a good deal resembles some sculptures in Boodh caves.

Fifth compartment. Sew and Parwutee : the Gana, or retinue, *in wigs*, are below, playing upon instruments. A female figure on the right of the muth, or sanctuary for the Ling, has a chutree (umbrella) held over her head by a female : this is the only design of the kind at Ellora, with the exception of the figure in the group of Boodh † in Juggernath Subbah. Along the

† See Sketch No. II.

northern wall, to the right of the recess, are sculptured the Now Ratree, being seven multiplications of Daivai, with Gunesh presiding, and Byroo closing the number of the council: the three skeleton figures are in attendance as in Rameswur, where they are called The miser and his family.

On the right hand of the entrance is Daivai, in the Maeesasoor Awtar: * she is treading on the buffalo and holds the trisool and sword; her tiger seizes the buffalo. The * 296 whole design is well represented.

Second compartment. Sew and Parwutee sitting; Gunesh in the background: the Nundi is below, and Sew's Gana are playing tricks with the beast—one seizes the tail, while another grasps a leg.

Third Compartment. Figure of Sew, the Nag being tied round his waist.

Fourth compartment. Rawan, with Kylas on his head † shaking it; so often repeated in Ellora. Not only does Rawan resemble the Briareus of the Grecian mythology in his numerous heads and arms, but points in the history of both coincide: Briareus was once the friend of Jupiter, and subsequently waged war against him, in concert with the Titans, compelling the gods to fly into Egypt, for which he was afterwards thrown under Mount Etna. Rawan was a Sew Bukt, or follower of Mahadeo; afterwards engaged in wars with the gods, putting them to flight, and even taking them prisoners: and in his endeavours to carry away the hill of Kylas upon his head, it closed upon him, and fixed him under it.

Fifth compartment. Ehr Budr, with the usual distinguishing emblems. It is singular that this cave, although evidently in honour of Sew, is destitute of the Ling.

Ere quitting the Brahminical excavations, it may be remarked that, although the cow at present is an object of veneration, and sometimes worship, figures of this animal are nowhere to be met with at Ellora, excepting in the solitary instance in company with Kristna, who is there in the character of a cowherd, in the southern colonnade, Kylas.

* See Sketch No. XI., fig. 2.

The next cave on the south is dedicated to Boodh, and consists of three stories: it is called Teen Lokh: the lowest story being Puttal Lokh; the centre, Moort Lokh; and the upper, Swurg,—metaphorically, Hell, Earth, and Heaven. But these distinctions do not appear to be well founded, the sculptures in the different stories resembling each other. Although the order of the pillars in this cave is of the simplest kind,

* yet the three rows rising above each other produce a
 * 297 very striking effect. The principal figure in the recess or sanctuary of each cave is Boodh, already described†, and almost every compartment has Boodh in it in one of the four attitudes shown in Mr. Salt's drawings‡.

The upper, or Swurg Lokh, is 112 feet 6 inches long by 72 broad; the height of the ceiling between the rear range of columns is thirteen feet seven inches, but in the front range it decreases to eleven feet seven inches. There are 50 pillars and 14 pilasters. The gigantic figure in the grand recess is called by the Brahmins Ram Chundra, thus adopting Boodh without reserve: the image is in a sitting posture; one hand is laid on the lap, the other on the right knee; the legs are doubled up and cross each other, showing the soles of the feet; the figure is naked, and destitute of any ornaments originally, but the Brahmins have painted it; and they have added a necklace in paint, and fixed on the arms the stamp which pilgrims who visit Dwarka obtain as a reward for their pious labours. All round the walls of the antechamber to the sanctuary are sculptured females in sitting postures on lotus flowers: above each female's head is a small figure of Boodh, represented sitting. Sir Charles Malet calls the principal figures in Swurg Lokh, Ram and Seeta, although in a Boodh cave!

The dharpals (doorkeepers) to the principal figures of Boodh in Teen Lokh have their arms folded, and are destitute of any weapon,—contrary to the usual representation of doorkeepers.

The inner walls of Ram Chundra's (Boodh's) sanctuary have

* † See Sketch No. I., fig. 1.

‡ See Sketch No. XIII.

standing figures sculptured all round. With the exception of one who has a sword in his hand, each of them holds an unblown lotus flower by a long stalk†.

These figures have all the *Topee*, or head attire of the Brahminical deities, and moreover have each the *Janwa* over their shoulders, their necks and arms being ornamented with the usual Brahminical bracelets, necklaces, &c.

The cave of *Moort Lokh* under *Swurg Lokh* is 142 feet long measuring along the front range of pillars; but * 298 the rear ranges are cut off into eighteen cells.

The principal figure in this cave, although exactly similar to the image in the grand recess in *Swurg Lokh*, is called *Luximee*; the same figure in *Puttal Lokh* is called *Shaish*. Sir Charles Malet names the last figures *Covere* and *Ardnaut*. The recesses in these caves have each a figure of *Boodh*, surrounded by men and women, elephants, griffins, &c.—The mushroom-like figure over the head of *Boodh* is not so frequent in *Teen Lokh* as in some of the other *Boodh* caves.

I found a *Gosaiyn*, formerly a *Gowr Brahmin*, in quiet possession of the centre cave, or *Moort Lokh*. It had been his residence for the last three years; and, as he had performed the principal pilgrimages, he would probably end his days in it. He had visited the widely-separated temples of *Juggernath* and *Dwarka*; and on being questioned with respect to his ideas of the *Boodh* images about him, he identified them at once with the gods worshipped at *Juggernath* and *Dwarka*. Now though it is probable that *Juggernath* is *Boodh*, yet *Ranchor* is clearly an incarnation of *Kristna*. The *Gosaiyn*, identifying those gods with the figures about him, affords matter for curious speculation.

The *Gosaiyn* was perfectly naked, with the exception of the *langootee*; and his only property in the world consisted of a gourd to hold a little water. Destitute of every thing which is supposed to render life desirable, yet his contentment made him an enviable object. He had seen much of the world and was satisfied. Though a drone in the hive of society, and

† It very much resembles the thyrsus of *Bacchus*.

incapable of being actively useful, his appearance, habits, and circumscribed wants, conveyed a useful lesson; and the reflecting mind might learn to set less value upon those enjoyments which do not constitute our happiness when even possessed.

Boodh cave temples with flat roofs are generally destitute of the grand hemispherical figure, which is the principal object in all arched excavations in Kenera, Karlee, and the Bisma Kurm cave at Ellora. The cave under the hill fort of Juneer is an exception, having the enormous emblem, although flat-roofed.

* It is also not omitted in the flat-roofed caves of Ellora, * 299 though on a small scale. In Teen Lokh it is sculptured in the walls† in company with nine sitting figures in a square. They are divided from each other by lines intersecting at right angles, leaving a separate place for each figure. They are called the Now Grah, Nine Planets, viz.: Atteat, Som, Mungul, Boodh, Brusputee, Sookr, Saneeswur, Raw, and Khait; and these nine figures in the square are found in all the Boodh caves, not unfrequently repeated several times in each. These sculptures, relating to the motion of the heavenly bodies, appear to be confined to the Boodh caves. The hemispherical figure, mingled with the planets, would seem to unite it with astronomical ideas, probably as a type of the sun; and this would not militate against its being the original of the Ling, since the fecundating power of that orb would most likely be represented by such a symbol.

The only figure on horseback in the many thousand sculptures at Ellora, is found in the staircase of Teen Lokh: but man and horse are on a minute scale.

On the second pillar, second row of columns in the centre cave, or Moort Lokh, is the only inscription at Ellora which is not intelligible, and of modern origin. It will be seen that the characters are nearly the pure Balboodh; but the language used is unknown to all those to whom I have shown the inscription; amongst others to the Government Shastrees in Poonah, some Jain priests, and several Marwarees. The character is quite differ-

† See Sketch No. VII., fig. 1.

ent from that found in the caves of Kenera and Juneer, the Nanee Ghaut, the Karlee cave, and in Ceylon. This inscription in a known character would seem to indicate its being of later date than those in letters whose signification has been lost, and with it probably the language also of the people who used them. The correspondence in the inscriptions from Juneer and Kenera, Karlee, the Nanee Ghaut, and Ceylon, proves that the caves in which they are found are the work of a people whose language is probably extinct; the written character, which has * reached us, being quite unintelligible. The Boodh caves at Ellora perfectly resemble those of Juneer, * 300 Kenera, and Karlee: but, with the above inscription in a known character, it must either be admitted that these caves are not of contemporaneous origin with the others, and the result of the labours of the same people, or that the inscription has been cut in after-times. I am induced to adopt the latter opinion, although the partial disuse of the language in which it is written would still make it of considerable antiquity. It may be written in one of the dialects of Marwar, and I am not without hopes of its being ultimately deciphered.

I have copied Captain M'Kenzie's inscriptions from Ceylon, and have added a few characters from the Kenera caves, and from those under the hill fort of Juneer, and the cave at Karlee, to facilitate comparison.

Some letters of an inscription in Upper Egypt at Guerfh Hassan, on the temple of Kalaptchi, supposed to be the enchorial character of the Rosetta stone, are given from Mr. Legh's book, because there appears, though not a particular, yet a general resemblance in the formation of the letters to those in the inscription from Juneer. Had the Egyptian inscription been longer, characters common to both might have been found. But both inscriptions consist of too few letters to found any opinion on general resemblances which may be accidental.

The inscription from the Nanee Ghaut, eighteen miles from Juneer, I was favoured with by a friend. Many of the letters appear common to the inscription given by Captain Colin M'Kenzie, from Deogamme, Ceylon.

As the Tibetians refer the origin of their doctrines to India, I have copied from Captain Turner's *Embassy* a few specimens of their sacred character, for the purpose of collating it with the other inscriptions.

The next cave, south of Teen Lokh, is Dookya Ghur. It consists of two stories, and is dedicated to Boodh, the principal and minor sculptures corresponding with those in Teen Lokh. The front colonnade is $117\frac{1}{2}$ feet long: the rear ranges of pillars are cut off into cells. Sir Charles Malet calls the principal figure in this cave Bhurt Chutturgun.

* A sketch of one of the Boodh orders of pillars is * 301 given from Dookya Ghur†.

On what puerile beliefs the Brahmins have attached names to these caves will be happily illustrated by an account of the origin of the appellation of Dookya Ghur, or "house of pain." Bisma Kurm, to whom the only grand arched temple at Ellora is dedicated, and who is supposed to have been the sculptor of the whole, having finished Teen Lokh with three stories commenced the next cave, intending it should rival the preceding one, but cutting his finger at the second story, he was compelled from pain to desist; whence "Dookya Ghur." On his recovery, he sculptured himself in the next cave (Bisma Kurm) holding his finger, to commemorate his accident. A reference to the sketch† will afford satisfactory proof that the figure is Boodh in one of the four meditative attitudes.

The next cave is that called after Bisma Kurm, the grandson of Brahma. By caste he was supposed to have been a Bhurakee or carpenter; from which Europeans call the cave "The carpenter's cave." I have already said it is the only grand arched temple at Ellora. The design of the cave corresponds with that at Karlee and the grand cave at Kenera, the arched roof being supported by the representation of wood-work not unlike the ribs of a ship.

There is an area in front of the cave across which a wall has been left in the rock. The front of the cave is very highly la-

† See Sketch No. VI., fig. 2.

† See Sketch No. XIII.

boured. The sketch† taken from the top of the wall across the area, will give a faint idea of the elegance of the work. The interior of the cave is seen through the two centre pillars in the sketch.

The *lower half* of the front, including the entrance, is not shown in the sketch. The object which first meets the eye on entering the temple, is the enormous hemispherical figure‡ like the Ling, at the end of the cave. It is always found on this scale in the arched Boodh excavations; and even in Juneer, in a flat-roofed cave, the emblem is forty-two feet in circumference, though its height is inconsiderable, from the nature of the excavation. In no instance before have * 302 I ever seen Boodh in positive union with the emblem§, as in Bisma Kurm; thus establishing a parity of dignity between Boodh and it.

The figure projects from the emblem, and is colossal : it sits on a bench with the legs down, holding the little finger of the left hand by the right hand : the eyes appear cast down in a contemplative manner. In a broad arch, which runs over Boodh's head, male and female figures are sculptured. The two attendants have the usual Brahminical ornaments, although Boodh is destitute of them; and, it will be observed, the left-hand attendant has the thin rod twisted round his arm, which universally distinguishes Sew and his followers : both attendants have the janwa. Boodh has the appearance of having woolly hair on his head, but the Brahmists do not admit the curls to be representations of hair. They suppose his head to be covered with something called a muggoth; and in proof of its being an artificial covering they point out the small cupolar rise in the centre of the head, which hair in its natural state would never give the appearance of. After viewing a number of the Boodh figures, I am almost induced to acquiesce in the opinion of the Brahmins.

Bisma Kurm (Boodh) at first view appears naked, but a closer

† See Sketch No. XII.

‡ See Sketch No. XIII.

§ See Sketch No. XIII.

inspection discovers the edge of a garment hanging down from the left shoulder in a wavy form. In the sketch this appears like a crack.

The cave is 80 feet long by $42\frac{1}{2}$ broad, the height being 35 feet 6 inches. The extreme depth of the excavation into the hill, from the outer gate is 166 feet. There are 28 octangular slight pillars, in two rows, besides two pillars supporting a gallery over the doorway. A narrow border, or architrave, immediately above the pillars, which runs all round the cave, is filled with human figures, male and female. Above this is a broader border, or frieze, divided into compartments; in each of which is a sitting figure of Boodh, with four attendants: projecting over this border are prostrate human figures, by way of cornice, alternately

* male and female; and the end of each of the ribs of * 303 the roof appears to rest on the back of one of these figures. There are two galleries; one outside the front of the cave, the other inside, looking into the interior. The ascent to the outer gallery is by covered stairs; and you pass through the two pillars seen in the sketch into the inner gallery, which commands a view of the interior of the cave. Over a standing figure of Boodh, in the left of the front†, in a small compartment, are nine small figures exactly resembling Sew's Gana: all of them are fat, short, excessively potbellied, with a grotesque expression of countenance, and each having a wig on like a chancellor's. Three of them appear to support a canopy, and the rest are playing upon instruments; one blows the flute; another sounds the shank, or shell; a third plays the beena, a kind of guitar; a fourth the murdung or tom-tom, &c. Above these figures is a male caressing a female not at all equivocally.

There is only one instance in the Biswa Kurm cave, where the mushroom-like symbol is over the head of Boodh. A very frequent piece of sculpture in Boodh caves, as well as Brahminical excavations, is a male with a female on either side of him, all sitting in the same attitudes. The male has always the topee,

† See Sketch No. XIII.

janwa, and usual personal ornaments; and the Brahmins, whenever they meet with it, either in Boodh or Brahminical caves, call the sculptures Sew with Gunga and Gowree.

The next and last caves are those called the Dehr Warra, or the quarter of the Dhairs. They are divided from the Bisma Kurm only by a nullah, the water of which is precipitated over the front of one of them. The Brahmins usually endeavour to avoid taking the visitor to see these caves, from an idea of pollution with which they have associated them. The caves are all dedicated to Boodh, and have been very highly finished; but many of the pillars of the grand cave have fallen and been removed; they were less bulky than the pillars in the other caves, and consequently more elegant. The principal cave is frequently occupied by cattle and goats; and the accumulated filth, and myriads of fleas which blacken you * in an instant, render the appellation of Dehr Warra much * 304 more appropriate, from local causes, than the name of any other cave at Ellora.

Boodh everywhere appears: the principal figure in the sanctuary of each cave is colossal. There are frequent sculptures of the Now Grah (nine planets already noticed) on the walls. The Dharpals to the sanctuary, in the cave nearest Bisma Kurm, have highly wrought caps. In the centre of one cap is a sitting figure of Boodh†; and in the centre of the cap of the other Dharpal is the hemispherical figure (or Phallus), which has doubtless some mystic affinity to the idol. The attendants of Sew in a similar manner wear his symbols in their caps.

Presuming on the mythological knowledge of those to whom I beg to offer this paper, I have generally limited my account of the various sculptures to a simple notice, instead of entering into details with respect to their history and object, which would unavoidably have swelled out this description into a bulky volume. Such observations now only remain as are naturally suggested by the points of view in which facts appear.

The whole of these caves, whether Brahminical or Boodh, at

† See Sketch No. VII., fig. 2.

one period were completely chunammed and painted ; and Sir Charles Malet very justly observes, that "it seems an argument against the antiquity of the painting and chunamming, that much of the fine sculpture has been hid by it." I satisfied myself that this was really the case by occasionally removing the chunam. Even where the sculpture was not hid, a thick coat of lime invariably destroyed the delicacy of the workmanship, and gave it a clumsy appearance. Admitting the previous existence of the caves, the period at which this chunamming took place can only be surmised by deductions from probabilities. The Brahmins refer the work to Rajah Yail, or Elloo, who is supposed to have lived 4750 years ago ; but this tradition is of no further use than to show their belief of the extreme antiquity of even a subsequent labour.

I have already remarked that two large Boodh caves, one of them on the plan of Kylas, in the neighbourhood of Indra Subbah, are filled up * to the capitals of their pillars * 305 with earth. What appears above ground has been chunammed and painted, and it is natural to infer that the lost parts of the caves were also finished in a similar manner. There is nothing in the situation of these caves which exposes them to a more rapid accumulation of earth than some others which are also gradually filling. The accumulation of many feet of earth may therefore be supposed to be the work of ages, and this will refer the chunamming to a very remote period.

The painting and chunamming, on such an extensive scale, could only have been completed by some powerful and wealthy Hindoo Rajah, whose government must have been stable for many years to have enabled him to effect the work.

The last prince of Dowlatabad, to whom the painting can be attributed, was defeated by the Moosulmans in A.D. 1293, and his government subverted. Since that event, I am not aware that any Hindoo prince, who has been in power in the neighbourhood of the caves, has been wealthy enough to have undertaken such a vast labour, and the bigotry of the Moosulmans would necessarily prevent any foreign Hindoo prince from engaging

in an idolatrous work of the kind. The latest period, therefore, to which the chunamming can be referred is to the reign of the last Hindoo prince of Dowlatabad, supposing the work to have been his : but it may have been executed ages before his time. Admitting these positions, the chunamming is at least 550 years old. My object in this argument is to prove, that 550 years ago there was no hostile feeling in the Brahmins towards the Buddhists, since the temples of both (with the exception of the Carpenter's cave) indiscriminately had the same labour and expense bestowed upon them. The circumstance of the grand Boodh cave not being chunammed, admits of the conclusion that the Boodhists did not set the example to the Brahmins.

The points of resemblance between the Boodhist and Brahminical excavations are next to be considered, and these may be divided into four heads :—Resemblance in the general formation and design of the caves ; resemblance in the ornamental sculpture, in the dress and personal ornaments of the figures ; and lastly in the figures themselves.

*The most common form of the caves is that of a parallelogram, with pillars running in lines, and intersect- * 306
ing each other at right angles, and supporting a flat roof. In some caves the pillars are discontinued in the centre, and leave a hall, as in Indra Subbah and Kylas. Each cave has a sanctuary, or recess, at the end of the central rows of pillars, and facing the front of the cave, which is open its whole length to the light. The sanctuary is usually a room of 10 or 12 feet square. In Brahminical caves the Ling is placed in it. In Boodh caves a colossal figure of Boodh. This room has commonly a handsome doorway, highly sculptured, and defended on either side by a colossal door-keeper, or Dharpal.

In the scarp of the area in front of each cave (with the exceptions already noticed) are cells. The walls of all the caves are divided by pilasters into compartments, or recesses ; and these are filled up with sculptures, or statues. So far the description is applicable to the most numerous class of the Boodh and Brahminical caves : but there are variations in the general plan of the caves. If, therefore, these variations are found to,

be common to both classes, it can scarcely be attributed to accident. The Carpenter's cave is in the form of the bottom of a ship inverted, distinctly showing the ribs; and this form is believed to be peculiar to Boodh caves; but an arched excavation in the southern scarp of Kylas, of which I have given a sketch†, and the commencement of a similar one in the northern scarp, prove the fallacy of this belief, and also establish the coincidence in the variations from the general plan.

Kylas is a temple, consisting of the sanctuary, hall, portico, &c. standing in the midst of an area 401 feet long by 185 broad, cut out of the rock, being the only Brahminical temple of the kind at Ellora. In a similar manner, in the neighbourhood of Indra Subbah, is the half-buried Boodh temple already noticed, consisting of the sanctuary, hall, and portico, also in an area, being the only Boodh temple of the kind.

The Dus Awtar, a Brahminical cave, has a room or small temple, left standing in the yard in front. In the space before

Indra Subbah is the *small temple called after Dowlata-
* 307 bad. In Kylas are two obelisks. Indra Subbah has an obelisk also. On either hand, after passing the gate of Kylas, there is an elephant of rock. In the yard of Indra Subbah an elephant is similarly placed.

With respect to the ornamental sculpture, the resemblance will be found to be no less particular. The lower part of the front of the portico to Kylas consists of small pillars, with urns between them, supported on elephants' backs. The front of Indra Subbah cave is ornamented in a similar manner. In Brahminical caves the numerous pillars are lavishly decorated with fancy work, and scarcely half a dozen pillars are of the same order in each cave. In Boodh caves, with the exception of Teen Lokh, Dookya Ghur, and one or two others, the same system obtains; but still many pillars are found which exactly resemble those in Brahminical caves. The frequent use of the lotus flower, the cornices, fillets, bands, and wreaths everywhere correspond, and show a perfect similarity of taste.

† See Sketch No. VII., fig. 5.

The figures are so little encumbered with dress, that the points of comparison are reduced to two articles, the *kumurbund* and cap. I could nowhere discover the *cholnas* (breeches) mentioned by Sir Charles Malet; and the figures are everywhere destitute of those articles of dress the *turban* and *angraka*, introduced by the *Moosulmans* in their invasion of India. The figures of *Boodh* are commonly naked; whenever any kind of clothing is discoverable, it appears to resemble a *sarhee*, put on as women put it on, with the exception of bringing the end of the cloth over the left shoulder, instead of enveloping the head in it as women do. The *Jain* priests wear their dress, consisting of a single piece of cloth, in this manner at the present day. On none of the male or female personages of the *Hindoo* mythology is this kind of dress discoverable, nor do the attendants upon *Boodh* appear to have it. The *kumurbund* and cap, which latter is always curiously worked, is common to all the *Boodh attendants*; the *Brahminical deities*, and their *followers*. It will be observed, that many of the sketches represent the attendants of *Boodh* with the string over their shoulders, somewhat resembling the *janwa* of the *Brahmins*. In many sculptures, however, it appears knotted, or twisted like a rope, and this led * 308 me to doubt its being intended to represent the *janwa*. Opinions, however, are entertained that this distinguishing mark was once worn at a period of a division into castes, which no longer exists amongst the *Buddhists*.

It is curious that the thin rod, which is invariably twisted round the arm of *Sew* and his attendants, and which, from its frequent use, appears a favourite emblem of *Sew's*, should frequently be met with in *Boodh* sculptures. *Bhagissree Bowanee* has it, and it will be observed that many of the *Boodh* attendants are ornamented with it, particularly the figures on the right hand of the Sketch No. XII., and the left hand attendant, Sketch No. XIII.

The necklaces, earrings resembling small wheels (called *kundal*, and worn by *Sew* *Bukts* to this day), *kurras*, *pæjuns*, rings for the toes, &c. were in common use, and prove that the

personal ornaments of the Boodhists and Brahmins were perfectly similar.

The attempt to identify the divinities of the Brahminical and Boodhist mythologies will necessarily be limited to four or five figures, from the excavation of the Boodhist being free from those fanciful representations which crowd the Brahminical caves.

The Shee Shai Bugwan of the Brahmins, which is the incarnation of the Supreme Being preparatory to the formation of the world, with Brahma on a lotus flower springing from his navel, may possibly be a copy of the figure which occupies the grand recess in all Boodh caves, Brahma being added to suit their theogony. The Shee Shai Bugwan is a naked figure, free from ornaments, the head bare and reposing on the folded Nag, whose seven heads form a canopy over the head of the divinity.

In Ceylon, the figures of Boodh in the temples answer exactly to this description, excepting only Brahma on the lotus flower. At Ellora, the figures of Boodh are usually standing or sitting, apparently naked, free from ornaments, with the head bare, and the Nag in folds behind the figure, forming a cushion for it to rest against; the serpent shadowing the divinity with its seven heads, as in Sketch No. II. Independently of

* this resemblance, Shee Shai Bugwan and Boodh may
 *309 both be deemed personifications of the Supreme Being, since the latter has all the attributes of the divinity-ceded to him.

The figure called Jum Dhurm, or Dhurm Raj †, by the Brahmins, in the Brahminical cave of Doomar Lecyna, sitting in the Boodh attitude on a lotus flower, the stalk of which is held by two figures whose heads are shadowed by the Nag, is most probably Boodh. A similar figure in Elephanta excited Mr. Erskine's attention; and Mr. Salt has given a drawing of Boodh, from the Kennera caves, sitting on a lotus flower, the stalk of which is held by two figures, with the Nag shadowing

† See Sketch No. IV.

their heads. In the cave at Karlee, also, is a similar piece of sculpture.

Captain Turner, in his Embassy to Tibet, has the following passage (p. 306) :—"The principal idol in temples of Tibet is Mahmoonie (the Budha of Bengal), who is worshipped under this and various other epithets throughout the great extent of Tartary, and amongst all the nations to the eastward of the Berhampooter. In the wide extended space over which this faith prevails, the same object of veneration is acknowledged under numerous titles. Among others he is styled Godama, or Goutama, in Assam and Ava; Samana, in Siam; Amida Buth, in Japan; Fohi, in China; Budha and Shakumuna, in Bengal and Hindoostan; *Dherma Raja* and Mahmoni, in Bootan and Tibet." In addition to this evidence, the Brahmins at Karlee, on being questioned by me with respect to the figures of Boodh about them, replied they represented *Dhurm Raj*; that the enormous hemispherical figure was a type of him, and that the cave was also dedicated to him; but that they worshipped Daivai and Sew, who had subsequently taken up their abode there. These circumstances, then, identify at once the figure called *Dhurm Raj* in Doomar Leyna, a Brahminical cave, with Boodh; and his appearance in a Brahmin cave implies that he possessed a niche in the Pantheon previously to the excavation being commenced.

The next Boodh sculpture which appears to have any relation to the * Brahminical mythology is Bhagissree Bowanee.† The tiger is certainly the Wahun of Bow- * 310 anee, and the ornaments of this figure do not differ from those which decorate the Hindoo Bowanee, but the tree growing from the head renders the relation questionable, and the origin and history of Bowanee make it more so. The figure may be the original from which the Brahminical Bhagissree was taken.

There are some circumstances which seem to connect Luximee‡ with the Boodh mythology. Considered as the female energy, and as a personification of the fecund power of

† See Sketch No. I., fig. 2.

‡ See Sketch No. VIII. •

the earth, she is necessarily associated with the Ling: any peculiarity in the worship of this emblem would undoubtedly be used in the worship of Luximee, if her supposed association with it is well founded. Now, Mr. Salt describes elephants employed in pouring water over two stones, or lingams, in a Boodh cave at Kenera; and Luximee is represented with elephants pouring water over her wherever she appears in the Brahminical excavations at Ellora. Further traces of her Boodh origin, or relationship, appear in her sitting posture with her legs crossed (an unusual posture for Brahminical deities); in her nudity; her being destitute of personal ornament, with the exception of earrings; and in having the Boodh chutree over her head.

The last point which will admit of comparison is between the enormous hemispherical emblem in Boodh temples (in Juneer, Karlee, and Bisma Kurm, at least 42 feet in circumference) and the Ling of Mahadeo. This emblem, in Boodh arched caves, occupying the most conspicuous and sacred place, was evidently an object of reverence and worship; and the belief must be strengthened by the circumstance of finding a figure of Boodh in union with it†, and from the attendants wearing this emblem, or a figure of Boodh, frequently in their caps. It remains now only to surmise the ideas with which the emblem was associated. It is a short, solid, erect pillar, rounded off at the top into an hemispherical form, its summit being crowned with carved work shooting out of it‡, or it is shadowed by a chutrec.

* The rudest nations, in the most remote times, probably observed and wondered at that latent power which, when brought into action through the seed of the vegetable kingdom, produces such surprising effects; and they must have observed that by impregnation the animal species was continued. To discover the daily operations of this power, and yet not be able to account for the power, was sufficient to excite an awe correspondent to the conceptions of its

† See Sketch No. XIII.

‡ See Sketch No. III.

force and universal manifestation. With ignorance from awe to adoration is but a step; and as this power required some sensible representation through which it might be honoured, what was so likely to be adopted as the human organ or organs by which its operations were found to be promoted? At a very early period we find mention of the peculiar worship of Osiris, Bacchus, and Mylitta. From the resemblance, then, of the emblem in Boodh temples to the virile organ, it is probably not unreasonable to suppose, that the adoration of Nature through this medium formed one of the principles of the religious belief of the Boodhists in ancient times; and, as there are some reasons for asserting the priority of the Boodhists, the Brahmins possibly founded the Ling Pooja on this emblem. Viewing the Boodh emblem as a type of the Earth or Sun, their vivifying properties might still have suggested the idea in which originated the striking worship of the Sew Bukts.

The following appear to be the results favouring the idea of amity, rather than any hostile feeling, having existed between the Boodhists and Hindoos, from an inspection of the caves of Ellora:

The general design and formation of the caves of both sects correspond, even to their variations. There is an evident similarity of taste in the ornamental sculpture. The dress and personal ornaments, even to particular symbols, are in common use: and finally, some few of the personages of the Hindoo mythology, corresponding in their appearance and attributes with Boodh sculptures, might seem to justify the belief, that their mythological opinions have a common origin, one sect having possibly adopted part of the mythology of the other.

* Traces of a former union, founded on existing usages and beliefs common to both sects, now remain to be * 312 noticed.

It has been remarked that the Gosaiyn, who occupied the Boodh cave of Teen Lokh, and who had visited the temple of Juggernath, identified Boodh at Ellora with the deity worshipped at that celebrated place. In Juggernath Subbah, the Madras servants made their offerings in the same manner as if •

they had been at Juggernath; and I have stated that a Jatra continues to this day to Parisnath on the hill.

Captain M'Murdo, in a Paper in the Transactions of this Society, describes the Parisnath worshipped in the Parkur Desert as being in the hands of a Soda Rajpoot. The image is surrounded by Rajpoot horsemen at the time of the Pooja; and the Hindoos believe that the idol will remain nineteen thousand years. Now, Parisnath is one of the objects of the Jain worship; and though Captain M'Murdo does not specify the castes of the pilgrims, from using the words "*Hindoos* from all parts of India" it is to be understood others than Goojur Banecas, Mahajuns (who are Jains), &c., compose the Sung.

Learning that Parisnath was worshipped in Poonah in a handsome temple, I paid it a visit. The exterior of the building has no appearance of a temple. Passing through two rooms, I descended by a narrow, dark, and intricate staircase to a small room many feet below the surface of the earth, and found five marble idols arranged side by side on a bench. The centre figure was Parisnath. I was extremely surprised to find these objects of Jain worship exactly resembling the Boodh figures at Ellora, Juneer, Karlee, and Kenera.—Parisnath, of black marble, sat with the legs doubled, showing the soles of the feet: the hands, open, were laid one into the other in the lap, and the head was shaded by the seven-headed Nag, the ears being lengthened to the shoulders. The nearest figure of white marble on either side was exactly similar, the head only being destitute of the snake canopy, but it appeared covered with curly hair or the close cap common on Boodh figures. The extreme figures of yellow marble were copies of Parisnath. All were naked and destitute of ornaments, unless the eyes and

* nipples being represented by precious stones be considered as ornaments. In their sitting postures I think they were about three feet high. In a handsome room in the second story of the building, within a shrine of fret-work, were many minute images of Parisnath, surrounded by ornamental designs in gold, silver, and precious stones. At least they appeared composed of those valuable materials. There

were crowds of Marwaree Baneas performing the Pooja, but I did not observe any other castes. The Jutees or priests were extremely attentive and communicative. The principal Jutee, a native of Jeypoor, invited me into his room, spread a carpet for my attendants, and placed a chair for myself. He showed me their sacred books written in the Balboodh character, but Pracrit language. I understood him to say they worshipped Luximee of the Brahminical mythology, as the female generative principle ; and in proof of this, a small figure of Luximee held up in the trunks of two elephants was pointed out to me, sculptured in front of the throne on which Parisnath is sitting.

He said the Jains were much divided in their opinions, the Boodhists were equally so, and he seemed to think the Brahminists were not more unanimous.

If I did not mistake him, he seemed to admit Juggernath and Luximee, viewed as the male and female generative principles, or Juggernath as a compound of both, as common objects of worship to all sects, Brahminical, Boodh, and Jain ; and this worship brought them to a point of union. He said the Poonah Parisnath was the Gowri Parisnath of the Parkur Desert, with whose history he appeared well acquainted ; and both must be identified with the Parisnath amongst the Boodh figures at Ellora, since the Baneas have a pilgrimage to the latter.

The Jains showed no dread of pollution, and I was permitted to walk over the temple with my shoes on. I did not, of course, go into the sanctuary. The Jutees were indifferent to touching my person, and they readily brought their sacred books for my inspection. The fact of one of the figures of Boodh at Ellora, under the name of Parisnath, being an object of the worship of the Goojur Baneas cannot fail of exciting curious speculation.

* Captain Turner states, that Gaya, Benares, Mahow and Allahabad, Gunga Sagor and Juggernath, are held * 314 in veneration by the Tibetians, who are Boodhists ; and pilgrimages are made to those places. The Hindoos in return perform pilgrimages into Tibet, " of course to worship.

the Lama and the Boodh idol Mahmoonie." How closely this idol resembles Boodh figures on the western side of India will best be shown by Capt. Turner's description (pp. 260-1) of the posture of a deceased Lama, which corresponds with that of Mahmoonie: "As soon as life has left the body of a Lama, it is placed upright, sitting in an attitude of devotion, his legs being folded before him, with the instep resting upon each thigh, and the soles of the feet turned upwards. The right hand is rested with its back upon the thigh, with the thumb bent across the palm; the left arm is bent and held close to the body, the hand being open and the thumb at right angles, with the finger touching the point of the shoulder. This is the attitude of abstract meditation: the eyes at the same time being directed downwards, and half closed†."—Figures of Boodh in all the western excavations are found, which correspond with this description even to the minutest particular. The Tibetians suppose one of their Lamas to have been regenerated near the ancient and ruined city of Gour, in times of remote antiquity; and they refer the origin of their religious institution to the city of Benares. This belief, then, would seem to establish the fact of the holy city of the Hindoos having at a remote period been inhabited by Boodhists.

The well-known but singular circumstance, of the suspension of all distinctions of castes at Juggernath during the Jatra, is thus noticed by Dr. Robertson in his *Disquisition on Ancient India* (Note 54): "Another fact concerning the castes deserves notice: an immense number of pilgrims, amounting in some years to more than 150,000, beset the pagoda of Juggernath in Orissa (one of the most ancient and most revered places of Hindoo worship) at the time of the annual festival in honour of the deity to whom it is consecrated. The members of all the four castes are * 815 allowed * promiscuously to approach the altar of the idol, and seating themselves without distinction eat indis-

† Gosaiyins in India are buried in this position, with the exception of both hands being in the lap.

criminally of the same food. This seems to indicate some remembrance of a state prior to the institution of castes, when all men were considered equal." If Juggernath, then, be a Boodh figure,—and the pilgrimages of Boodhists from Tibet to it, and the extinction of castes during the festival in its honour, seem to establish it as such,—it would scarce be going too far to affirm (adverting also to the opinion of its extreme antiquity) that it was worshipped at a period previous to the introduction of castes amongst the Asiatics; and that consequently the worship of Boodh preceded that of Brahma, with the introduction of whose religion the distinction of castes commenced. In aid of this belief, Mr. Harrington, in the 6th volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, states that the Boodhists of Ceylon describe Vishnoo as a worshipper of Boodh, and therefore of subsequent origin, or at least minor dignity.

- The cave of Karlee, although decidedly dedicated to Boodh, is occupied by a body of Brahmins who are supported by Government, together with a band of music. Sew and Daivai are the deities worshipped, although they have no place inside. Boodh is not worshipped; but a face, which is sculptured on the enormous hemispherical emblem, is daily decorated with red lead and flowers. Were not the occupation of the cave a sufficient proof of the absence of any hostile feeling in the Brahmins towards the objects of Boodh worship, the attempt to engraft a Hindoo deity amongst them would satisfy the most sceptical. The uniformity of the pillars of the temple has been destroyed by one of them having been cut into, to form a figure of Gunesh, which is perfect and in considerable relief.

Mr. Colebrooke in the *Asiatic Researches* states that the worship of the Ling, and the foundation of the sect of the Saivas by Sancara Acharya, and the establishment of the sect of the Vaisnavas by Madhava Acharya, occurred while the Boodh religion was flourishing, and that the new sects immediately persecuted the Boodhists. If this opinion is well founded, the superior antiquity of the Boodh caves at Ellora will be admitted; because the Brahminical excavations are all * 316 dedicated to the Ling, and the Boodhists * could scarce-

ly have had opportunity to perfect their works, on the grand scale on which they are found in many parts of India, after the persecution. It may be asked, As Brahma is not an object of worship, and has no temples erected to his honour,—in short, is little more than a nominal deity of the Hindoo mythology,—what was the object of the worship of the Hindoos previously to the introduction of the Ling (Sew) and Vishnoo ?

None of the Awtars of Mahadeo or Vishnoo are found in the Boodh caves ; but as the first, being of the Hindoo mythology, the Shee Shai Bugwan, seems to correspond with the principal figure of Boodh, might not this figure, combined with the hemispherical emblem and the personification of the female energy, represent the Hindoo mythology in its infancy, long ere it teemed with its present host of divinities ? That the increase in the mythology of the Brahmins was progressive, the Brahmins themselves admit. The fabled incarnations followed each other at immense intervals of time, the latest being honoured the most ; and Ram, Ballajee, Kristna, and Gunputee, now dispute precedence, power, and reverence, with their parent divinities.† Our own times exhibit proofs of the manner in which this accumulation occurs. The sweeping calamities to which human nature is subject,—plague, pestilence, war, and famine,—are each looked upon as manifestations of the anger of a divinity. Offerings and sacrifices are made to propitiate the offended being ; temples are raised to its honour, and it is classed in the mythology under a name originating in the circumstance connected with the display of its power. The spasmodic cholera, which has ravaged India lately, has produced the Oolat Beebee in Bengal ; and blood has been spilt without measure on the western side of India, to propitiate the Murree (spasmodic cholera), which is viewed as a visitation of Bowanee, under that name. The inhabitants

† It is probable that many of the present divinities of the Hindoos were celebrated men, whose fortunate and brilliant career induced subsequent generations to suppose that the Deity had become incarnate in their persons. The belief in the present God at Chinchore affords satisfactory proof of the facility of the deification of mortals.

of every village have raised hovels, in which are placed *figures of the goddess; and these hovels will ultimately rise into temples, as the occasional appearance of * 317 the disease assists to work upon the fears of the people, and to stimulate their piety. Keeping in view these circumstances, a period of the Hindoo mythology may be supposed, particularly as the Triad is resolvable into one person, when it was extremely limited; the worship being probably confined to the Supreme Being, through the sensible representation of Shee Shai Bugwan (surmised to be Boodh), and to the productive power of nature, through the hemispherical emblem. This period associates the mythology with the simple objects of worship found in Boodh temples. May not these, then, be the originals on which have been gradually grafted the whole host of the present Hindoo Pantheon?

There is some difficulty attending the belief in the posterior formation of the Boodh caves. From their number and magnitude on the western side of India, it is plain the power and wealth of an established Government in active operation for ages only could have produced them. Granting the superior antiquity of the Brahminical caves, this will imply a subversion of the Brahmin faith and power by the Boodhists, who had leisure during ages to perfect their temples; and a subsequent subversion of the Boodh faith and power by the Brahmins. With this continued hostility, and consequent hatred, the Brahmins would scarcely have honoured the Boodhists by classing the figures of Boodh in their mythology, under the names of Luximan Ram Chundra, Juggernath, Purusram, &c., and by painting and chunamming the temples of the enemies of their faith.

The inscriptions, in a character the meaning of which is lost through the lapse of ages, seem to assist the belief of the prior formation of the Boodh caves.

It may be asked, If the Brahminical mythology is a multiplication of the simple figures found in Boodh temples, why have the Brahmins not preserved the language and written character of the people whose religion was the parent * 318 of their own? This can best be answered by asking,

why the present Boodhists themselves have not been able to do it: and yet their descent from the framers of the temples cannot be doubted, although opinions now obtain amongst them which probably were unknown in early times, and which opinions place them at issue with the Brahmins.

Were I not incompetent to the labour, it would otherwise be unnecessary to touch upon the doctrinal points of resemblance between the two sects, the subject having been so ably discussed by the Edinburgh Reviewers in the 17th Number of their work.

On a recapitulation, the following appear to be the results favouring the idea of a former, and even present partial, union between the sects:

1. The design and formation of the caves; ornamental sculpture; personal ornaments and dress of the attendants of Boodh, and of the Brahminical divinities and their attendants, indicate a similarity of taste and conformity in the habits of the whole people. Different sects, in general, do not less religiously preserve their opinions than peculiarities of dress, ornament, &c., &c.

2. The identity of Boodh with the Shee Shai Bugwan of the Brahmins rendered probable, from the resemblance between the figures, and from the peculiar accompaniment of the Nag serving as a cushion to rest on, and shadowing the idol with its seven heads; and from the gods of the mythology resolving themselves into a single being.

3. Luximee—from her conjunctions with Boodh emblems, and relation to the Ling, probably the figure which represents the female energy in Boodh caves.

4. The large hemispherical emblem, from its being evidently an object of worship as a type of the Earth, or the male organ—from its form not unlikely to have been the original on which the Ling Pooja was founded.

5. So far from there having been any hostile feeling * 319 between the sects, * many hundred years ago the Boodh caves were honoured, in common with the Brah-

minical excavations, by being painted and chunammed by the Brahmins.

6. The different figures of Boodh adopted by the Brahmins of the present day, under the names of Ram, Purusram, Juggernath, &c.

7. The celebrated Hindoo Juggernath identified as Boodh.

8. The pilgrimages of the *Hindoos* into Tibet to worship the Lama; and the idol Mahmoonie the Boodh of Bengal.

9. The pilgrimages of the Tibetians to Juggernath (probably Boodh), and other *ancient* places of Hindoo worship.

10. The framer of all the caves believed by the Brahmins to be Bisma Kurm, the grandson of Brahma; although this Bisma Kurm is clearly a Boodh figure.

Favouring the idea of the superior antiquity of the Boodh caves, and Boodh worship, the following appear to be the results :

1. The limited number of figures in Boodh caves as objects of worship, correspond to that period of the Hindoo mythology when the Supreme Being and his attributes must have been worshipped under an equally limited number of sensible representations.

2. The worship of Vishnoo and the Ling declared by Mr. Colebrooke to have originated at a period when the Boodhist faith was flourishing.

3. The assertion of the Boodhists that Vishnoo was a worshipper of Boodh, and therefore of later origin.

4. The Boodhists of Tibet referring the origin of their doctrines to the holy city of Benares: which must have been, consequently, inhabited by Boodhists before the present Brahmins, otherwise they would have carried with them into Tibet the distinction of caste, and many more of the Hindoo deities than they appear to have done.

5. The most numerous inscriptions in Boodh caves being in an unknown character and language, very likely lost, gives these excavations, and the people who formed * 320 them, a claim to antiquity over excavations * and their

framers where only comparatively modern inscriptions are found in a known character and living language.

6. The numerous and widely dispersed Boodh remains favour the presumption of the general prevalence of the Boodh faith and power at one period over all India.

7. The origin of the worship of Fo (Boodh) in China, which is stated to have prevailed there several thousand years, is referred to India.

8. Learned men in India readily acknowledge that the Brahminical tribes are by no means aboriginal in that country. They came from the north, entering India through the pass of Haridwar†.

9. The suspension of the distinction of caste, at the festival of Juggernath, referring to a period previous to the classification of the Hindoo people.

10. In the equality and general license which prevails during the celebration of the Holi, traces of a state of society are discoverable when men were not separated by those arrogant claims of a party to superior purity which are now admitted in Hindoo society.

11. The superior antiquity of the Brahminical caves improbable, from the implied subversion of the Brahmin power by the Boodhists, and subsequently of the Boodhists by the Brahmins.

It is not my object to support a particular hypothesis : I am simply desirous of stating such ideas as occurred on an inspection of the caves, with a view to reconcile in a plausible manner the indications of a union with the present widely dissimilar habits and opinions of the Boodhists and Brahmins. It may be supposed that the worship of the Supreme Being, through the sensible representation of Boodh, and possibly the worship of the hemispherical emblem, as a type of the Earth or Sun, or of the male energy, at one period prevailed over great part of Asia.

In progress of time, superstitious or fanciful individuals

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii., pp. 69, 70.

may have ima*gined particular manifestations of the divinity, which were embodied in the human form, and * 321 placed in the temples to be worshipped : these gradually multiplied, till the mythology teemed with its present host; the Boodhists of the Deccan and Hindoostan insensibly became Polytheists, preserving, however, in their present institutions, even through the loss of a language, traces of the early simplicity of their belief, and the memory of the equality which once reigned amongst men.

At a particular period, the sacerdotal order, with a view to perpetuate their spiritual authority, and through it their worldly power, instituted or adopted those distinctions of caste which placed them at the head of human society, at the same time modelling the mythology in such a manner as to establish their pretensions on the basis of divine authority.

The Boodhists of Ceylon, Siam, Tibet, and China, may have been free from the innovators who perverted their brethren of the greater peninsula, and were consequently enabled to preserve in Ceylon, even through the loss of a language, the personages of their ancient worship; though it is probable their abstract doctrines have been not less unstable than the theological opinions of other nations in every age and clime.

On the whole, it cannot be denied, that at one period a people existed all over India whose objects of worship were much more limited than those of the present Brahmins. The idea of extreme antiquity is necessarily associated with this people, from their inscriptions being in a character the meaning of which is lost, and with it probably the language of the people.

In closing this paper, I have to express my regret that the short period of a week's residence at Ellora disabled me from correcting my notes and sketches by a careful review of them on the spot. Omissions and mistakes may have occurred, and for these I beg the indulgence of the Society.

(Signed) W. H. SYKES, Captain. .

It was not my fortune to meet with Faber *On the Origin of Pagan Idolatry* until after I had drawn up this paper. My perusal of his work was too hurried to enable me to benefit largely from it; a few passages, however, are subjoined, * 322 in which the union of the Boodhists and Brahmins, and the superior antiquity of the former, are asserted.

"The Brahmins say that the religion of Boodh is heretical; yet, as we have just seen, they represent him as an incarnation of Vishnoo; and in an ancient Sanscrit inscription at Buddha Gaya he is celebrated as a portion of Narayna, or the being that moved upon the waters; is invoked as Om; is declared to be the very same as the Hindoo Trimurti, or the triple God Brahma, Vishnoo, Mehesa; and is described, like Vishnoo, as the divinity who rested upon the face of the milky ocean, and who reposed upon the navicular serpent Sesa or Ananta."—Vol. ii., p. 328.

From the *Asiatic Register*, vol. i., pp. 284, 285.

"Of a statue of Boodh, in the plain of Virapatnam, M. Gentil, who published his travels in the year 1779, says that it exactly resembles the Somona Kodom of the Siamese: its head is of the same form, it has the same features, its arms are in the same attitude, and its ears are exactly similar. He made various inquiries concerning it; and the answer which he universally received was, that it represented the god Baouth, who was now no longer regarded, since the Brahmins had abolished his worship, and had made themselves masters of his people's faith. From what the French traveller writes, Baouth is evidently no other than Bout, Būdh, and Buddha, and the tradition respecting the divinity seems necessarily to imply that the worship of Buddha was established in India prior to the superstition of the Brahminists."—*Faber*, p. 339.

"Such is the principle that actuates the wretched suicides who cast themselves beneath the wheels of the ponderous car of Juggernath. This deity unites in his own person the triple divinity of the Hindoos, and, he is likewise the same as Buddha, in whom that triple divinity is similarly united."—Vol. i., p. 495.

"Buddha, however, is pronounced to be the same as the Hin-

doo Triad, Brahma, Vishnoo, Sew, conjointly. The title of Om, therefore, is equally bestowed upon Buddha; and this Triad and Buddha are alike declared to be astronomically the Sun."—Vol. ii., p. 210.

* On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the more simple Buddhic superstition was the first political * 323 corruption of patriarchism, the commencement of what Epiphanius calls the Scythic or Cuthic heresy, while the more complex Brahminical superstition (though in all probability it has received many subsequent additions) was the completion and perfection of that heresy, denominated in this latter state, by the same writer, Hellenism, or Ionism.—p. 234.

[NOTE.—See on the same subject Asiatic Researches, vol. VI., pp. 382 to 387 (Letter by Sir C. W. Malet to Sir John Shore), and pp. 389 to 424, with plates, by the same author; Asiatic Researches, vol. XVII., p. 188, noted by Professor H. H. Wilson in his paper on the Religious Sects of the Hindus; Bombay Geographical Society's Transactions, vol. III., p. 181: Extract from Sir Henry Russell's Report on the Nizam's Country (Sir Henry considers the central temples to be Brahminical); Major Gill's Photographs of Architecture, &c. in Western India, with Introduction by J. Fergusson, London, 1864, pp. 45-62; Brief Notice by T. A. Buckley, B.A., see Calcutta Review, vol. XXI., p. 457; Journal Royal As. Soc., vol. VIII. (Fergusson on the Rock-cut Temples of India), pp. 32, 34, 36, 44, and 73 to 83, and notices throughout the paper generally (30-92); see also references to Venu or Ellora in Dr. Stevenson's Paper on the Intermixture of Buddhism and Brahmanism, vol. VII., pp. 1-8 of the same journal; and vol. V., p. 324, about 'bust of Śiva' at Ellora and Elephanta; Antiquities of Orissa, by Dr. Rajendralála Mitra, vol. I., p. 5; Historical Researches in connection with the Caves of Western India, by James Bird, Esq., M.R.A.S., 1847, Bombay, pp. 18 to 30. I would lastly refer to the History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by James Fergusson, D.C.L., 1876, pp. 127, 163, 262, 334-337, 445; also Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 83.—ED.]

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* X.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PANDOO KOOLIES IN MALABAR :

WITH FOUR DRAWINGS.

BY J. BABINGTON, Esq.

[Communicated by S. Babington, Esq.]

Read 26th December, 1820.

LIKE the Pandoo Koolies on the eastern side of the Ghauts, the Kodey Kulls, Topie Kulls, or Pandoo Koolies, are generally to be found on the top of eminences, or on the sloping sides of such hills in Malabar as are not wooded. They seem to vary in their shape according to the nature of the soil or rock on which they are constructed. The soil of the hills on which they are found is generally a red gravel, and the substratum of rock known as the *latérite*, or pudding-stone as it is frequently called. Where the soil is of considerable depth, the large chatty† of baked clay shown in the Drawing A (No. 4) is generally found alone, and is the depository of the bones, beads, arms, &c. which are found in most of these sepulchres; but where the soil is of trifling extent, or where the bare rock only is found, the caves are usually dug of it in a regular form, and are indicated by the Kodey Kull, so called from its being shaped like the umbrella or chutterry in common use among the natives, the first word signifying in Malabar a chutterry, and the last a stone. The Topie Kull is a large space between them, and under the top stone, in shape having a strong resemblance to a mushroom. Apparently they are intended to be used in the same way as the chatties: but, although I have opened several of

† Earthen pot.

these, I have never found any relic in them, and am therefore inclined to think that such as I have examined, either have never been used as depositories of the dead ; or if they have, that from the free admission of the atmospheric * 325 air into the hollow space I have mentioned, their original contents have crumbled into dust. Those that I have displayed have uniformly been very promising and perfect, but they have always been empty ; and I have never been able to find any cave in the rock where they were situated which they might have served to indicate. The large Topic Kull in the Drawing C (No. 1), I opened in November 1819 ; and though from its situation, size, and appearance, I was led to expect my labour would not have been in vain, nothing was found in the hollow space between the stones which supported the Topic Kull, and which were themselves placed on the solid rock. The Kodey Kulls, on the other hand, which are much less imposing in their appearance, have always rewarded my researches with urns, bones, arms, iron instruments of various shapes, and in some instances with beads of different shapes, colours, and materials. Hitherto I have found no coin of any description, nor any other article that can throw any light upon the period of the construction of these singular and universally diffused specimens of ancient sepulchres ; unless it may be considered that the Trisulum I found in one of them, and which is sketched in the Drawing B (No. 1), determines their origin to be Hindoo. Reports have frequently reached me of figures of Ganeish, Christna, &c., and of ancient coins having been found in this description of tombs ; but I have always ascertained them to be unfounded ; and I am inclined to think, if any such have been found, that it was not in any Kodey Kull, or Pandoo Koolie, but in some secure depository of a different description.

It is almost unnecessary to say that there is no record of these antiquities, of the period of their construction, or the use for which they were originally intended : that they were used as the depositories of the dead at some period, is, I think, unquestionable, as I have seldom or never opened one that did not

contain a number of bones, either calcined or so much decayed as to fall into powder after a short exposure to the air. That they were human bones I have also been satisfied, by finding the lower jaw with the teeth entire, in a recent instance. The theories of the * natives on the subject of these sepulchres are various: by some they are supposed to be the works of the Punduvass, and by others they are attributed to the agency of gods and genii. One very absurd origin is given to them, and is the most generally credited; it is, that at some very early period of the world men did not die, but after increasing in stature gradually for a number of years they dwindled to pygmies of a few inches in length, when they ceased to eat and drink, or to perform most of the other functions of animal life, and were in this state of doubtful existence inclosed in these tombs, with the implements and arms they had used when in the enjoyment of their faculties! Absurd as this account is, it is not more improbable than various others that are current, of the origin and use of the Kodey Kulls. A very fine powder or sand is found generally at the bottom of the chatties, most probably the remains of animal matter from the dead bodies or bones placed in them. It is shining, and appears mixed with minute particles of mica: which perhaps has given rise to the idea generally entertained, that this substance is pure gold when in the cave unexposed to the light, but through the agency of spirit becomes sand when viewed by mortal eye!

There are many places in Malabar where the Kodey Kulls are found; but in no situation do they exist in greater numbers and preservation than on a hill named Chataperambah, which is excavated in every direction with caves of this description. It is singular that the Malayalum or Malabar name of this place should give a complete description of it, being literally *the field* (compound, &c.) *of Death*, Chatum peramba. Whether this coincidence is accidental, or the name were given to it originally, and handed down to the present race, I know not; but I am inclined to be of the latter opinion, as there are several other places in the district with the same name, and I understand also of the same description, with this spot, which is

situated on a hill rising abruptly from the southern bank of the Beypoor river, and about five miles to the eastward of the village of that name. Two of the mushroom-shaped Kodey Kulls were on an eminence about a mile to the westward of this hill; but none of that description are on the hill of Chata-perambah. Nearly on the highest point, *nine or ten of the kind sketched in the Drawing A (No. 1) were * 327 placed in irregular order, and others of the same kind at some distance. These, with about fifty or sixty others on the hill, having a small circular opening, as in A (No. 3), which widened gradually as it descended to the depth of about eight feet, were opened by me at several different visits I made to the spot for the purpose. There being no stone over the mouth of these latter, I discovered them by the rank appearance and height of the grass of the spot, owing to the depth of soil in the opening being greater than on the surrounding rock. That these latter have originally been covered by a stone I have every reason to be satisfied, from finding large broken pieces of granite stone in the caves, whilst the surrounding solid rock was of laterite; and no granite is to be found within some miles of the hill.—On this hill, by the same means I discovered a cave similar to one found some years ago at Neelcaperamba; and of which I shall hereafter forward a sketch, with a section and dimensions, to complete, as far as I am able, the series of these interesting remains of the antiquities of this coast. At present I shall content myself with observing, that these latter caves and their contents are in better preservation than any others; from the circumstance of there being no opening at the top (the only aperture being at the side, and that carefully covered by a stone of the same dimension with it), very little of the soil can make its way into the cave, to disturb or injure its contents. It was in this cave that I discovered the Trisulum No. 1, the large Jar No. 5, the Tripod No. 11, the Lamp No. 15, and the highly-glazed Chatties Nos. 8, 10, 18, and 19, in the accompanying Sketch marked B; and the several iron instruments Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 22, in the Drawing C;

the use of some of which, particularly 5, 6, 9, and 15, I am unable to state with any certainty.

In the accompanying Drawing A, No. 2 represents one of the Kodey Kulls at Chataperambah, before opening it; No. 1 a section of the same when opened by me, with some of its contents; and No. 3 the appearance of one of the circular openings at the same place, which I have noticed; and as it may tend to throw some light upon the subject, I shall * 328 here de*scribe the mode observed by me in opening the Kodey Kulls of the description of No. 1.

Having carefully removed the earth from and around the covering stone of the cave (No. 2), to prevent it from falling into the latter and breaking or disarranging its contents, I caused the stone to be cut into four parts and turned over the edge of the cave. This was by no means an easy task, from the great size and weight of the stone; which was from 6 to 8 feet in diameter, and from 2 to 3 feet thick in the centre, becoming gradually thinner to the edge, where it was not more than 6 or 8 inches thick. When the stone was carried away, the earth which covered the mouth of the cave was removed, all possible care being taken not to disarrange or break any of the contents. These consisted of a few iron instruments, and chatties containing bones, and the light sand I have already noticed, and rested on the edge of the projecting rock in the cave (8). In the centre of the cave, and parallel with the edge of the ledge of the rock, was a circular piece of granite stone (5), similar in shape to the large covering-stone (2), but so small as to be easily raised by two men. The earth being removed all around, this stone was gently raised and carried out of the cave; when it was found to have covered the mouth of a large chatty or urn (4) of about five feet in height and four in diameter, composed of a thick clay mixed with sand, and not more than half baked, the centre being black and gritty. On lowering a lamp into the chatty, a smaller one was observed in it, of the shape and appearance of that in the Drawing B, marked 19 (and placed in the same position as therein shown), with several still smaller around it, as 10, 12, 17, 18, and 21 of the

Sketch. These several chatties were half filled with, and nearly surrounded by, the light shining sand I have before mentioned, mixed with bones which were carefully removed by the hand; and in the chatty No. 19 was found a smaller one (20) apparently better made (being black throughout, and glazed highly), which contained the whitish transparent beads (No. 4); together with a small greenish stone, also transparent, but which could not be preserved, as it fell into * small pieces immediately after it was exposed to the air. On carefully washing and sifting the earth which * 329 had fallen into the cave, and the transparent sand, other beads, as shown by Nos. 6, 7, 14, 15, and 16, were taken out of the large chatty. The latter was then broken, and removed from the cave, which was found to terminate on the spot where it had rested. A few iron instruments (as shown in C, 4, 12, 16) were found to rest on the ledge of the rock in the cave; and the smaller articles of the same kind, Nos. 20 and 21, were found with the beads, bones, &c., inside the large urn or chatty. The hollow space (6) was then cleared out, and it was found to be a descent communicating with the cave by a square door at the side, which was carefully closed by a stone (No. 7), also square, pressing upon it. Nothing was found in this outer cave but some broken pieces of chatty, the original shape of which could not be ascertained.—It may be proper to notice, ere closing this description, that although the beads (No. 4) were found as shown in the Drawing (excepting that there was, of course, no string to keep them together), the other beads were not all discovered in one cave, but in several of those opened on the same spot, and were subsequently arranged as shown in the Drawing marked B. They are all, with the other articles shown in the Drawing, in my possession.

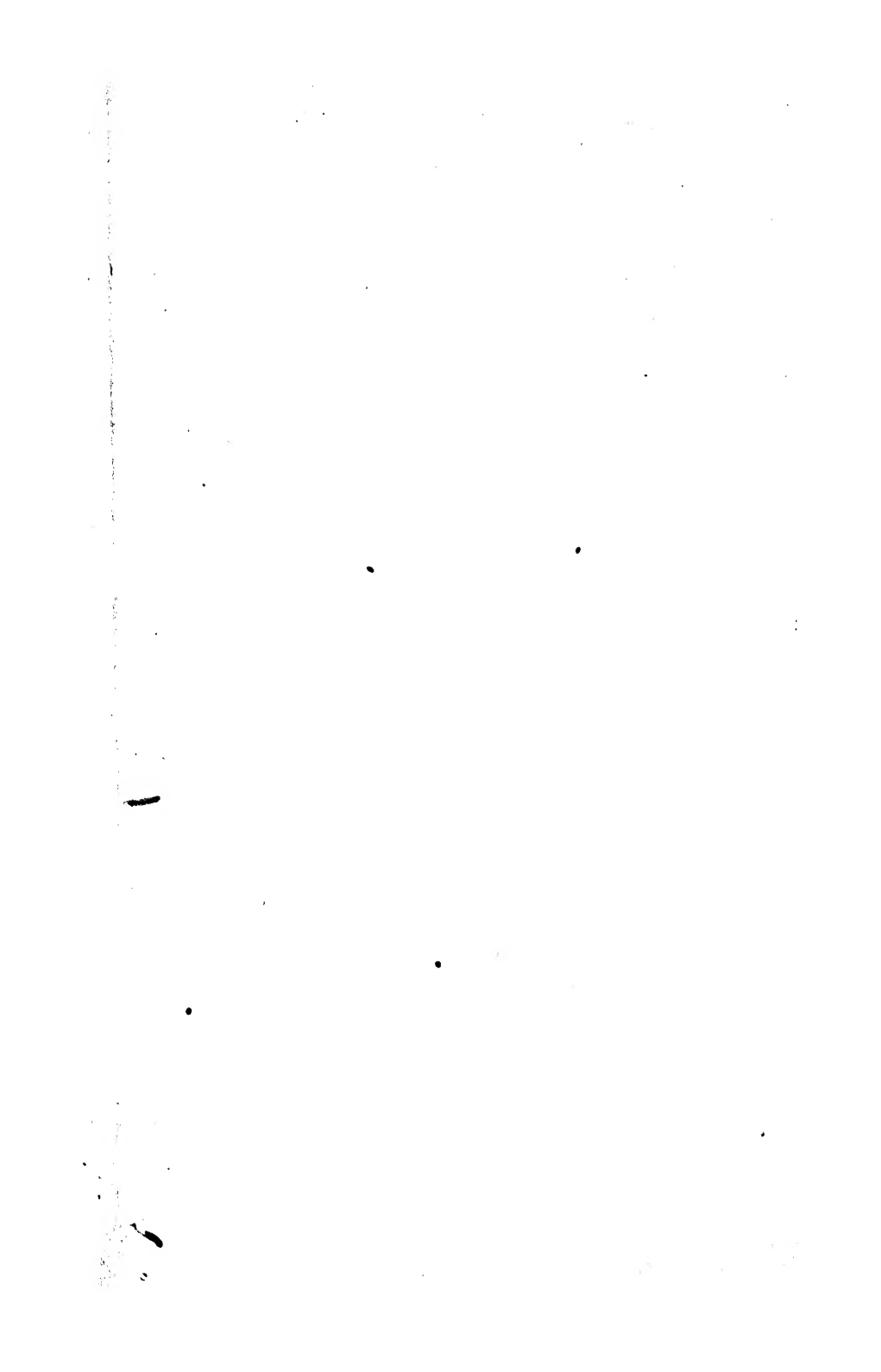
The circular openings (No. 3 in the Drawing marked A), of which I examined a great number, were not so curious or interesting as those I have described, in consequence of the earth having fallen into the cave (together with the covering stone), and broken its original contents. These caves were in the shape of a blunt cone; and exclusive of the opening at the

top, which was always circular, and about three feet in diameter, there was in every cave a square door in the middle closed by a stone in the same manner as described in the cave No. 1, and another opening on the surface of the ground, leading down by steps to the side-opening of the cave; so that a communication could be held with the interior of the cave without removing the top stone, as in the Kodey Kulls. The original shape of the chatties in these caves could not in general be ascertained, from their being much broken and injured; but

in some instances I found tall urns, the remains of * 330 very large chatties, and some tolerably perfect, resting upon small supporters of the same materials, sometimes three, and at other times four in number, as shown by No. 8 of the Drawing marked B. Several iron instruments were also found in these caves, such as spears, swords, knives, axes, and some others, the intention of which it is almost impossible to conjecture, as they bear no resemblance to anything in use in the present day.

The Drawing which accompanies this memorandum, marked E, represents two very perfect Topie Kulls, situated to the eastward of a village named Puddiangaddy, on the highroad to Palghaut, where they are still to be seen. The Sketch D was taken of another of these Topie Kulls, not far distant from the others, ere it was examined and consequently destroyed by me in November 1819, when engaged in investigating the subject of these antiquities on the western coast—Calicut.

[NOTE.—Every remarkable ancient building or other relic in India is invariably ascribed to the *Pándavās*, whose exploits are celebrated in the Great *Sanskṛita* epic—the *Mahábhárata*. I have not been able to find, in all the accounts of Malabar I have gone through, any further notices of these ancient urns.—ED.]



A STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PERGUNNA OF JUMBOOSUR.

By THOMAS MARSHALL, Esq.

[Communicated by the Honourable the President.]

Read 26th December, 1820.

THE Pergunna of Jumboosur forms an irregular square, having the Myhee on the north, the Dhadur on the south, the sea on the west, and the Baroda Pergunna (with a single village of the Amod Pergunna) on the east. Its average length, between the two latter sides, is about 20 miles, and its breadth from north to south 13. Its area may be 240 or 250 square miles; the whole of which is level, and the whole arable, excepting a stripe of salt waste on the sea-face in the south-west, some ground broken into ravines by the gushing of the waters towards the Myhee on the north-west, and a much smaller portion of a similar description towards the Dhadur on the south. The quality of this level surface is, however, various and irregular. For each variety of soil the farmers have a distinctive appellation: to each they attribute specific properties, and assign its appropriate course of agriculture. It would be difficult for any one unfurnished with the experience of an actual cultivator to give a minute description of the whole of these varieties, and for general purposes it may be sufficient to mark the three principal:—

I. Marwa (in other districts called Gorat).

II. Kalee Bhoee of the higher level.

III. Kalee Bhoee of the Bara, or lower level.

I. Marwa.—This is a light sandy loam, of a reddish light brown, or dunnish tinge: its depth is from one and a half to six feet, and it rests *almost always on a stratum of limestone pebbles from six to ten feet thick. Its chief quali- * 332 ties as a cultivable soil are—

1st. Water drains through it gradually and equably, not forming mud or swamps, and making it, a few hours after the fall, firmer than before.

2nd. It occupies the same space in all seasons, and does not, like the Kalee Bhoee, break during the hot weather into large and deep cracks: the support it affords to the roots of the plants, and its temperature, are thus not so liable to variation.

The Marwa soil occupies the whole of the north-east part of the Pergunna, and is met with in curious stripes and patches in various other parts of it. On the sea-face, towards the middle, the lands of the three villages of Chidhura, Jamree, and Kalyaree, almost entirely consist of it.

II. Kalee Bhoee of the higher level.—This soil, known to Europeans by the title of Black Cotton Ground, is one of the commonest in level tracts, not only throughout the level country of Guzerat, but in the higher plains of the Dākhn, particularly about the banks of the Krishna. It is to all appearance a rich vegetable mould, of a deep black colour, unmixed with sand or pebble. In the Jumboosur Pergunna it is not generally more than three feet deep, often much less; but I have seen it 20 feet deep. In this district it generally rests on a layer of sandy loam, underneath which is the pebbly limestone, or marl. To an ordinary and inexperienced observer this soil carries with it the appearance of excessive fertility; the cultivators however know that this is far from being the case; and its intrinsic richness is, I apprehend, much impaired by the following circumstances:—

1st. The unequal manner in which water percolates it, by the deep and wide cracks which traverse it in all directions in the hot weather.

2nd. The great disposition to form mud, or rather puddle, with water, by which it rots all weak stems at the surface, and the leaves of prostrate plants.

3rd. The very hard cake which the sun, after rain, forms on its surface, not easily broken through by germinating plants.

III. Kalee Bhoee of the Bara lands, or those near the sea,

which are * evidently at a lower level. This soil resembles the last a good deal, but has rather a blueish * 333 tinge, apparently from a mixture of clay. It is during the whole rainy season an impracticable puddle; towards the end of that season the cultivators level it with boards, and get the surface into the best condition they can: if a particularly favourable season have allowed them to plough it once or twice during the rains, the subsequent crop feels greatly the advantage of it.

PRODUCTS.

Those of the fertile Marwa are very various, and the proper alternation or succession, and intermixture of them, is essential to good farming. The sowing together several kinds of grain ripening at different periods is a very general practice, and well suits, in its mode of reaping, the indolent character of the natives: it has, besides, one acknowledged advantage; as the quantity of rain has been more or less, one or other of the articles will succeed, and make up for the badness of the crop of the remainder. The farmers also believe that the soil is better able to bring to perfection a series of plants in succession, than an equal number all increasing and ripening together.

All the subjects of the Marwa husbandry are, I believe, sown shortly after the commencement of the rains, and are included in the first harvest. On particularly fertile lands, the sowing of cotton and some other articles is delayed for a few weeks, lest the vigour of the plant should be exhausted in stem and leaves.

These subjects are the following :—

1. Kupas—Cotton (*Gossypium herbaceum*)—is a principal, and latterly the most profitable article of produce. It is sown chiefly alone, but frequently mixed with
2. Kodra (*Paspalum frumentaceum*);
3. Toour (*Cytisus Cajan*); and
4. Umbaree (*Hibiscus cannabinus*).

If the two first articles of this crop come up well, the two latter are removed. A full crop of these is four or * 334 five mun (160 to 200 lbs. of * kupas, and two kulsees

(1280 lbs.) of kodra. A bad crop gives 60 or 80 lbs. of toour, and 10 lbs. of umbaree on each koomba†. Kupas, when sown singly, yields in good years 10 durrees (480 lbs.).

5. Teel (*Sesamum orientale*) is also another of the supplementary articles in the compound husbandry of kupas and kodra. The lightest kind of Marwa, most fertile in other crops, and producing the finest trees, does not answer for cotton, as the dust from its surface gets into the bursting pod and dirties the fibre.

6. Bajuree (*Holcus spicatus*) is a grain of great importance in the domestic economy of these districts, forming a great part of the food of the class immediately above the very poor. On the light lands just mentioned, it sometimes yields most immense returns, 1200 to 1500 lbs. per koomba; but generally it is sown with

7. Mut (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*); a small proportion of

8. Wal (*Dolichos Lablab*, var. *alba*); and

9. Moong (*Phaseolus Mungo*),

the two latter generally consumed as pot vegetables: if not, they yield collectively 50 to 100 lbs. The produce of bajuree in this combination is, in fair lands, at least 600 lbs., and that of the mut 160 to 200 lbs., per koomba. Bajuree is seldom or never sown on the same land in two successive years; it is generally followed by kodra. If possible, the farmer manures his land for a bajuree crop; 15 to 20 cartloads are the common quantity for a koomba; and, if he can, the farmer repeats this every third year.

The price of bajuree, at the villages, in 1818 was 14 rupees for a kulsee of 16 muns, or 640 lbs., whilst mut brought 12 rupees, wal 11, and moong 20.

10. Boota (*Panicum frumentaceum*) is generally sown * 335 alone; it is an inferior grain, but in good soil, with sufficient manuring, it yields very * large returns; 2½ kulsees

† The koomba is thus calculated:—1 guz = 27½ inches; 1 moulā bans = 9 guz or 20 ft. 5½ in. A square of 10 moulā bans, or 100 square moulās, is a koomba, which is about $\frac{2}{3}$ of an acre.

(1600 lbs.) are stated as the produce of a koomba.† Its usual price, at the village where grown, is from 12 to 14 rupees per kulsee.

Teel (*Sesamum orientale*), besides its cultivation, in the beginning of the rains, with kupas and kodra, is the subject of another management. Towards the latter end of the season it is sown either with

11. Duvelee (*Ricinus communis*), or with that and toour (*Cytisus Cajan*). This is only a supplementary kind of crop, and is esteemed almost a fallow. The whole produce is not more than from 25 to 400 lbs. per koomba. Ordinary prices are—of teel, $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per mun (40 lbs.); of toour, 13 rupees per kulsee (640 lbs.); and of duvelec, 1 rupee per mun.

12. Dangur (dry rice) seems common both to the heavier Marwa, and to the better kind of Kalee Bhoee in this district; and is of very general growth, particularly combined with kupas. Its produce is rated at from 480 to 640 lbs. per koomba, with about 160 lbs. of kupas. The dangur varies in price from 12 to 16 rupees per kulsa, according to its fineness. Inundated rice is nearly unknown in this district.

13. Pan Indigo was an article of common cultivation in these lands; and there is scarcely a Marwa village where the ruins of its manufacturing apparatus are not seen, and of no old date; but only at one or two is any now prepared. The failure is ascribed to the diminution of the population during the Mahratta tyranny; but I should attribute it chiefly to the superiority of the Bengal manufacture. The price of the leaves squeezed up into balls, and kept for two or three months (for such is the state in which the plant is used) is stated at, from 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupee per mun. The species from which the pigment is made is *Indigofera tinctoria*.

14. Jooar (*Holcus Sorghum*) may also be stated as one of the products of the Marwa soil, though it be a much more ge-

† The quantity of seed employed in most of these articles is so small as never to enter into the farmer's calculation of profit; three or four lbs. per koomba is the average. Some of these grains yield 300 for 1.

neral one of the Kalee Bhoee. In the Marwa, when sown alone, its produce is about one kulsee per koomba.

* 336 *15. Kang (*Panicum italicum*) and Chenna are grown, but not to any extent, in Marwa lands.

The great powers of this land are evinced by the size of the ordinary trees, which, particularly in the line of villages between Jumboosur and Baroda, grow to almost three times the size which they reach in the Kalee Bhoee. *Tamarindus indica*, *Mimusops Kanki*, *Bassia latifolia*, *Feronia elephanta*, *Cordia obovata*, *Melia Azadirachta*, &c. grow to at least 80 feet high; and others, such as *Acacia vera*, which are in general little better than bushes, are here great trees.

The whole of this land is inclosed, the fields running in general from 3 to 15 or 18 koombas. The hedges grow to a great height; and as the art of keeping a fence within due bounds is not at all known or practised, they occupy far too great a space. There, hedges are composed principally of *Euphorbium Tirucalli*, *Euphorbium antiquorum*, *Capparis sepium*, *Capparis corymbosa*, *Phyllanthus Madraspatensis*, *Cadaba indica*, *Clerodendron floribundum*, and *Zygophyllum sclerocarpum*.

The same great fertility produces, of course, abundance of weeds, and repeated weeding is in fact the principal expense of the cultivation. The following rates, per koomba, for this service are not far from the truth:—For indigo, 2 to 2½ rupees; bajuree, 1 rupee; boota, 1 rupee; teel and toour, 1¼ rupee; kodra and dangur, 2 rupees; kupas alone, 1 rupee. In seasons of much rain, three times weeding are required.

Products of Kalee Bhoee.

1. Jooar (*Holcus Sorghum*) is a grain of most general cultivation wherever the better kind of black soil is met with. The most approved succession is jooar one year, kupas the following, and fallow the third; but it is evident to any one riding over these lands when they are in tillage, that nothing like this proportion is ever in fallow. I imagine the demands of Government do not admit of it. In this cultivation it is common to manure every fifth or seventh year, if the manure be forth-

coming : 15 cartloads to a koomba is the common quantity. Ten or twelve muns (400 to 480 lbs.) may be reckoned a large crop per koomba. The straw, * well known by the name of kurbee, is an excellent forage for horses and * 337 bullocks, and in the neighbourhood of a town is worth from 1 to 1½ rupee per koomba. The straw of no other sort of corn is comparatively of any value.

2. Kupas (*Gossypium herbaceum*) seems, in the Kalee Bhoe of Jumboosur, to be generally sown alone, and the produce is about two-thirds of that of the Marwa : in all but very bad years it is a highly profitable crop, but no land will bear it for two successive seasons ; indeed it appears to be the most exhausting crop in use ; and there can be little doubt that the necessities or avarice of the farmers prompt them to repeat it much oftener than prospective good husbandry authorizes, particularly if their very limited quantity of available manure be considered : they are by no means insensible of this error, but they have not the fortitude to resist present advantage. The cotton produced in the Jumboosur Pergunna has heretofore been classed as the second sort, or Rasce ; but some of the Patels have lately discovered that it is at least as good as any grown in the neighbouring Pergunnas, and generally sold as the superior kind, or Toomil.

3. Chenna-pulse is always an article of the latter harvest, sown when the rains are nearly over. It requires the better sort of Kalee Bhoe, and is esteemed to injure the land so little, that in some courses of cultivation it goes for a fallow : 8 or 10 muns (320 to 400 lbs.) per koomba may be esteemed a good crop, and its price varies from three-fourths to 1½ rupee per mun.

4. Duvelee (*Ricinus communis*) is also an article of the latter harvest, and, like the foregoing, is reckoned frequently in lieu of a fallow. It is not uncommon to sow it on land newly broken up. In this case, the land is hoed just before the commencement of the rains, and undergoes little other preparation than a few slight harrowings when the rains are over : 10 or 12 lbs. of seed are required for a koomba, and 180 or 200 lbs. are the amount

of an ordinary crop. About 10 lbs. of the seed yield 4 lbs. of expressed oil : it is the general lamp-oil of the district.

5. Goon (*Triticum aestivum*) wheat is in very common growth in this * soil, though by no means so much so as * 338 in the next division. It is sown when the rains are entirely over, and depends on the moisture already in the ground, and on that supplied by the dews, which in November and December are very heavy. The land is dressed once or twice during the rains, and is manured when that can be effected, which, I imagine, is not often. From 30 to 40 lbs. of seed are required for a koomba, and in indifferent seasons the produce is not more than 6 or 8 muns (240 to 320 lbs.); but in good years I am well assured it is double that amount, or a kulsee, the price of which is about 14 rupees.

The Kalee Bhoee is almost always uninclosed, and the fields are divided from each other by a narrow uncultivated stripe called a sheree; sometimes there is a hedge of *Euphorbia antiquorum*, but it is scarcely ever perfect. On roadsides, during the time of tillage, a temporary dry fence is put up of the branches of the very prickly tree the Bawul (*Acacia vera*), but this is always taken away after the produce is cleared off.

Kalee Bhoee does not produce such a profusion and succession of weeds as the Marwa, and the expense of weeding is not more than one-half. Two plants, *Cressa guzeratica* and *Hedysarum Alhaji*, are in great quantities; and seem to be left untouched; the former has a saline flavour, and is plucked for the cattle: why the latter is not destroyed I do not know.

Products of the Bara, or Kalee Bhoee of the lower Level.

Nearly the whole of this land is occupied by wheat; for miles together nothing else is to be seen. The produce is, I believe, about two-thirds of that of the better sort of Kalee Bhoee, whilst the expenses of cultivation and seed are the same.

These wheat lands are absolutely uninclosed,—partly, I apprehend, because there is nothing on them at the time of the strong winds of the south-west monsoon, and partly because hedges harbour birds to a most annoying degree. These

wheat crops have many enemies, besides the not unfrequent occurrence of either too dry, or an excessively wet season ; and the cultivators make but poor defence against any of them. Deer range in herds over the fields nearly unmolested, as it would be a crime of the * deepest dye to kill one of them ; and the operation of driving them off seems little * 339 more than sending them from one field to another. As the grain ripens, flights of small birds are seen settling on every field, and of course destroy much of the grain. In some seasons, and without any indication by which the evil can be foreseen, a large grub (of which I have not been able to see a specimen) attacks the roots and destroys half the crop. The chance of these calamities, and the certain expense of the seed, sink those lands much in their value ; and it is pretty evident, from the appearance of poverty which reigns in the Bara villages, that, though much more lightly taxed than the inland places, the former are still worse off. In some of the fully peopled villages of this tract there is not a bit of waste land, either for hay or pasture, except the stripes that divide the fields, and which produce a high, strong, rushy, innutritious grass.

The wheat throughout is pulled up by the roots about the end of March : this operation is almost always performed in the night, when the stalk is wet with dew ; it would otherwise cut the fingers of the pullers. The wheat is not more than from 20 to 24 inches high, and the ear contains from 40 to 50 grains.

There are such strong points of distinction, both in the action of climate and in the peculiar economy of the natives, that it is impossible to make any just comparison of the agriculture of Guzerat with that of Britain. Let us for a moment suppose that the population of the latter should abandon the use of animal food—what a revolution must immediately follow in its husbandry ! Not only all the cares and arts necessary to the produce and increase of stock, but all management of pastures and meadows, all green cropping and artificial grasses, all the profitable system of turnip husbandry, must immediately fall to

the ground; and even the growth of corn would receive the heaviest of all injuries, by the abstraction of its necessary quota of manure. Such, however, is exactly the condition of Guzerat: religion forbids three-fourths of the inhabitants to eat animal food, and poverty does the same for nine-tenths of the remainder: even * the small remnant that does consume it indulges in such trifling quantities, and with so little research into its good or bad qualities, that an invalided cow, or a long-legged goat, answers as well as the highest-fed ox or most delicate sheep; and it is not anywhere an object of profit to rear animals for slaughter. We find, therefore, no meadows, no pastures except wastes; in short, nothing that can be termed green husbandry. The manure for the corn and cotton lands is limited to the dung of the working and milch cattle; and even that is considerably encroached on by the necessity the poor are under of using it for firing; most probably the fertilizing properties of that which is realized are considerably reduced by the powerful exhalations of the noon-day sun. The farmers, however, are fully sensible of the value of manure, and are at considerable pains to collect and preserve it, though their methods are, as in most other processes, not the very best for effecting their intentions: certain habits and prejudices prevent their increasing the dung-heap by many matters which are known to be very fertilizing.

If the land be left nearly to its natural powers, as far as regards artificial additions, still more is it so with regard to what is effected by labour. The furrow left by the plough is a scratch an inch or two in depth, which is repeated across, and diagonally when it is wished to have the land peculiarly well dressed. The slightness of the impression arises, doubtless, chiefly from the imperfection of the instrument, the rude simplicity of which bespeaks little improvement since its first invention: but it is fair to remark, that a heavier plough and deeper work would require stronger cattle, if not stronger ploughmen, and that the farmers invariably object to deep ploughing, as injurious to that firmness of surface which is necessary to yield a steady hold to the roots of the plants.

The drill husbandry is, I believe, universal. I am not aware that I ever saw one field of broadcast. The machine commonly in use sows three rows at once, and, though made in the rudest manner and of the simplest materials, is well adapted to its purpose.

Weeding seems almost the only operation of farming in which little * difference is observable between England and Guzerat. It is performed very carefully ; the weeds * 341 close about the plants being taken up by the hand, or a small spud ; but those between the rows are, at least whilst the produce has not attained any considerable height, accessible to a sort of concave knife called *kurrub*, which is fixed at each end into a wooden cheek, and is drawn by the usual team of bullocks.

It will also be difficult to make any comparison of the absolute fertility of the soils of the two countries, until it is better known in what qualities of the soil fertility subsists. Chemical analysis does not seem, even in the hands of Sir Humphry Davy, to enlighten the subject much ; soils of the most different composition prove of nearly equal fertility, whilst others, whose component parts are much more alike, differ widely in their powers of production. I should be inclined to attribute much to the fitness of the soil to retain and to dispense in an equable manner a sufficient quantity of moisture, and no more ; to imbibe an adequate portion of heat and to reflect the rest ; to afford the necessary fixture to the roots of plants, to enable them to draw their appropriate nutriment ; and to maintain a surface equally removed from the extremes of parched dryness and soaking wet.

It is to be considered that the whole annual quantity of rain, which is, I believe, in ordinary years three times as great as the average in England, falls in about sixteen weeks ; and these would, but for the rains and the monsoon wind accompanying them, be the hottest weeks in the year, as they include the whole time in which the sun, which had before heated the land excessively in his passage from the Equator to the Tropic, is passing back again to the southward. The quantity of rain

which thus falls in a limited time, and the cotemporaneous intensity of the solar heat, are elements in the rationale of Indian agriculture, which the husbandry of cold climates has nothing resembling, but on the happy combination of which the fertility of a season almost entirely depends. Continued rain rots, continued sun scorches, and a long uninterrupted course of either is famine ; but when a warm sun succeeds to that quantity of rain which has been sufficient to open the ground, and to soften the husk of * the seed, the plant * 342 may be said to spring into life, and the progress of its growth is in some cases almost perceptible to the senses†.

Adverting, then, to the wonderful power of these two agents when properly tempered, I think the constitution (if I may be allowed the expression) of the soil in relation to their effects, rather than its intrinsic richness, is likely to be of much more importance to the general result than it may be in a colder climate ; and, on the same principle, I conceive that vegetation in India is not so absolutely dependent on manure (though I am far from intending to deny its great utility) as in countries where heat and moisture are less active. In proof of this doctrine I think I may appeal to all who have travelled in these regions, to say if they ever saw any absolutely sterile ground except the hard rock, the loose sand formed of its débris, or the salt flat washed by the tide ; every spot bearing what can be called soil, is capable of supporting some sort of useful vegetable, and in fully peopled districts is so employed. The Pergunna now under consideration is not at this time actually in this state ; but it plainly has been so, and certainly will, under good management, be so again.

If I am right in attributing a large share of the comparative fertility of these lands to the manner in which they receive, dispense, and dispose of the superabundance of the mass of rain which falls on them, it will be obvious that the nature, depth, and direction of the substratum, the proximity or

† I have known a bamboo grow 30 inches in six days.

remoteness of the natural drains of the country†, and local elevation or depression, are all likely to have a marked influence on the value of the land. It will accordingly be found that practical experience considers every one of these circumstances, and pleads their effects whenever that value becomes a matter of discussion.

* For purposes of police principally, this Pergunna is divided into nine sections, called tuppas; and contains * 343 upwards of eighty villages, including one considerable town (Jumboosur). The villages vary greatly in size, from respectable places of five or six hundred houses, to wretched hamlets of ten or twelve; which have been reduced to their present misery either by the brutal tyranny of the Mahrattas, the lawless violence of the Sarod Thakoor when in the fulness of his power, or the pillage of the Myhee Kanta Koolees, whose incursions have been constant and recent. The same evils have caused the entire desertion of the sites of six or seven villages, whose inhabitants have joined some better protected community in the neighbourhood. It is to be hoped, that under the superior security of the British Government these ruined villages will gradually recover, and the abandoned sites again be occupied.

Almost all the villages whose lands are of the Marwa kind, particularly those on the Baroda frontier, contain many well-built dwellings of burnt brick and lime, and have generally an appearance of considerable comfort; to which an abundant supply of excellent water essentially contributes. As the lands become intermixed with Kalee Bhoec, the villages are less neat, and the buildings are almost all of unburnt brick: in the Bara lands the greater number of the houses are hovels of the worst

† There are no artificial drains in the country, not even a ditch round a field. Fields are never laid out in ridges, and there are consequently no furrows. There can be no doubt that much land is injured, and much lost, for want of them; as the passages which the torrents tear for themselves are far more numerous, circuitous, and unconfined, than they would be if skilfully prepared. Any thing like a system of drains, however, would require a capital which nowhere exists, and which under the present management never will be formed.

description, and during the hot months the water is brackish, and the supply scanty. No general designation can be true of every individual; and accordingly some ruined villages will be found in the Marwa, and some flourishing ones in the Bara†; but the general difference is sufficiently remarkable to authorize their being thus classed.

There are two ports, Tunkaree and Degam. The latter seems fast falling into disuse‡: though it would appear that through it the Portuguese once carried on a considerable trade in printed goods manufactured in * the neighbourhood, * 344 and in dyed goods brought down overland from Baroda and Malwa. Of this trade there is not now, at least by this channel, the smallest trace. Tunkaree is perhaps the most convenient port on this coast for vessels of the size and kind in common use. The port is formed by a deep creek, falling at a right angle into the Dhadur, and having a rise of ten or twelve feet in spring tides: from the mouth of this creek the navigation to the sea (or rather to the Gulf of Cambay) is short and easy, with water for boats of 250 candies. The roads in the neighbourhood of Tunkaree are absolutely impassable during the rainy season, and are very bad for some time afterwards. However, it is only the latter part of this circumstance that is to be regretted; as no vessel ever comes to the port during the rainy monsoon. The road between the latter places is good, and might be made excellent.

From Tunkaree are exported,—nearly all the cotton of the Jumboosur and Baroda Pergunnas; a considerable quantity of wheat, the produce of the Bara; coarse cloths, manufactured in the Churotur, north of the Myhee; ghee, from all the surrounding country; mowra (the sweet flower of *Bassia latifolia*, from which the spirit in common use is distilled), from the eastern parts of the Baroda Pergunna, and the half-settled countries

† Tunkaree and Dewala, both heads of tuppas, and the former the seaport of the Pergunna, are instances of the latter. Both have plainly had some means of effectually resisting or eluding the destructive extortions of the Mahrattas.

‡ I am since informed that it is reviving.

bordering on it ; and very uncertain quantities of the surplus grain of the Baroda Pergunna.

The imports are unimportant. The cotton, of which the Company's Commercial Resident is by far the greatest purchaser,—two or three Bombay houses taking nearly all the remainder,—is universally paid for in cash, which eventually finds its way to the Collector's treasury.—Teak timber, iron, copper, sugar, cocoanuts, and a few of the indispensable articles of house economy, come in exchange for the wheat and ghee.

POPULATION.

A census, on which considerable dependence may be placed, gives to this Pergunna a population of rather more than 50,000 people, of whom 10,400 inhabit the town of Jumboosur. If the estimated area of 250 * square miles be correct or nearly so, the distribution to each square mile will be 200 ; * 345 which is rather more than the proportion ascertained in England by the census of 1811, and considerably above that of the 102 departments of France, taken about ten years before, though both of these included manufacturing towns and districts. The population of Jumboosur is, on the contrary, strictly agricultural ; for though so large a proportion of it is found in one town, yet that town contains no manufacture of any consequence, and is no more than the mere place of business and mart of the Pergunna : none of the villages at present contain any manufactures, except of the commonest fabrics for domestic use.—The state of several of the villages shows that the population is not yet at its natural standard ; and I think four or five thousand may be expected to be added in a few years, increasing the number on each square mile by fifteen or twenty.

VILLAGE CONSTITUTION.

Every village is managed by one or more Patels, and is either bheengota or bhagwa : that is, it is either let out to the cultivators at a certain rate per bheega or koomba, or the lands are divided into shares (bhags), either equal or bearing a known proportion to each other ; each of which pays in the lump its

respective quota of the whole charges against the village. These bhags are either subdivided into smaller bhags, or parts of them are let out by the bhagdar (holder of a bhag or share) at a fixed rate : in which case the tenant is called gunnotea, and is either (oopurwarea) the inhabitant of another village, or, if he have settled in the village, is on the footing of a stranger there, and has no right of citizenship. Each bhagdar has the entire management of his own bhag†, and has, I

*believe, a right to a share of the patelship ; but indo-
* 346 lence on one side, and intriguing activity on the other,

have thrown this office in most cases into the hands of certain families, whose successors being better educated, and having had the benefit of paternal instruction and experience, are best fitted to conduct the business. However, instances are common of ability and intrigue getting the better of prescription, and the chief influence of the village completely changing hands.

The divisions and subdivisions of the bhags are made with most jealous accuracy. Every bhagdar has a portion of every kind of land which exists in the village ; and, of course, patches of his bhag are to be found all over it. In making the valuation, the distance or contiguity of the village, plenty or want of water, freedom from inundation,—in short, every thing which the most experienced land-valuer in England would think of inserting in his survey,—are minutely attended to.

† A curious question respecting bhagdar rights arose in the village of Keemoj :—A bhagdar let out his bhag to gunnoteas, at the same gunnote they had paid him for the preceding year. Afterwards, on the plea of an adverse season, the general assessment on the village,—and, of course, this bhagdar's quota of it,—was reduced ; on which, a Patel of the village of a hostile faction persuaded the gunnoteas to resist the payment of the rate originally stipulated, and to demand their share of the reduction. The bhagdar maintained that the two transactions were entirely independent of each other ; and that as, if the assessment had been increased, he must have paid the difference, so he alone had a right to the benefit of the reduction. I know not what became of the question, which was a matter of brisk discussion throughout the Pergunna ; but I observed that general opinion ran in favour of the bhagdar. The Collector declined interfering, having received all he required.

The bhagdar constitution is far more general than the bheengota; and I am not certain that in this Purgunna it has not been universal. Several villages, that under the Mahrattas had abandoned it, are about to re-establish the bhags under our Government. This is almost the only trait I have met with of the bhagdars entertaining some notion of a property in the land; and these bhags have somewhat the character of landed estates, however little of the essence remains.

The Patel, or Patels (there are generally three or four), are held responsible for the payment of the assessment levied on the village; and they confirm this responsibility, and become subject to a civil action, by signing annually in the paper on which the amount of the assessment is specified. It is difficult in intelligible English to define the relation which, in the present regimen, the Patel holds to the Government. That we do * not consider him as the land-proprietor is very clear, nor in common language does he ever speak of himself * 347 as such. He can scarcely be considered a servant of Government; for, in the first place, he has no pay (at least generally in this Purgunnah); and secondly, we make him responsible, not for what he collects, but for what we order to be collected. We are then, I think, reduced to consider him, as the factor of the village in its transactions with the Government: but even in this light he has no remuneration, for it is the business of the tulatee (the village accountant) to see that the total of the sums drawn by the Patel from the cultivators does not exceed what he has to pay to Government, and certain well-known village expenses, the Court of Adalat being open to any ryat who complains of the Patel overrating him. The patelship, then, is an hereditary right to the obligation of conducting the affairs of the village, and collecting the Government taxes *gratis*, and at the risk of imprisonment on failure. It will be answered, that the Patel has some mode of paying himself for his trouble and responsibility; and that he does so pay himself is evident by the superior wealth and comfort which he displays in every respectable village. This, however, neither denies nor evades what I have above advanced, but allows, that by having no

authorized remuneration he is driven to procure a secret one : the means he employs can never be very correctly known ; but there can be little doubt that the ryat in the end pays much more heavily for the Patel's superintendence, than if he were regularly taxed for it. The tulatee (accountant),¹ who is intended to be a check on the Patel, is soon gained over by the influence and ability of the latter to serve him ; and between them a false set of accounts is fabricated, and imposed on the village, the more acute members of which generally suspect and frequently oppose them, though seldom with effect. Items are charged which were never expended, and the usual charges are augmented.

INHABITANTS.

The Mussulman division of the population of this Pergunna does not * amount to more than one-sixth of the whole,
 * 348 and consists almost entirely of two tribes : 1. Borahs ; 2. Mulliks, or Sepoys.

1. The cultivating Borahs are to be distinguished carefully from the trading Borahs, inhabitants of towns, with whom, in fact, they have nothing in common but the name, which I imagine to be of more ancient use with the latter than the former : they differ in features, in habits, in character. The cultivators are Soonees ; the traders are Sheahs, or, as they are termed by the orthodox, Rabzees. As the cultivating Borahs have few or no learned men, and I believe no records amongst themselves, they can give no clear account of the origin of the term Borah, as applied to them ; but they believe themselves to have been Rajpoots, originally from Kanoj, but settled in Guzerat as cultivators long before the time of Mahomed Begra, to whose tremendous reign all the forcible conversions of various Hindoo tribes are referred *en masse*. Whatever their origin, they may now be considered as forming the most effective class of agriculturists in this and the Broach Pergunnas. They are less debauched than other Mussulmans, more enterprising than the Hindoos, and more laborious and sturdy than either. They are in general bony, robust, hard-featured men ; their food and raiment are remarkably coarse and simple, with the exception

of a very few, who, by being employed about the kutcheries, become courtiers, and choose to make their importance more conspicuous by a finer garment. They are not, however, more than the other classes, proof against the temptations held out by a little power either to avarice or ambition. Those who were employed by the Mahrattas, as farmers of the revenue, were tyrants without mercy, and extortioners without control, as long as they made good their engagements to the Sirkar.

2. The Sepoys date their conversion from the same period, but do not pretend to have been originally of any particular tribe or description of people. Some say they are descended from Brahmins of Tunkaree; some claim a Rajpoot origin, and their appearance strongly confirms the tradition: in many families even the names remain unchanged, and we have * Purtab Singh and Ram Gopal for the appellatives of Mussulmans who pray five times a day. Most likely all * 349 the converts, who were at the same time obliged to join the army of the conqueror, took and transmitted to their descendants the title of Sepoys; but with it few of the qualities which are supposed to belong to a military tribe have descended; the present generation forms altogether one of the most contemptible classes of the community. As cultivators, they are indolent and spiritless; as public servants, corrupt, cowardly, and overbearing; they are in general very poor, and as debauched as that poverty will allow: it will not be a matter of surprise that they are further a mean-looking, ill-grown race. A considerable Chukla or quarter in Jumboosur is inhabited almost entirely by this class, from which, as a matter of course, the whole of the police establishment is taken, and, equally a matter of course, is very inefficient. These lazy scoundrels are remarkable for imposing most severe labour on their wives, who in many instances entirely support the family by spinning, and grinding corn.

Hindoos.—The most numerous, and on the whole the most worthy, tribe is the Koonbee (pronounced also Kunbee and Kulumkee), which appears to be devoted exclusively to agriculture, and is, I am informed, the true Sooder of the Hindoo

system. Common report assigns for the original seat of the Koonbees, that part of Guzerat which lies southward from Ahmedabad as far as the Myhee. If this be true, it may be wondered how they escaped the persecution of the all-converting Mahomed Begra, and preserved in their original purity numbers sufficient to stock the country as far south as Deman. They, however, all agree that they are strangers, and their present settlement is, in many instances, of no very old date. The Koonbees of this district are chiefly of the subdivision called Lewa; they are remarkable for their rigid observance of all Hindoo injunctions; they eat nothing that has had life, and abstain as exactly as the most rigid Sanyasee from its extinction in animals. A Koonbee would as soon, and does in point of fact much oftener, kill a man than the deer which is eating up his crop before his eyes. There is something very benign, perhaps almost sublime, in the answer which has often been

* given me on my representing the injury which such
 * 350 forbearance entailed on them:—"God gave the land and its fruits for these animals as well as for us: there is enough for them and for us too; why then should we destroy them?" It has also very often, and I think very philosophically, been observed to me:—"All our efforts would not sensibly diminish the numbers of these animals; why then should we teach ourselves to be cruel to no purpose?" The Koonbees are attentive agriculturists, and though, like most of their neighbours, more inclined to sit and smoke than to labour, do not appear to want exertion whenever the season calls for any particular process of husbandry, and work cheerfully all night, or through the whole of a rainy day, if the job in hand require it. They are particularly well acquainted with the qualities and powers of all the varieties of

† A Koonbee patient of mine was dying from an inordinate discharge of pus from an abscess in his thigh; the neighbours called it a merited judgment for his having killed a bull that was goring him. At another time, as I was walking in the fields, a Koonbee complained to me, with tears in his eyes, that the monkeys were utterly ruining his crop: when I recommended to him to poison them, he ran off from me utterly shocked.

the soil, and have distinctive terms for differences that to an inexperienced eye are difficult to perceive; they are also perfect masters of all the circumstances which are favourable or adverse to the growth of each particular subject of cultivation; and there is not a season in which this knowledge is not applied. They are by no means averse to new experiments, provided they can be made without much trouble or expense, but they do not like to wait for a tardy result; and in case of failure, they have neither enterprise nor capital to persist. Considering the general standard of intellect in the country, and the various obstacles to improvement in which their very condition is involved, they may be called good farmers: their processes, if not the best possible, are nearly the best that circumstances admit of. The Koonbee heads of villages generally live in a very patriarchal way with their ryats: there is a great apparent equality, but still an active superintendence and an undisputed superiority. Subjects of general concern are publicly and unreservedly discussed, and what appears to be the general opinion is usually acted on. In their domestic life, as far as I have been able to penetrate, I observe a great * 351 deal of quiet, unostentatious, simple morality,—the effect, I am ready to grant, much more of situation and habit than of principle.

1. Early marriages, perhaps the constant presence of some of the various branches of the family, with a little dread of the effects of a discovery, restrain the commerce of the sexes very much to its legal limits, though chastity certainly does not exist as a point of honour amongst women†.

2. The relation of man and wife, though unembellished by any spark of tenderness, is yet maintained to all useful purposes.

3. That of parent and child admits of higher praise, as it is plainly compounded of strong natural affection on one side, and

† I dissent altogether from the opinion, common as it is both in conversation and in books, that the sexual passion is more violent and uncontrollable amongst Asiatics than in the temperate countries of Europe: if there be a difference, I think it is on the opposite side.

habitual respect on the other. There is, I believe, no instance of a discarded child or a deserted parent: the toothless bel-dame, long after she has ceased to be of the smallest use to the family, exerts frequently a most capricious sway in it, and has her wayward humours very good-temperedly attended to. The exertions which a father makes to get his children married, and settled in life, frequently involve him in debt from which he can never afterwards extricate himself.

4. The duties of charity cannot be ill performed where there are no paupers; and such is absolutely the case in these villages. How the indigent and the diseased are assisted I do not know, and I believe there is no rule to ensure their support; but it is done, notwithstanding, without mendicity: that of the monkish zealots of both the prevalent religions, who imagine, or affect to imagine, it a religious duty, has of course nothing to do with the present question.

5. The meekness of spirit and tranquillity of habit which make these Hindoos peaceable citizens and obedient subjects, under any Government that treats them with common decency, though carried to a degree that seems contemptible to those who have been accustomed to the *freedom of thought
 *352 and boldness of manner which mark the British character, have here a right to be considered as virtues of no light account, as it is in a great measure to them that we are indebted for the security of our empire.

The Koonbee Patels, when dressed, carry a sword and shield; but they must have been of a very different spirit from that which now moves them for either to be of the smallest use to them: they are, in truth, arrant cowards; and half a dozen half-starved Bheels will at any time plunder a populous village without fear of resistance.

From the proverbial Hindoo vice of lying, as a general charge, I am afraid the Koonbees have no claim to exemption. In the transactions which are best known to us (those with the Government) they lie apparently without an expectation of being believed, and evince no shame on detection: in their own families I imagine truth is more in use, as it answers their

purposes better; and the same would no doubt happen in the other case, could they be brought to see their interest in it.

The Lewa Koonbees contract their marriages at any age between childhood and puberty; but it is only in every seventh year that these contracts are formed†, when it is the business of all parents, whose children will attain the age of puberty before the next septennial period, to provide them with suitable matches: the female is always expected to bring a fortune with her‡, and her parents contribute their share of the marriage expenses, which are frequently so great as to entail debt on whole families for years. The girl resides until puberty with her mother; at that period the husband takes her away to the father's house, in which they commonly reside for many years. The mother-in-law frequently treats the young bride in a most tyrannical and cruel manner, and the* husband invariably takes part with his mother against his wife. *353 It is by no means uncommon for the wife to be several years older than the husband; and I believe it is rather conceived an advantage that she should be so, in order that she may be sooner able to work. Polygamy seems permitted to any extent, but is seldom resorted to when the first wife is prolific. All the wives appear to enjoy equal rights, and to live in tolerable harmony.

The quantity of labour imposed on the women is very great. Bringing water from the well, grinding the corn, cleaning the house, cooking the daily provisions, littering the cattle, driving them out in the morning, managing the dairy, &c., constitute a round of duties that leave them not a moment's rest, from long before dawn until late at night. Pregnancy, or having a sucking-child (and almost every young woman is in one or other of these conditions), affords no relief to this hard life: whilst the

† This custom is peculiarly hard on the females who are contracted in infancy; many are left widows before consummation, and they cannot marry again.

‡ A family of daughters is thus a great misfortune, whilst one of sons is a source of honour and gain. A Patel with whom I was acquainted, and who was a kind, cheerful fellow, was out of all patience when his wife brought him a fourth daughter, and would scarcely allow her the comforts usual in her condition. His mother wanted to turn her out of doors.

men spend several hours of almost every day in indolent gossiping.

Domestic slavery is in common use in families whose circumstances are at all easy; and, revolting as the idea is, it is impossible for any one who has witnessed the manner in which it is conducted, to consider it here as a great practical evil. In the neighbourhood of countries subject to repeated famines, and itself hardly exempt from that calamity, Guzerat is the common refuge of the wretches who with their families are obliged to abandon their homes, to escape the worst of all deaths. Selling a child for the purpose of obtaining the means of subsistence, and of ensuring the means of subsistence to that child, is not a very unnatural expedient in that desperate extremity; and if the sum received be small, and soon dissipated, the protection ensured for the child is complete: it immediately becomes one of the household of the purchaser, and is treated exactly as another member of the family. The duties imposed on the slaves are neither more laborious nor more degrading than those which the wife and sons of the master are constantly performing, and are recompensed with fully as much kindness. The females, I believe, have somewhat more liberty.

The division of Hindoo population next deserving of * 354 notice, is the * Koolee, to which it is difficult to assign any general attribute or character.

The Koolees are, I believe, aborigines, and certainly are to be found throughout every civilized or savage corner of Guzerat. They were all formerly thieves or pirates, and have still a strong call to these professions, when circumstances are favourable to exercising them. Many Koolees, however, have not been insensible to the advantages of settlement and industry, and have become laborious cultivators and good subjects. Koolees are thus to be met with in every grade of civilization, or semi-brutality,—from the naked thief, with his skin oiled to prevent his being laid hold of, and who during the day lives in the cleft of a rock, to the village Patel, at the head of a respectable community of farmers. In this latter condition they still differ materially from the Koonbees: they are less meek in their de-

portment, and are in general dirty, ill-looking, and ill-mannered. They are less shackled than the Koonbees in their Hindooism; but their superstition, as far as it goes, is quite as stupid: they are by no means nice in their food, or neat in their houses. Drinking, and consequent quarrelling, are vices of daily practice with them; and they have often deep family feuds, the spirit of which is not uncommonly kept up by a murder. Some of those who have not succeeded in getting well established as cultivators, live in a very singularly and secretly organized association, and are either faithful guards or formidable robbers, according to the management applied to them. There is a well-known gang of this kind settled at Mungnad, and another at Oober, the heads of each of which wish to be taken into the pay of Government as Jumadars of Police, and would engage to keep the Pergunna free of robbers. Eight rupees *per mensem* is the amount of this Jumadar's pay; and Mr. Grant, the Assistant Collector, told me, that he believed they had had the power to perform what they proposed. On a smaller scale they engage for an annual stipend, or a portion of rent-free land (*pusaeta*), to guard the lands of particular villages, and make themselves accountable for all losses sustained by robbery. A similar aid, on similar conditions, is afforded to villages which are afraid of hostilities from their stronger * neighbours. At Chidhura, the Patels, being oppressed and maltreated by * 355 the Grassias of the village, put themselves under the protection of the Oober Kooles, who sent one of their tribe to reside at Chidhura; and by the assistance of his presence alone the Patels have gained a complete ascendancy, and in their turn bully the Grassias. The word Rukha is applied to the Koolee who makes this engagement; and the responsible person frequently resides at a considerable distance from his charge. In the instance above mentioned the distance between Chidhura and Oober is fourteen miles, and the port of Tunkaree is under the protection of the Kooles of Dehwan, twenty miles off, and in another state. Whilst I was in the neighbourhood, a cart was robbed in the precincts of Tunkaree at mid-day: the Rukha was called

on to make good the loss, which he did without hesitation, though I believe it amounted to more than a whole year's profits of his salary.

In the profession of thieving the Koolees may be said to act *con amore*. A Koolee of this order meeting a defenceless person in a lane about dusk, would no more think of allowing him to pass unplundered, than a Frenchman would a woman without bowing to her: it may be considered as the point of honour of the caste.

The Koolees are much bolder men than either the Koonbees or the despicable Mussulmans of this Pergunna, and would, I think, make far better agents of police than the latter. In this way, too, the interior economy of the tribe might be turned to good purpose.

There is reason to believe that the Koolees are not, or at least have not always been, so rigid in their exclusion of recruits to their caste as is usual in the Hindoo system. The Koolees of this district are either Tulahda or Patumvarea. Those of Doleea join themselves to the first of these divisions, but say that they are the descendants of the Goel Rajpoots of Mangam, a village which about six generations back existed near the mouth of the Nerbuda, and was plundered and destroyed by the Chanchwel Raja. Some fled to Tunkaree; but being from their wretchedness unable to preserve the ordinances of their caste without taint, they abandoned it, and were incorporated

with the Koolees. Doleea was given * to them, to settle * 356 as a Poona or detached suburb of Tunkaree. They say that some of these very Mangam Rajpoots became kalpas (skinners) of Dhy, where their descendants still are. This is a remarkable instance of degradation of caste, as a consequence of misfortune merely.

Bunya.—This tribe is of importance, both from its members and its office. The town of Jumboosur contains about eight hundred families of Bunyas, in whose hands are all the trading concerns of the Pergunna, from the great banking houses to the smallest spice-shop. They are either the owners or the brokers of all the boats which come to Tunkaree, at which

place several of them have warehouses and clerks. In the villages, the village shopkeeper is always, and the tulatee (accountant) generally, of this caste.

Many of the Jumboosur Bunyas are possessed of considerable wealth ; and it is understood that they were more flourishing under the Mahratta Government than they are now. This is not difficult to conceive, as the principal part of their wealth was obtained at the direct expense of the ryats. Borrowing money at exorbitant interest, and forced sales of produce to answer the demands of the Sirkar, were still more prevalent then than now,—the Bunyas being always the lenders in the one case, and the buyers in the other. Their legitimate sources of gain were also more ample: their brokerage on the remittance of surplus revenue to Poona must have been considerable: the sea-customs on many articles of trade being lower than at present, Jumboosur was more of an *entrepôt* ; and the trade in opium from Malwa, which is now prohibited, was very profitable. This prohibition is a subject of great complaint throughout the Pergunna.

The Bunyas are a selfish, cunning tribe. They are charitable, in the cases enjoined by their religion, and no further ; and even this charity is much more solicitous for the preservation of the lower animals, than to assist human objects of pity. Their superstitious credulity seems to exceed that of any other tribe ; and wealth, instead of opening their minds, serves only to render their fanaticism more conspicuous. The opinion that temporary maniacs and subjects of epilepsy are under the inspiration of * the Deity, is perhaps neither peculiar to them nor very new ; but any enthusiast or impostor, * 357 pretending to divine communication, is sure of meeting with the most implicit belief and attention.

They are exceedingly frugal ; and as custom does not seem to have established amongst them, as amongst the inhabitants of more polished nations, any scale of expenditure which a man is expected to follow in proportion to his wealth, they necessarily accumulate great fortunes. It is said that the women of this caste are somewhat loosely inclined ; and I have heard

the men complain of their being more unmanageable since they were obliged to keep their punishments within the bounds of the British law.

Rajpoots.—Except as Gracias, the Rajpoots do not form an important class of the Hindoo inhabitants of this Pergunna. In two or three villages, patelships of Rajpoots still exist ; but in many more they have been lost by mismanagement, and by the more intriguing activity of rival castes. They are not respectable men. The only tincture of the military character retained by them is its pride ; but they are as great liars and cowards as the Koonbees, and as dirty and drunken as the Koolees. They have in general lost the peculiar manner and features of the western Rajpoots.

Brahmins, as managing Patels, or even rjats, are not common in Jumboosur Pergunna, and their paucity is not to be lamented. They are most shameless liars, and indefatigable intriguers, never employing the influence which they often gain but to the most selfish purposes. The Brahmin Patel of Khanwa, on the surveyor pointing out to him a piece of land which ought to be cultivated, very coolly answered, that it was not a Brahmin custom to bring fresh land into cultivation. The officiating Brahmins of the villages, who have pusaeta (rent-free land) assigned them, are numerous, as might be expected in a country so lately under a Brahmin Government. The Brahmin population of the town of Jumboosur amounts to 1250, the majority of whom are of the tribe of Jumboo, taking its name from the town.

There is a village, Burh, in the centre of the Pergunna, occupied entirely * by a singular race called Charun, allied * 358 in manners, habits, and duties (if they may be so called), to the Bharotes. They state their occupation to be, reciting the praises, and offering up prayers for the welfare, of those benevolent persons who maintain or assist them ; and this they perform in an extempore measured or rhythmical chaunt. They resist the payment of all contributions to Government with an obstinacy leading to the most desperate acts. Only six years ago, the Mahrattas, in one of

their general sweeps, sent a body of troops to this village, Burh, to enforce the payment of a certain sum ; the Charuns remonstrated with all their eloquence, alleging that any payment was contrary to their known rights and principles. Finding the Mahrattas inexorable, they cut the throats of ten young children, and throwing the bleeding bodies to the Mahrattas, exclaimed, "There are our only riches, and the only payment we have to make." The perpetrators and the principal people of the village were immediately seized, and confined in irons at Jumboosur, but were not further punished, and after some time were released. Many, however, never returned to the village, which has since that period gone greatly to decay. The Charuns who related the above horrid story, and who, from the recentness of the transaction, were probably some of the actors in the tragedy, spoke of it as of an heroic and highly meritorious deed. Such is the power of habit aided by enthusiasm, even when opposed to the common dictates of nature and reason. The Charuns are great brokers and mortgagers, and thus contrive to worm themselves into the possession of much land in the neighbourhood of their original grants. Patels of villages having in many instances been driven, by absolute inability to satisfy the demands of the Sirkar, to mortgage, or otherwise fraudulently alienate, portions of their village lands, the Charuns are always at hand to advance the sum required : and, as is very common in this sort of transaction, the mortgagee takes the land into his own charge until the debt be redeemed. In a great majority of cases the village soon loses all hold on the mortgage, whilst the sum originally advanced bears no proportion to the value of the pledge. The Charuns drink, when they can get spirits, to excess : a bottle of brandy will purchase a recitative of * praises and blessings of half an hour's length. They also eat mut- * 359 ton and fowls. In Burh they admit no outcasts to perform the dirty labours of the village : they have neither Dher, Bunghee, nor Kalpa. The Charuns are, I believe, originally from the northern parts of Guzerat, where a much fuller and more authentic account of them will probably be obtained.

Of those who though low in the scale of Hindooism are yet within the pale, the Robarees or Bhurwads form a very distinct class, both in appearance and manners. Throughout this Pergunna, besides the usual flocks of ragged sheep-goats, they rear a good many camels, and now and then take a pair to Baroda for sale; but the sale of his stock seems to form no part of the calculated or wished-for profits of the Bhurwad: it is by the milk, and the little coarse wool, or rather hair, of the fleece, that he maintains his family. Much of the milk is consumed in its first state, and the remainder is made into ghee, which exchanges for the necessary pittance of the coarsest grain. The Bhurwad considers his flock as a part of his family; and those remote from the influence of large towns will not of their own accord part with a lamb or a kid: to induce them to sell it, the interference of the Sirkar is absolutely necessary. In the vicinity of great towns the love of gain produces its usual effects; and we find the common alliance between the Bhurwad and the butcher. No lands are set apart for the flocks, but they range wherever there is no corn growing. A broken village, with its waste lands, is soon scented out by the Robarees; and they often pay a small sum to its Patel for the liberty of grazing, though at a considerable distance from their residence. A Robaree has seldom learning enough to count his flock; but he obtains an habitual acquaintance with their countenances, and is immediately aware of the absence of any individual. They do not seem to be possessed of the art of training dogs to give them essential aid in their business, and to ease them of half its labour. There is nothing in the Robaree to put us in mind of the Arcadian shepherd: he is decidedly the coarsest, most dirty and stinking fellow of the whole community; but there is about him a manly honesty, and a rustic careless independence, which in this *land of excessive servility afford no

* 360 unpleasing contrast: in his body he is sturdy and weather-beaten. His dwelling is a hut of the meanest description, to which he only retires at night; whilst during the day he is, according to the season, exposed to every extremity of scorching heat, drenching wet, or pinching cold. This

exposure induces, long before the fair period of old age, visceral diseases peculiar to the tribe, a prominent abdomen being almost as certainly to be found in a Bhurwad of forty, as his short wooden pipe stuck into his waistband.

I come now to that unhappy class which, by the most detestable of all human enactments, is doomed to continue its race in predestined and indelible infamy, and is pushed down *en masse* from its natural place in the scale of being, to a level below that of the upper brutes. There is no relation that an Englishman can be acquainted with that will furnish him with the idea of the mingled scorn and horror with which a pure and sleek Hindoo views and addresses the unresisting outcast (Dher): nor is there in the whole of the peculiar vices or prejudices, or whatever name may be given to them, which are engendered by the constitution of Hindooism, any one half so revolting to a mind of good feeling. The Dheres of these villages are strong, active, and industrious men,—quite as capable of being useful in any way as any other class. If, as I believe every close observer of the human species in India will allow, there be something in the general cast of feature, or form and deportment, of each tribe or profession distinctive of it as a race from every other, the external character of the Dher, even including an expression of the sense of hopeless degradation, which destroys all natural manliness of countenance, will authorize our terming it a well-looking tribe; the children particularly are generally handsome.

The habit which they have of eating the flesh of animals which have died, is doubtless nasty and disgusting; but it is plainly an effect, and not a cause, of their debased state. I am not aware of any other vicious or depraved habit for which they are remarkable; though it would be folly to look for any high virtues amongst them. They drink, but not to excess: they are fully as clean, both in their houses and persons,* as either the Koolees or Rajpoots, and seem not at all *361 deficient in domestic affections. They have a distinct priesthood, and the Garoda wears the Brahmin junwee or string: their worship is a rude copy of the Hindoo. The specific duty of the Dher is to carry burdens; and for this

purpose from four to ten are entertained at each village, and have each four or five koombas of rent-free land (*pusaeta*). They are also the only village weavers ; and, what may serve to show the inconsistent folly of the prejudices against them, the Patel, who would sooner throw away his crop of cotton than suffer a Dher to pluck a pod of it, or permit him to interfere in any of the processes of cleaning it, has no scruple in wearing the cloth manufactured in his loom from thread spun by the females of the same loathed caste. A stout cloth called loogra, which is universally worn round the loins of all the cultivating classes, is entirely woven by the Dhers ; they also make a good deal of the cloth called khadée, which we use for tents.

Sunk as the Dhers are, they talk of the rules of their nat (caste), and of expulsion from it, with as much *esprit de corps* as a Bunya ; and though the service of the Sepoy battalion offers to the young men an easy and perfect escape from degradation and drudgery, with a prospect of distinction and promotion, I believe there is scarcely an instance of a Dher of this part of the country making the attempt. I have often wondered that, as a general measure of emancipation, the Dhers have not in bodies become converts to the Mussulman faith (as individuals in the service of Europeans sometimes do) ; and were not the spirit of proselytism of its professors greatly cooled, I think that must have taken place to a considerable extent : but as it is, the Mussulmans, though affecting to commiserate the condition of the Dhers, have evidently imbibed a portion of the Hindoo loathing for them, and would think the interests of Islam rather disgraced than advanced by their accession. The vast power of habit must also be taken into the account, which in this extreme case appears equal to rendering the poor Dher not unsatisfied with his lot.

The Kalpa, or skinner, and the Bunghee, or sweeper, are yet one step * below the Dher ; at least, the latter does
* 362 not eat and will not intermarry with them.

TAXATION.

In this district, where, as in the Broach Pergunna, the soil is reducible to one or two denominations, and those not in-

termixed, it would seem that the collector has, or at some recent period has had, a simple rule for the scale of his assessment, which pretends at least to be a certain proportion of the money value of the whole produce reckoned by the beega (the measure in general use), granting a deduction for certain accidents of situation or season: but in Jumboosur, where there is more variety in the soil, and the system of agriculture is more complex, the grounds of the assessment can never have been so plain; and now, I apprehend, there is not, in the great majority of villages, the least trace of them. It seems to me, that in the process of collection, certain villages have by experience been found capable of paying, without deterioration, a certain amount, and have thence been called villages of 2, 2½, 3, 5, 8 thousand rupees, as the case may be, without any one being able to say, or probably any attempt being made to calculate, what proportion this bore to the value of the whole produce. The appearance of the country affords sufficient evidence that there has been a period during which the whole lands of the Pergunna have been in cultivation, and during which it is fair to presume that they were not assessed beyond their powers of payment. The duration of Mr. Callender's collectorship may perhaps be taken for this period; but it must also have come down much later; and, without having any direct authority for saying so, I think it pretty certain that the Mahratta rule, until the last 12 or 15 years, was not a hard one for the ryats; certainly they had enough left to build themselves comfortable houses, and encouragement sufficient to bring and to maintain the whole of their lands in cultivation.

It is by many persons assumed that the Government has a right to a clear half of all the produce of the Sirkar* lands, the ryat having to pay out of his half the whole of the expenses of cultivation, seed, harvesting, &c.

* It is not my intention to examine the authority on which this assumption rests, but merely to observe that, * 363 in the present practice, either the above, or any other proportionate division, is altogether nominal and theoretical. I have the opinion of several very competent judges to support

me, when I state my belief, that in many cases the collector takes considerably more than half; and if the quantity and value of the produce brought into the kullee (the general barn-yard or granary) be considered as constituting the whole available subject of taxation, the share left to the ryat is by much the smallest; there is, however, no doubt that the whole never comes there, and I do not propose this as a criterion. If there be an existing rule of taxation, it is, that the collector shall take all he can get without driving land out of cultivation; and the perfection of his art seems to consist in sailing as near to this rock as possible without splitting upon it. The common conversation both of the taxpayer and the taxed betrays that this is the idea entertained by both parties: nothing is more usual than to hear those employed in revenue affairs say, that a certain village will bear being assessed at so many more rupees; it is their general language; whilst that of the ryats, in complaining of an over-assessment, is invariably "We have not enough left to fill our bellies." I never heard an assessment resisted on any other grounds. I of course do not mean to say that this complaint is literally true; indeed I believe, in nineteen cases out of twenty, it is just the reverse; and in every case, every possible attempt is made to mislead the Sirkar as to the resources of the village, and to exhibit a state of poverty much beyond the reality.

More absolute proofs that the equal division of the produce of the tulput, or assessable lands, between the Government and the ryat, is merely imaginary, are not wanting. In many villages, perhaps in all, small internal taxes had been laid on by the Patels for private purposes; and whenever these were discovered, the Government having thus ascertained the ability of the village to pay, immediately appropriated the amount to itself in addition to the previous assessment. In this way every village became, and is now, loaded with a set of charges under the head of "Siwace Juma," or extra assessment, which, in some of the poorer and *ruined villages, is all the

* 364 collector now gets, poverty rendering them unable to pay any regular jumabundee whatever. One of these

charges appears under the title of Khichurhee, and was, I understand, in its origin, a tax which the villages levied on themselves for the maintenance of some Patels who were sent as deputies to Poona to represent the distresses of the Pergunna: the object of the tax was quite temporary, not so the obligation to pay it.

If a village be possessed of other sources of wealth than the Government lands, a higher assessment is regularly laid on it than if its resources were limited to them: in some instances these extra sources would seem to defray almost the whole. They are—

1. Alienated lands, whether under the form of Wanta (grasia lands), Wuzeeфу (land bestowed in gift for past services), or Pusaeta (land subjecting the possessor to certain services to religious establishments).

These are invariably let at a rate greatly inferior to that of the Government land of similar value; and the renter of a considerable portion of them is thence enabled to pay much higher for his Government land than he could otherwise afford.

2. Government lands of adjoining villages, which, either from want of inhabitants or of capital, are unable to till the whole, and are glad to let the surplus to their neighbours for about half the rate that would be given by a resident of the village. Cultivators on this tenure are called Oopurwarea.

3. Prosperous and long-settled villages, situated near great towns, seaports, or highroads, often derive a profit from the hire of their cattle and carts at the season when they are not required in their agriculture.

4. Villages possessed of a larger share than usual of pasture land, called Gaochur, which nominally pays no assessment, and which of course enables them to support a greater number of milch cattle. Villages enjoying any of these advantages invariably betray their condition by an appearance of more general comfort, which is seldom unnoticed in the collector's department, and according to this appearance is the assessment made. I am acquainted with a few villages in * 365 which, I am afraid, the * very spirit and industry of the

cultivators, who have made more of their lands than others could have effected, have subjected them to an increase of their jumabundee.

The ryats, however, have several advantages which must be taken into the account in estimating the amount of the pressure under which they seem to labour, by the constant tendency of the Government assessment to encroach on their means of subsistence.

1. The price of cotton has within the last two years increased so greatly as far to outstrip the collector's gradual rate of increase : this high price has further had the effect of turning a much greater portion of the land to the production of that article than the prospective rules of good husbandry sanction ; but the immediate, and in my opinion, for this Pergunna particularly, most fortunate effect, has been to leave a large surplus in the hands of the cultivators.

2. During the month, or perhaps two months, immediately preceding the harvest of the various species of grain, the ryat and his family spend most of their time in the fields, watching and driving away the birds from the crops ; and during this period they live almost entirely on the grain they are guarding.

3. The dairy is a constant and nominally an untouched source of profit, which the ryats in this district, and I believe throughout Guzerat, husband most economically. They scarcely ever indulge themselves in the luxury of fresh milk, except on great festivals†. The whole of the produce of buffaloes and cows is reserved for ghee, which is always of ready sale ; and I believe that in ordinary times it is from this source principally that they derive the ready money which they require for the purchase of clothes and domestic utensils. The buttermilk forms, either alone or made into a kind of pottage with the flour of some of the coarser grains, a very general article of food.

† Abstinence from the milk of their own cattle, in a people who neither eat animal food nor drink fermented liquors, must, I think, be attributed to poverty ; in such a people it cannot be taste ; nor would any people who could afford fresh milk prefer buttermilk.

*4. The services of the village establishment, to which every cultivator has a right in his farming concerns * 366 gratis, a quantity of free Government land (pusaeta), of between 3 and 5 koombas, being allowed to each of its members. It is plain that villages attach considerable value to these services, for those situated on highroads complain bitterly of those who should perform them being constantly employed by travellers.

5. In most villages there is firewood enough in the waste lands for the purposes of cooking ; but in some situations it is of very difficult acquisition ; and the poorer people pick up cow-dung and dry it, mixed with chopped straw, for sale.

There is a practical but a very clumsy limit to the collector's exaction on a village :—The assessment is not valid until the Patel (or Patels) signs his consent to it ; and if he thinks it higher than his village can pay, he refuses to sign. The collector must then either reduce his demand, or must take the management of the crops into his own hands, collecting and selling the whole for the benefit of Government, and making over the surplus, if any, to the Patel. As all the economy of the patels and ryats is at all times necessary to ensure a decent provision to the village out of the crop, it may be reasonably concluded that they do not, except in extreme cases, bring on themselves the ruinous alternative of having the management of their property delivered into hands who have no interest in its preservation ; and a provident collector will hesitate before he devotes a village to certain ruin, from which it may not recover for years. Instances, however, do occur of both these incidents ; and in some of them the resistance of the patels seems to be mere obstinacy.

It is out of my province to discuss the policy or justice on which this system of taxation is founded ; but I hope it may not be thought either presuming or dogmatical to remark, that it seems not well calculated for any great extension of wealth, enterprise, or intellect ; and that if it keep clear of the very opposite tendency, it is all that can be said for it. Still more vain is it to look amongst a

people so taxed for any increased consumption of our articles of commerce. If we take all their surplus in the *shape of revenue, we can scarcely expect that they * 367 will purchase our broad-cloth or our cutlery.

On the details of the system perhaps freer observation may be hazarded. One great fault in the collection is, that it is altogether calculated for the ease of the collector, without the smallest regard to that of the ryat: he is called upon to make good a *veera* (instalment) at a time when it is morally certain he has not a rupee either of money or of produce; and the necessary consequence is, his being obliged to borrow at an interest, always heavy, sometimes absolutely ruinous. I am acquainted with one village, previously in a state of ruin from the rapine of the *Mahrattas*, that was obliged to pay 4 per cent. per mensem for a loan of this kind. The ryat is also vexatiously, and I would fain hope unnecessarily, restricted in the management of his little farm: he cannot cut down his crop, when it is ripe, without a note of permission from the collector, for which he has perhaps twenty or thirty miles to go, and which is refused him if his last *veera* be not paid up. I once knew some hundred loads of grass suffered to rot in the rain for want of this permission. When his crop is taken into the *kullee*, no part of it is allowed to be taken out until the Government demand is satisfied; and he is then driven to the alternative of either again borrowing at heavy interest, or of making a bargain with the *Bunyas* (who are always at hand on these occasions) at the greatest possible disadvantage, as the whole produce of the lands is thus brought into the market at once, the seller having no power of withholding his goods until an advance in the market-price should tempt him to bring them forward. One source of fair gain to the prudent calculating farmer is thus completely cut off, and he is very sensible of it. I do not think 2 rupees per *kulsee* (640 lbs.), on grain of all sorts, is an extravagant estimate of the loss thus sustained. Another grievance, though of less amount, is the frequent visits which the *patels* and others are called upon to make to the *kutcherry*, without the slightest consideration of the incon-

venience or loss they must sustain by it. The expense of the patels at the sudder (chief station) on one hand, and the batta of the sepoys who are sent to call them on the other, are defrayed by the * village; and the poorer a place is, the oftener it is subjected to these further impoverishments, * 368 its deficiencies in the payment of revenue being necessarily of more frequent occurrence.

The collectors will reply, and not without strong appearance of good grounds for their reasoning, That the improvidence in all, and the fraudulent disposition of many of the patels and ryats, render these precautionary measures, vexatious as they appear, absolutely necessary to the realization of the revenue : that if these men once got hold of the price of their produce, they would spend it in marriage-feasts ; and that the detention of the produce itself in the kullee is the only security the collector has, or can have, that they shall fulfil the engagements of their jumabundee.—Some are represented as so determinedly adverse to paying the just demands on them, either public or private, that they will shuffle to the very last, though conscious that at last they must comply, and that their delay involves them in trouble, expense, and disgrace.

As matters now stand, I believe that the last paragraph contains a representation, not much exaggerated, of the relation that subsists between the collector and the ryat or patel, and may be taken as a proof of how much easier it is to go wrong than to recover the right path when lost. This relation will not alter, as long as the criterion of a collector's merit is the quantity of money he can contrive to squeeze from the patel. Taxation is thus kept always at a maximum ; the ryat loses all habit of feeling an interest in any part of his gains, except that which is out of the collector's power by being spent, and improvidence becomes an established part of his character. As to his dishonesty, if he be treated in advance as one who is not to be trusted, it is scarcely fair to expect from him much spirit of honour or honesty : nothing, I imagine, can be more adverse to that spirit than the state of a perpetually dunned debtor ; and, descending to individual cases, I believe it will be

found, with few exceptions, that hopeless poverty, wasteful improvidence, and want of honest principle, following at first in certain succession, quickly combine to debase the character, so as to render it a matter of great difficulty to know on what quarter to commence an attempt at amending it.

*In order to make an estimate of the standard of probity
* 369 which it is fair to expect from the inhabitants of the

district now under consideration, it will be right to consider the condition they have just emerged from under the government of the Mahrattas; which during its latter years appears to have been conducted in a manner more resembling the treatment of plunderers in temporary inroads, than the methods of a state looking for a perpetual revenue.

A nominal assessment was, I believe, made on each village; but whether this was exorbitant or moderate, was of no eventual consequence whatever; for the practice was to take *all*, to make a clean sweep of the contents of the kullee, of the produce of the alienated lands as well as the Government ones: private effects were seized on besides, whenever they were met with: men supposed to be in possession of wealth were tortured until they discovered it; and many attempted to save themselves by informing against their neighbours, who in return retaliated on their betrayers. The gold and silver ornaments, in which a Hindoo of substance is so fond of bedecking his wife and children, and in which they seem always to have been in the habit of vesting their superfluous capital, were only preserved when concealed; if worn, they were either seized, or the possessor was visited with some vexatious fine that obliged him to part with them. I am acquainted with one instance in which, at a marriage in the family of the chief Patel of one of the principal villages in the Pergunna, which took place the year after we got possession, he was obliged to hire the use of these ornaments from the Surrafs at Jumboosur. The summary proceedings of the Mahrattas did not exempt the devoted village from the claims of the Grasias for the rent of their lands; which indeed the Patels, had any thing been left to them, would have been most willing to pay, but they were

stripped; and the Grasia, in his usual mode of enforcing a demand or revenging a disappointment, often set fire to the village or murdered the Patel.

That such a system could only have existed for a few years requires no evidence; and I know not whether to attribute its having existed at *all to the personal character *370 of the Soubadar (Trimbuckjee Dainglia), or to the policy of the Peshwa's court, which might demand the utmost acquirable present sum for immediate purposes, without regard to consequences. What these consequences were, it is not difficult to conjecture; the plainest, and the most certainly remediable, is the desertion of villages and their consequent dilapidation, the lands more or less running into waste. The neighbourhood of the Baroda and Broach Pergunnas, as it rendered this flight tolerably easy, has also assured a speedy return of the deserters since our occupancy. This has already taken place to a degree very flattering to the character of the British Government; but in some villages the whole wealth and well-being of the community have been so utterly crushed as to afford yet no sign of rising, and several years of very tender dealing will be required to ensure their recovery.

The next great consequence of this system of destruction to which I would more particularly allude, and the remedy of which is much less obvious and probably much more distant, is the organization of deceit and dishonesty which it has established, as the only defence the subjects had against their masters. As all property not concealed was seized on, concealment became a matter of necessity, if not a duty; and the carrying off and secreting produce from the fields, stealing from their own kullees, &c., were universal practices, and have not yet subsided. The evil, however, went still further; the Patels, finding themselves plundered by their masters, on the undisguised plea of greater force, carried the principle a step lower, and robbed the ryats without mercy; if these did not again plunder each other, it was because there was nothing left to take, for all idea of exclusive property was gone. I state this on the general confession of people of

all ranks with whom I have conversed†. The lands of

* the village establishment (Wuswaya) were in many instances seized by the Patels, who still insisted on the performance of the usual services; and the poor Wuswaya were necessarily driven to robbery for their subsistence. I am acquainted with one village where the Patels not only took themselves all the lands of the Dhers, but further made them pay a tax for permission to weave at the village.

The want of all regard to truth entailed by this woeful course of policy subsists yet in its full force, particularly in every transaction that directly or indirectly can be supposed to be connected with the Government business. Thieving does not appear to be a vice of so easy naturalization; for I do not perceive that those predatory practices prevail now, except amongst certain classes in which they are professional.

VILLAGE ESTABLISHMENT, OR WUSWAYA.

In every complete village there is at least one professor of each of a certain number of the trades most necessary to agricultural life, and of other defined offices, to whose services each cultivating member of the community has a right to a certain extent gratis, and for which services each of these officers has a portion of free land (Pusaeta), of generally from three to five koombas.

The following are the usual members of this establishment in this district: the list will be found to differ somewhat from that given in Colonel Wilks's *History of the Mysore*.

1. *Sotar*, the carpenter—who repairs carts and ploughs, but is, I believe, paid a small allowance of grain for building houses, making bedsteads, spinning-wheels, &c.‡

† I have observed, that whenever a case of peculiar atrocity was related, the principal actor, or author, was a Brahmin:—more hard-heartedness, more shameless robbery, more torture, more murder from a Brahmin than from any other description of man!—He seems to be inaccessible to the common workings of humanity, and to be cased in the very worst form of pride.

‡ Cutting logs is not the only purpose to which the adze of the sotar is applied. The surgeon of the Survey once, on coming to a village, was consulted

2. *Lohar*, the smith—whose work is regulated in a similar manner.

*3. *Hujam Nall*, or *Wulund*, the barber—who, besides his professional employments, is also the link-boy, * 372 as well for travellers as on all village festivals. The old union of the professions of barber and surgeon obtains even here; and the barber's wife is the village midwife.

4. *Koomar*, the potter—a very important, and apparently a very hard-worked officer. He makes all the pots and all the tiles used in the village. His additional occasional duty is, to supply travellers with all the water they require, and to bring to them the milk, butter, &c., which it would be disgraceful that a Dher should touch. The Patels, when on business in the fields, frequently make the koomar attend them with water. An establishment of asses for bringing earth to his kiln, always forms part of the koomar's family.

5. *Koseca*, drawer of water from the well, for the cattle, after the tank is dry. His land-payment is not so universal as that of the four preceding officers: and the remark may be extended to the two following:

6. *Durzee*, or *Soee*, the tailor;

7. *Dhobee*, the washerman.

8. *Brahmun*, the priest, for the performance of religious ceremonies, amongst which is included the declaration of the proper seasons and fortunate days for the various operations of husbandry.

9. *Bhat* or *Bharot*.—As this officer is most certainly to be found in villages which are, or have been, in the hands of Rajpoots, it is most probable that his specific duties were, to act as family registrar, and to recite the titles and praises of the tribe or individual to whom he was attached: in this way some of them are still employed at weddings, and other festivals. But the *bharot's* village office is now of a very different and somewhat singular nature: he is the security of the Patel in all his

respecting a boy whose arm was in a highly diseased state: amputation was recommended and agreed to, but it was some time before it was settled in the village assembly whether the doctor or the sotar should be the operator.

public transactions, and it would almost seem that the Patel has a right to call on him for that purpose. It is not his property that is to answer in case of failure, for in that light no one would accept him for 50 rupees; but the security rests solely on the sanctity of his profession, derived, I imagine, from the nature of his original employment. If the engagement for

* which he is surety be not fulfilled, he puts to death
 * 373 some old woman or child of his family, the former of whom offer themselves readily on these occasions; and the blood of the sacred victim is on the head of the defaulter. The dread of incurring so tremendous a responsibility has afforded a powerful hold on the minds of the most uncivilized tribes in the most lawless times: and perhaps it is under the more ignorant superstition of such people and times that the impression is likely to be strongest. Bharots are at this day not unfrequently securities for Bheels, that they shall not plunder on certain roads.

Sound Hindoo lawyers declare, that these practices are entirely unsupported by the letter or spirit of the Hindoo code, and that they are the mischievous growth of disorderly government; but this is no more than might be said of fifty other customs sanctioned by daily use.

The British authorities seem practically fluctuating between the necessary disapprobation of the principle on which this security is founded, and unwillingness to relinquish it, for want of a substitute†.

10. *Burtuncea* or *Tulouria*, the watchman.—Four to ten are attached to each village: they are employed night and day during the time that crops are on the ground or in the kullee. They are the guards to travellers, or to the Patels or others proceeding on public business. Sometimes they are sent to considerable distances as messengers. Their common arms are bow and arrows; but in the villages on the frontier, exposed to the Myhee Koolees, they carry swords, and are expert in the use of them. In general they are Bheels, apparently lately

† Government has since directed that it shall not be employed in its concerns.

introduced from the hills, and carry more appearance of poverty, misery, and hunger than any other members of the community. It is quite impossible that they can cultivate the land allowed to them in payment of their duties: they have neither time nor capital, and they take whatever the Patel chooses to give them for it. It is generally understood that they as certainly rob other villages as they faithfully guard their own.

11. * *Wagreea*, an officer for whom no adequate English name occurs to me, unless it be rat-catcher, *374 and who is not to be found as one of the regular establishment in the districts to the southward. Besides destroying noxious animals, his specific duty is said to be, to carry the baggage and perform other services for travelling Brahmins and Hindoos of caste, to whom it would be defilement to have their things touched by a Dher. He also attends on the Patels, cowdungs the kullee, &c. They, as well as the unprovisioned part of their fraternity, are professional poachers, and will catch and kill all sorts of animals. The beautiful and almost sacred peacock is, I know, fair game to them; but I am told that they will not injure the not more beautiful, and far more injurious animal, the deer. Of the truth of this, however, I doubt, and rather believe that for a sufficient reward a *Wagreea* would not spare a cow. They are very expert in catching animals, and are otherwise a harmless class.

12. *Dher* (in Mahratta, *Mar*), the public and general labourers.—In the villages they perform all kinds of dirty offices; and it is their duty to carry the baggage of travellers to the next village, but no further †. From eight to ten families of them are to be found at every good village: their houses are always completely separate from the rest of the

† In villages on great roads this duty is a most galling incumbrance; and the poor Dhers, male and female, are kept going backwards and forwards, at certain seasons, during the whole day. If the number of Dher families be small, and the distances considerable, it becomes intolerable, and they desert, the village losing the benefit of their services altogether. In villages so situated, every Dher pressed to carry baggage should be paid a fair rate for his labour: at present he gets nothing but blows and abuse.

village, and often outside the inclosure altogether. I have spoken more fully of them in another place.

13. *Bungheca*, the sweeper, particularly of filth: but to this a multiplicity of other duties are superadded, which render him one of the most useful though the most debased officer in the village. He is the general guide from one village to another; he is the common crier, and deliverer of messages from the Patel to the ryats: he is the public letter-carrier.

*When a traveller stops at a village, it is his duty to * 375 point out the place of alighting, to inquire his wants, and to give warning to all those functionaries whose attendance or supplies are required. From the variety of his occupations, and his communication with strangers, he frequently becomes the most intelligent man in the village, and is not unfrequently the only one who can speak Hindoostanee. He is also one of those who cannot possibly cultivate their pusaeta, for want of time.

14. *Kalpa*, the skinner.—He skins the cattle that die, and prepares the leather. He is generally a most miserable out-cast.

15. *Mochee*, the shoemaker and saddler.—Though apparently a useful and necessary officer, he is not always paid by Government land.

The following, though regular members of the village community, are not, as seems to be the case in Southern India, remunerated for their services by a portion of tax-free land.

16. *Patel*, the chief man, headborough.—When paid at all, it is by an annual salary in money, charged to the ryats in the accounts of the village; but much more frequently he is left to pay himself as he can in the management of the funds and lands of the village.

17. *Tulatee*, the village accountant.—Always paid an annual salary, charged in the usual accounts against the cultivators. I am not certain whether Colonel Wilks's Putwaree or Canongoe be the Tulatee or the Mujmoodar of these districts: if the latter, he is here not the exclusive officer of one village, but of

a small canton. He can scarcely be called an officer of the village republic, but is rather an agent of the Sirkar against that republic. We also intend that the Tulatee should be on the same side; but he is generally strong in the interest of the village, or rather of the Patel.

18. *Sonee*, the goldsmith.†—Invariably, I believe, paid by those who *employ him. The *sonee's* roguery * 376 is proverbial : some of them are expert coiners.

† The extent to which the goldsmith is employed will be very imperfectly understood by those who merely advert to the small quantity of gold or silver to be found in the shape of ornaments on the women and children in our English country villages. In Guzerat none but the very lowest of the poor are without them; all savings are vested in them; most penurious savings are made to acquire them; and I have often seen a child, of a family whose whole annual expenditure did not amount to 50 rupees, decked in ornaments whose value could not be less than three times that sum. Independently of the natural passion of the sex for finery, I think two probable causes may be adduced for the prevalence of this taste:—

1. The difficulty of otherwise vesting savings; only two other modes present themselves to the limited sphere of the villager—lending or hoarding: the former, though offering great profits, is very troublesome, and, except to practised usurers, not very safe, as the principal is seldom or never recovered without a vigorous pursuit: in hoarding, they are exposed to the temptation of breaking in upon the stock on every trifling want.

2. Occasions in which a point of honour requires that they should lavish sums out of all moderate proportion to their income occur to all; such particularly are the marriages of their children: a family possessing a good stock of these ornaments finds no difficulty in raising that necessary sum, commonly on its mere credit, or, at all events, by pledging them. They also perform the same good service during temporary pressure from sickness or other misfortune. The pledgers, in all cases, struggle hard to redeem them as soon as possible.

It is most probable that female ornaments constituted the principal part of the enormous booty which every invader of India, from Mahmood of Ghizni down to the modern Pindaree, is said to have carried off.

* The following Account of "VILLAGE EXPENSES" of
 * 377 one of the principal villages (which is also a seaport) of
 the Jumboosur Pergunna, will throw considerable light
 on many village customs. These expenses are added in the
 gross to the revenue paid to Government, and other discharged
 claims; and the whole is levied on the cultivators, in propor-
 tion to their respective quotas of land.

| | Rs. | gr. | a. |
|--|-----|-----|----|
| Batta to two Sepoys who came to strike the Mahratta flag†... 0 | 2 | 0 | |
| To a Sepoy who brought a Hookm Namch (an order) | 0 | 0 | 3¼ |
| To butter for Signor A. Sahib‡ | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| To butter and milk for Signor | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Charity on the 12th after the full moon of Shrawun..... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Charity to Byraghee Jy Kursun of the village | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Paper and ink | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Charity placed on the Pothee or Shastur § | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Butter for troops from Baroda | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Eggs to ditto | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Ditto, ditto | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Charity to a Syud on the 4th after the full moon of Asun ... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Hire of forage for troops..... | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| To a grain-dealer who had come from Bareda and had lost his cow at the village | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| To the expense of spare bullocks sent with the carts of a detachment to Baroda | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Boota (a coarse grain) given to a poor Bunghee..... | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Charity to a Syud | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Murda's dustoor (fee)¶..... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| * 378 * To a Sepoy | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To a Brahmin of Dewula, who brought a Kunkotree† | 0 | 1 | 0 |

† Batta, or bhata, is a sort of travelling charges paid to servants, public or private, when absent from their homes on duty.

‡ A gentleman on duty at the village, whose servants had neglected to pay for his breakfast, which is therefore charged against the whole village.

§ Charity is given to Brahmuns who read the Shasturs, by placing it on the book, instead of delivering it into the hand.

|| This was given to silence the owner of the cow, and prevent his charging the village with theft.

¶ Murda was a kind of head Sepoy in the Mahratta time: his fee seems to have been continued in the first year of our administration.

† Kunkotree is the invitation card to a wedding; it is written on paper stained

| | <i>Rs.</i> | <i>qr.</i> | <i>a.</i> |
|---|------------|------------|-----------|
| Foujdar's Kunkotree: 13th after new moon of Phalgun..... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| To a Gosaiyn | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| To a Runchorjee Brahmin | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To a Syud | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To two Syuds on the 13th after the full moon of Phalgun ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a mun of wheat for a Syud..... | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| To a Byraghee of Dolee Kooce | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| To a Brahmin who hung up his cloth and remained sitting † | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Sepoy's Batta: second after new moon of Cheytur | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| To Mullarees and Wanschurhes ‡ | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| To Kalpa (leather-dresser), for making a pair of shoes..... | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Phut Pugree, given to the son of Brahmin Tooljoram on the twelfth day after his father's decease § | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Patel's victuals at Jumboosur | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| To a Burtuneca who took Government money to Jumboosur. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| To a Syud of Veerpoor: tenth after new moon of Cheytur... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Grass to a stranger | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| To a Sepoy who came to call the Tulatee..... | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| To a Tooroo of Bowyas ¶ | 7 | 2 | 0 |

with red spots, or on higher occasions with gold spots. The messenger is a poor Brahmin, or, if he is not to be had, the village barber.

† Not an uncommon mode of extorting money. The beggar, who must be a person of some sanctity, hangs up his cloth on a bush, sits down near it, and declares that he will remain there without eating or drinking until a certain sum be paid to him. The rupee on this occasion may be esteemed a cheap bargain.

‡ Mullarees and Wanschurhes are tumblers and rope-dancers. Whenever a gang of these come to a village in good circumstances, there is an exhibition under the patronage of the Patels, and at the public expense.

§ Phut Pugree is a turban given to the heir of a person lately deceased, as a return for his having asked the head people of the village to his feast. It is generally a money-payment.

|| Whenever the Patels visit the station of the collector or magistrate on public business, their expenses are charged to the village. This is a constant source of imposition, every journey of the Patels on their private concerns being brought into the account.

¶ A Tooroo of Bowyas is a set of travelling mimes or actors, all males. There is a good deal of humour and variety mixed with much indecency in their performances: there are always a few handsome boys in the troop, who act and dance the female parts. The performance is in the centre of the village, and lasts during the whole night by torch-light. The women of the village are not admitted to these entertainments, of which the men are extravagantly fond. The performers are paid as they proceed.

| | Rs. | qr. | α. |
|--|-----|-----|----|
| * To two Sepoys' Batta | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| * 379 To one do do. | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| The price of a loogra (thick cloth worn round the waist) | | | |
| given to a Gosaiyn | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Toour (<i>Cytisus Cajan</i>) used in making bread for the village dogs† | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Money expended on the 11th after full moon of Cheytur | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Naga (I imagine a naked) Gosaiyn | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Money expended by the Patels | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To two Tooroos of Mullas, or wrestlers | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| Patel Raojee Mahomed's expenses in taking money to the Collector's Kutcherry at Jumboosur..... | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| To a Burtuneca who accompanied the above | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| To the Meers of Dewula; second after the full moon of Wysakh‡ | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| To Sepoy Moorteeza Tuhseeldar§ | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| To four wandering Gosaiyns | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| To a Brahmin: eighth after new moon of Wysakh..... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To Bapoo Josce on the same occasion | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To wheat for two Faquers | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Expense of a Grasia's Kunkotreca..... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Sepoy Hashim Tuhseeldar¶ | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| * Hashim Tuhseeldar: eleventh after new moon of | | | |
| * 380 Wysakh | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Lalbaee of Guveer's Kunkotreca..... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Dhurmada, or charitable allowance to a Syud | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Patel Raojee Mahomed, carrying money to the Kutcherry ... | 0 | 2 | 0 |

† Dogs, which are very numerous, and utterly useless, never are private property. The charge for publicly feeding them may be taken as a proof of the village being in easy circumstances; a poor village would give them all the offal, but no money. Parsees feed all dogs.

‡ Meers are Mussulman singers. They accompany themselves on a long guitar, and chaunt Persian odes, amatory or heroic, with more emphasis and gesticulation than melody. They usually sing in pairs.

§ A Tuhseeldar is a person sent to the village by the collector to enforce the collection when that is in arrear. As the village is obliged to bear his expenses, the settlement is generally a little hastened by this expedient.

|| Josce is an astrologer, and his art was probably referred to on this occasion.

¶ These seem to be Mussulmans of sanctity and respectability, who make a sort of circuit of visitation to the Mussulman inhabitants of certain villages, to examine into their faith and morals: for this duty they accept presents, which in many places have assumed the form of a stated allowance.

| | <i>Rs.</i> | <i>gr.</i> | <i>a.</i> |
|---|------------|------------|-----------|
| Annual allowance to Meea Sahib of Cambay | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Do. do. to Meea Sahib of Randeer | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To two Tooroos of Mullahs (wrestlers)..... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Byraghee | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Oil supplied to Bowyas..... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Bhat Bheekhut (rice to beggars), on the fifth after full moon of Wysakh | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Wutao (exchange) on 175 Baroda rupees | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Raojee Mahomed at Jumboosur (probably with money) | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| A Burtuncea, at the same time | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| To the joint expenses of all the Patels at Jumboosur† | 29 | 0 | 0 |
| A Pugree given to Bhaw Sunkur‡ | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Mangoes for the Patels..... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Two Sepoys' Batta | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| A Pugree given to Qomed Bhanjee | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Two Tuhseeldars' Batta at different times§ | 6 | 1 | 0½ |
| To three Bharotes (see the " Village Establishment") | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Syud | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Sepoy's Batta : thirteenth after full moon of Wysakh | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Wutao (Exchange) on Rupees..... | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| Mangoes for the Patels | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Tuhseeldar | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Patel Raojee's expenses at Jumboosur | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Tulatee's do. do. | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Modeo's (grain-dealer's) do. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Exchange on Rupees under value | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Cart-hire | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Three muns of Wheat given to a Dherinee (female Dher)..... | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| *To a troop of Gosaiyins, on the first of the new moon | | | |
| * 381 of Jeth | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To——(this charge is illegible) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Mahadoo Byraghee | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Tuhseeldar's Batta | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Expenses of sending some money received for cotton to Jumboosur | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To a Syud | 0 | 1 | 0 |

† There are, I believe, twelve Patels,—Brahmins, Borahs, and Koolees : the two latter most probably indulged themselves on this occasion.

‡ The managing Patels make these presents, and the various charitable donations, without at all consulting those who have to pay for them, and assume all the credit of the munificence.

| | Rs. | qr. | a. |
|--|-----|-----|----|
| Cart-hire paid to Nuthoo Eemunjee | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Kulseeda's Phut Pugree | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| Mujmoodar's Dustoor†..... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Furash's do.‡ | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Budulpoor Brahmins: eleventh after new moon of Jeth | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Wanschurhes | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A charge (illegible, but probably a Pugree)..... | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| To the Warun | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Bharota Sujun's Phut Pugree: thirteenth after full moon of Jeth | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Contribution towards the flag at Deojung§ | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Expense incurred at a Choura of the Patels | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To the Thanadar, for expenses incurred by a body of troops. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Sepoy who brought a Hookm Nameh (an order)..... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Sepoy who came afterwards | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Hire of forage to a detachment of troops | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Syud Oomr Meca | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Nullea (Tiles) for the Thamma (the Town Hall) | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| To Tulawecas, Burtunecas, on the seventh after new moon of Akar..... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| A charge (illegible) | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To a Sepoy who came to call the Patels..... | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Kunkotreea from Ante | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Sepoy's Batta: tenth after full moon of Akar | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Expense of the Musjid on account of the Ramzan¶ | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| * To Fuqueers from Mecca, bearers of a message to | | | |
| * 382 warn all Mussulmans to be regular in their religious duties† | 1 | 6 | 0 |

† The Mujmoodar is a very ancient officer, apparently both in Hindoo and Mussulman states. His proper duty seems to be, keeper of records of a given number of villages; for which he generally has a portion of land in each, sometimes a money payment.

‡ The Furash is a Mussulman sweeper: he takes care of the public rooms.

§ This is a pagoda of some note, near the sea. Two or three villages subscribe for a new flag when the old one is worn out.

|| Choura is a general meeting of the village on business. It is also applied (and more correctly) to the open space where the meeting is held.

¶ It appears from this and other charges, that all the religious expenses, whether of Mussulmans or Hindoos, are charged indiscriminately on the cultivators of both persuasions, each contributing to the other.

† Messages of this kind were sent all over the country. The whole is supposed to be a hoax, which originated at Surat.

| | Rs. | gr. | a. |
|---|-----|-----|----|
| Muree Wala Gosaiyn : thirteenth after new moon of Shrawunt† | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Musjid at the Bukree Eed | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Fuqueer | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Funeral of a Veyas† | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Khooshalbaee's Kunkotreea..... | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Lalbaee of Guveer's Chitchee§ | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Placed on the Shastur (Brahmin fee for reading) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Milk | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Hire (of what does not appear) | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Oojanee | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Byraghee's allowance | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To Oomr Meea of the Musjid | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Cost of 5½ kulsees (3680 lbs.) of wheat, given in charity at different times at the Kullee | 81 | 0 | 0 |
| Tulatee's yearly salary..... | 85 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Village Expenses..... | 402 | 3 | 3½ |

* There can be little doubt that these village expenses are the source of considerable influence, and at times of * 383 no small profit, to the Patels. The above, considering that the place contains four or five hundred houses, and is of considerable resort, is not a very extravagant bill. I have

† Muree is a Gosaiyn's house. A Gosaiyn having a house is a Muree Wala ; one who wanders is a Runta Gosaiyn.

‡ Veyas is an inferior Brahmin employed in the services of pagodas. The Veyas in question was a beggar, and his funeral in consequence fell on the village : the expense is not extravagant.

§ Chitchee is the note which contains information of a death in a family, and implies an invitation to join in the mourning and subsequent feasting.

|| Oojanee is a festival which is repeated once in each month during the rains, and at other times when any great calamity is to be deprecated, or its having ceased to be acknowledged with rejoicings. The whole population quits the village, and retires to the neighbouring groves, if there be any, or to the fields. Each family takes out its provisions and cooking utensils ; and a wholesome meal in the open air constitutes the main article of the festival. The women and children are in their best attire ; and the men, on whom the office of cooking seems to fall, have a piece of silk round their loins and thighs, the upper part of the body being naked. The women collect in groups, and seem to amuse themselves more joyously in singing and dancing than on any other occasion. The ordinary Oojanee of the rains seems to be propitiatory of a good season.

known as large a sum charged to a village not one-third the size. Frequently there are violent disputes with the cultivators at the settlement of these accounts, which undergo a sort of annual audit; but if all the Patels agree, they are sure to carry their point. The Tulatee, or village accountant, gives security to the amount of 250 rupees that he will not insert into his books any other than the expenses authorized by Government, which are very few; but the Tulatees are a stupid body of people altogether under the influence of the Patels, with whom they will, and do on all occasions, combine to mislead the Government on the one hand, and defraud the ryats on the other. The absolute forfeiture of a few of these recognizances would, I think, be productive of good effect. The term "Grasia" occurs frequently in the above sheets unexplained, as I hoped to be able, in a separate section, to give a full account of the singular body (not caste) to which it is applied; I now find my information too defective, both as to extent and authority, to allow of my bringing it forward. I hope this omission may be supplied by some one of the many gentlemen in Guzerat who are perfectly qualified by their acquaintance with the subject.

It would be unpardonable to close this paper without some observations on the subject with which I ought to be most familiar—the diseases of this part of Guzerat. They are not very numerous, but some of them are very prevalent.

The malady which may be termed the endemic of the country is quartan fever, either in its commencement depending on, or sooner or later leading to, diseased spleen, with induration and greater or less enlargement. This complaint often commences so early in life as the third or fourth year, and in very many cases recurs, if unchecked, regularly and annually for four or five months (from October to February). Though not rapidly or even very frequently fatal, it is sure to undermine the constitution. The sufferers are easily distinguishable by
 * 384 the imperfect development of their limbs, the languor of their movements, their incapacity of all heavy labour, and a remarkable yellowness of complexion (as contrasted with

the bright brown of health), accompanied by a slight puffiness of the cheek, particularly that part immediately below the eyelid. The time of life during which this disease exhibits its severest effects on the frame is from about the twelfth to the twenty-second year; after that period the powers of manhood seem to make a better resistance, and the body gradually acquires more of the form and firmness of healthy growth: but the recovery is very seldom complete; the patient is for life indolent and weakly, and as he grows older his powers of digestion fail him, and are unequal to supply the body with necessary nourishment; he becomes an old man, and dies, eight or ten years before his natural period. In some cases the enlargement of the spleen is enormous, filling the whole abdomen with a mass as hard as a board; such cases not unfrequently end in dropsy; but I have sometimes seen a considerable diminution of this mass take place during the hot months, and it has not again increased. I never met with a single case of the spleen either suppurating or ulcerating.

This disease is supposed to be most prevalent where the natural springs of the country are nearest the surface, but no place seems exempt; and I do not think I exaggerate in estimating the proportion suffering under it at one-eighth of the whole male population; the number of females affected is certainly much less, perhaps not more than one-twentieth of the whole sex.

I am not acquainted with any medicine, or course of medicine, on which the least reliance can be placed in those diseases of the spleen, though sometimes I have known them recover spontaneously. As to the febrile part of the malady, it is fortunately the very reverse: no article of the *Materia Medica* has so much claim to the title of specific in a particular disease, as the Peruvian bark in the quartan fever of the native population of Guzerat. I have administered it in at least a thousand cases, in some of which the disease was of thirty years' standing; and the number of failures has been altogether insignificant. The treatment was as simple as possible: On the morning after an attack the patient had a brisk purge; early on * 385 the succeeding day he commenced with the bark, and, if

possible, about seven doses (of one drachm each) were given on that day; on the next day, being that of the expected return of the paroxysm, the bark was repeated four or five times (making in the whole about $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of the drug) up to the usual hour of the attack, which is almost as regularly as the dial points three or half-past three o'clock. In seven cases out of eight the fever did not appear, and came no more; in the remainder it recurred, but with its force evidently broken, and another round of the bark, given with the same regard to the time of the next expected return, completely overcame it. The cases which resisted this treatment were not one in fifty, and were probably complicated with other visceral disease.

It is plain that the natives, at least of this part of India, have no remedy for this fever at all comparable to the Peruvian bark: they considered my success as magical, and patients came to me from distances of 100 miles, who had laboured under the disease during half their lives.

The tertian fever is perhaps the next most common malady, and seems to be almost always connected with disorder of some internal organ, not unfrequently of the liver. It is not nearly so liable to become an habitual complaint as the former, and seldom assumes that steady regularity of form and recurrence; neither is it so certainly curable by the bark; some cases require the previous exhibition of calomel in small doses, and others are greatly benefitted by repeated purging, after which the bark generally completes the cure.

Another not uncommon form of fever is a bilious remittent, occurring chiefly in the hot weather immediately preceding the rains, when the thermometer in the shade rises daily to about 106° of Fahrenheit, and in the sunshine to at least 130° . This disease, particularly in young and healthy subjects, sometimes attacks very violently with burning skin, high pulse, great pain of the head, and oppressed, sobbing breathing. In general it is subdued, without much difficulty, by assiduous purging and the ordinary cooling regimen of fever; but

*386 I have in every season met * with cases that seemed absolutely to require the use of the lancet, and which I

apprehend must have proved fatal without it. As this remedy is scarcely ever resorted to by the village natives in their rude practice, I believe deaths occur annually from this disease.

Rheumatism, in all its varieties except the very acute, is a very common Guzerat malady, particularly in the female sex. It is just as intractable as in other parts of the world: strong stimulant frictions perhaps afford relief.

The leprosy of the Arabs (*elephantiasis* of the Greeks) is not uncommon in this district; most villages of 100 houses contain two or three cases. It is not here considered as hereditary, and certainly is not contagious; nor has it the effect of depraving the general functions of life in the manner so universally ascribed to it. Men labouring under it in the most distinct form continue to live with their families, and to perform their various offices exactly as before, procreation not excepted. I have only met with four or five cases of it in children, and these were of the poorest and most neglected classes. In general the patients are, when first attacked, between their twenty-fifth and thirtieth years, and at least four in five are males. I have, in a few instances, encountered it at its very birth, when it is an inflammatory disease, to be cured by bleeding and purging; but this period is short, often, I believe, unnoticed, and soon succeeded by those deformities and morbid alteration of structure so well described in Dr. Adams's work on morbid poisons. I am not sure that I have anywhere seen noticed a singular fragility of the bones of the fingers and toes in the active stages of this disease. A man fractured a toe in the act of pulling it aside to show me an ulcer between it and the adjoining; and a woman, who in coming up to me struck her great toe against the short stump of a stalk of jooar, fractured it right across the first phalanx. The principal complaint of the sufferers under the malady is of an unceasing sensation of heat throughout every part of the body, particularly the soles of the feet, whence the lower ranks generally term the disease "gurmeë," which merely signifies heat; its more
 * 387 distinctive appellation is "rugut pittee," which seems to imply bilious blood. I was at first in the habit * of

treating this disease with arsenic, either in some of the various forms of the native prescriptions, or in the more convenient one of Fowler's solution; but with me this practice was totally unsuccessful, if not something worse. I then had recourse to nitric acid, and with a success far surpassing my hopes. I think I may state the extent of my practice at 200 cases, of which all, or nearly all, the lighter ones, amounting to about one-third of the whole, were cured. Of another third, in which, besides the usual roughness and insensibility of the skin, destructive ulcerations, with loss of parts, and the characteristic deformities of the visage, had proceeded to a considerable height, the ulcers in nearly all were gradually and firmly healed, the skin of the body recovered its natural texture and feeling, and the stinging heat was no more complained of; the tubercles of the face, and particularly of the ears, were much more obstinate; but even in this class of symptoms surprising amendments sometimes took place. In the remaining third, principally cases of from 15 to 30 years' continuance, little more was effected than considerable relief to the annoying and perpetual sensation of heat. A drachm of the acid was prescribed daily, in a pint, or a pint and a half of water, to be drunk at intervals. In the successful cases the relief became apparent in about ten days; but it required from one to two, or even three, months to establish the cure; and during these periods the patients willingly followed me in all my removals. Of by far the greater number I saw or heard no more after the cure; but I met with some of them nearly two years afterwards, and they had not suffered any relapse. This, though chiefly a disease of the ill-fed poor, is not exclusively so: I have met with it in the better ranks of native life.

There is in Guzerat a chronic disease very incident, and ultimately fatal, to men past the meridian of life, principally those who have been of irregular habits, to which I recollect nothing very analogous in European nosology. It seems to consist in a slow inflammation of the small intestines, and is marked by a constant dull pain and sense of distention in that part, impaired digestion, want of sleep, and gradually increasing emaciation;

the skin of the belly loses its connexion with the parts beneath and hangs in wrinkles, while the muscles and their tendons are in * a state of most unnatural hardness; there is no fever, nor does any other viscus appear to be diseased. * 388 This complaint generally continues slowly increasing for four or five years, or even a longer term; but eventually the patient dies emaciated. Formidable as this complaint appears, it is not difficult of cure; small doses of blue pill, combined with antimonial powder and rhubarb, using at the same time daily frictions with warm castor oil, and guarding the body against the effects of cold and moisture, effect a cure, in a great majority of the cases, in 12 or 14 days. It is a misfortune attending this practice, that it often and suddenly brings on salivation, which is not at all necessary to the cure, and is always to be regretted when it occurs to a native.

Diseases of the eyes are exceedingly common amongst these people, and chiefly in the female sex. Were I to describe all the disorders of this organ which daily came under my notice and care for three years, and the treatment pursued, I must write a complete treatise on the duties of the oculist, who would here find ample practice for every branch of his art. The relief I was able to afford to these subjects was most gratefully received, as by far the greater number were without chance of cure in the ordinary native practice, and blindness is the general termination. There is a clumsy operation in use for the depression of cataract, which certainly sometimes succeeds, but quite as often destroys the eye.

I have seen it stated, and on very high authority, that the disease of stone in the bladder does not exist within the tropics. My experience stands somewhat in opposition to this statement. In this and the neighbouring Pergunnas, during three years, I met with seven indisputable cases of stone; and there was in one of those years an itinerant lithotomist in the country, whom, however, I did not meet with: three of the patients were resident at the same time in three adjacent villages, situated on the same elevated ridge, a little south of the Nurbudda; one was an old man of 84, another a child of 4 years old, and all

were perfectly aware of the nature of the complaint, which has a distinct name in the provincial dialect. Of the closely allied disease of gravel, cases are not at all uncommon.

* Diseases of the liver, which occupy so conspicuous a
* 389 place in the list of maladies incident to Europeans resident in India, and even to the native troops, who have lost much of their primitive civil habits, are not of frequent occurrence in the native population; if compared with diseases of the spleen, the latter are at least ten times as numerous. Of the acute hepatitis, I am not sure that I ever met with one case in this description of people; and the chronic, except those connected with tertian fever, and curable with it, have been chiefly in low, debauched Mussulmans, and have commonly terminated fatally, either in dropsy or abscess. Of this form of the disease I do not now recollect a single instance in a Hindoo of the abstinent tribes.

The more severe pectoral diseases are of comparatively very rare occurrence. The acute forms of pneumonia are nearly unknown; and the cases of pulmonary consumption, when compared with what might be expected in an equal number of British inhabitants, are not in a proportion of one to twenty. When the disease does occur, the constitution seems to lose all power of resistance, and the whole duration of the malady is only three or four weeks. Spasmodic asthma is perhaps of similar frequency to what it is in England; and the chronic catarrh of advanced life, with its attendant habitual dyspnoea, is very common, particularly amongst the lowest classes, whose frail dwellings and scanty raiment afford but miserable protection against the inclemency of the seasons.

Dropsies are rare; and, as they scarcely occur but in constitutions otherwise much diseased, they are generally fatal. There is one species of dropsy incident to girls from 10 to 12 years old, which seems to be the Indian form of chlorosis, and which is often curable by purgatives, alternated with small doses of mercury and tonics.

No malady generally incident to the native population of India is more deserving of notice than small-pox, whether we

regard the extent of its ravages, or the value of the check which they have received, and may still further receive, by the introduction of vaccination. This contagion seems to make a sweeping visit throughout the country about once in three years; five years are a long and very unusual exemption. At * each visit it is supposed that about two-thirds of all capable * 390 of receiving the infection are attacked, and of the attacked nearly one-half dies; of the other half, a considerable proportion, perhaps one-sixth, is left unfit for the ordinary duties of life, by total or partial loss of eyesight, contractions of joints, incurable ulcers, or mental fatuity. Since the vaccine infection was introduced, in 1812, into the neighbouring Pargunna of Broach, by my predecessor, the small-pox may be said to have altered the habit of its march altogether. It has in that interval appeared twice, and the latter time, very fatally, on the eastern boundary; but it made very little progress throughout the vaccinated villages, and never attained the force of a general contagion. In 1817 and 1818 I revisited the greater number of the villages where vaccination had been effected four or five years before, and made the most accurate inquiries I could regarding the exemption experienced by the vaccinated subjects during the subsequent visits of the epidemic small-pox; I did not hear of a single instance of such a subject having been attacked, though the numbers regarding whom inquiry was made were not below seven thousand. The people seemed not to entertain the slightest doubt of the vaccine affection imparting the same immunity to the constitution as it acquires by one suffering the natural disease itself, though their suspicious reluctance to the introduction of any novelty would have led them loudly to proclaim any failure in the assurances held out to them, had any such occurred.

It is much to be wished that some general plan should be adopted which would ensure to our native village population the benefit of this most important of modern discoveries once in four or five years. We have made them acquainted with its value once, and now leave them just where they were. Such a scheme, to have any effect, must be a Government ordinance,

and at Government's expense : the people are far too indifferent, and too poor, to make any advances in such measures of their own accord.

[NOTE.—For further information about this Parganá, I would refer to Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. III.; Lieut.-Col. M. Williams' Memoir of Broach, pp. 6-9; Mr. C. J. Davies' Report in 1849 (MS.); Mr. N. B. Beyts' Survey and Settlement Report in January 1876 (MS.); and the District Statistical Account, the Bombay Gazetteer, Broach, pp. 296-299, 330-332.—ED.]

* XII.

* 391

TRANSLATION OF A GRANT OF LAND IN THE CONCAN.

[WITH FOUR SHEETS OF INSCRIPTION.]

By Dr. TAYLOR of Bombay.

Read 27th February, 1821.

Camp at Kanapoor, 10th January, 1821.

SIR,

I have the honour to send you a Translation of a Grant for a village in the Concan, by a Raja who reigned at Panalla in the twelfth century.

The original of the Grant is engraved upon three copper plates fastened together by a ring; and the three pasteboards which accompany this are a tolerably correct representation of them. The translation was made by Dr. Taylor, who has had the goodness to permit me to use it as I thought proper.

The plates were lent to me by a Brahmin in Satara some time ago, but he could not be induced to part with them. I endeavoured, with the assistance of some Brahmins, to obtain an explanation of the inscription; but as I do not understand Sanscrit, until it was shown to Dr. Taylor the translation was of course very imperfect. From seeing Tagara repeatedly mentioned in the Grant, and from having read Major Wilford's reasons for supposing the modern Doulutabad to be on the same site as that ancient city, I examined what he says on the subject, and made a few remarks at the time; which, with all due respect for Major Wilford, and the authorities that have followed him, I shall submit for consideration, because it appears to me that the position of Tagara is not proved, and that it was not in the same situation with the ancient Deogurh, or modern Doulutabad.

* Major Wilford states, that according to the author of * 392 the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* Tagara was about ten days' journey to the eastward of another famous mart named Pluthana; that Pluthana was twenty days' journey to the southward of Baroach, and that the road was through the Balaghaut mountains; that Pluthana was, and is, 217 miles southward of Baroach, on the banks of the Godavery; that half-way between Pluthana and Tagara was Paithana, now Puttun; that Raja Salbahan removed the seat of government from Tagara to Puttun, but that it afterwards became the metropolis of Ariaca: as is proved, says Major Wilford, by a grant of some land in the Concan, made by a Raja of Tagara in the 11th century, which grant was presented to the Asiatic Society by General Carnac.

The distance taken by Major Wilford, of 217 British miles if reckoned south-east of Baroach, by the route (long afterwards used even by English merchants) of Nanderbar and Salhere Mulheir, through the Unkyc Tankyc pass, brings us to about Phooltaumba, situated, as Major Wilford describes Pluthana, on the southern bank of the Godavery. All the Hindoo authority, such as it is, agrees in stating, that the modern Pyetun is, as Major Wilford mentions, the capital of the Great Raja Shalwahan, and is situated about five days' journey, or little more than fifty miles, south-east of Phooltaumba.

We may therefore conjecture, that Phooltaumba is the Pluthana mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*; and that Paithana, or Puttun, both of which, the Hindoos say, are corruptions of Prutisthan (or *the capital*), is the modern town of Pyetun, close to Mungy, by which it is distinguished from other Pyetuns, and this perfectly coincides with Major Wilford's remarks: but Doulutabad, the ancient Deogurh, so far from being east of Pyetun, is thirty-five miles due north from that place; consequently the situation of the ancient Tagara remains to be discovered.

At the time of the first Patan invasion of the Deccan, Deogurh was the capital of the tract of country about Doulutabad; but whether it became so by a revolution, or by a voluntary removal

of the seat of government, is unknown. It is probable that Shalwahan's power arose from his hav*ing headed a successful rebellion against the existing government; * 393 but I have never seen Tagara mentioned in any legend respecting Shalwahan. There is no proof of his having first removed the seat of government from Tagara, nor is there reason to suppose that Tagara ever again became the metropolis. The translation of the Grant adduced by Major Wilford merely informs us, that Aricesari-Devaraja, a petty prince of fourteen hundred Concance villages, claimed descent from "Jemutawahana-king-of-the-race-of-Salahara-sovereign-of-the-city-of-Tagara."

Colonel Wilks, Mr. Mill, and *The Edinburgh Review*, have admitted the position of Tagara as fixed at Deogurh, or Doulatabad, on Major Wilford's authority; but a simple reference to the situation of Phooltaumba and Pyetun on the map will clearly show what I have stated.

Tagara, Paithana, and Deogurh or Deogire, seem each to have been the metropolis of the same tract of country at different periods; and it is not improbable but the researches of some of the gentlemen in charge of districts in that part of the country, may discover some grants similar to that from which the accompanying translation is made: some of which might throw great light on the ancient history of the Deccan.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) JAMES GRANT.

To Captain Vans Kennedy,
Secretary to the Literary Society, Bombay.

Translation of the Grant.

1. GLORY be to Vishnu, incarnate in the shape of a boar; who on the point of his right tusk uplifted from the raging ocean the earth redeemed from trouble.

2. In ancient times there was a Vidyadhara† named Jimuta Vahana, who for the sake of another gave his life as a sacrifice to Garuda.

* 3. In the race of Shilahara‡ there were kings, the
* 394 lords of Tagara : of the race was Jatiga Raja, the crested gem of Rajas.

4. Be prosperity ! The son of Jatiga Raja was named Naidna, whose son was Chandra Rat, whose fame was extensive.

His son was called Jatiga Raja, praised amongst men, and fortunate. His son Gokal Raja was chief of the kings of the earth : after whom was

5. Guwel Raja : his brother was Kirti Raja, whose next brother was named Chandra Aditya, who freed his kingdom from paltry foes.

6. The son of Gokal, the cherisher of the world, was Sri Narsingha, whose son was named Sri Guwala, at whose feet sparkled the diadems of kings. His brother was Bhoja dew Raja, who was a lion amongst his elephant enemies : he subdued his paltry foes ; his fame was renowned ; and he was like unto Rawana.

7. His younger brother, whose renown was universal, was Bullal deo, the perpetual lord of wealth and beautiful women. The kings of the earth bowed before him : his might grew up and was known in every region.

8. His younger brother Gandaraditya, being himself virtuous, constrained the (four) tribes of the world to observe their respective duties ; he was the chief amongst heroes, and gave money to the needy.

9. He succoured with eagerness all that were indigent, forsaken, afflicted with disease, and wanderers ; he daily gave private charities ; he bestowed gifts of fresh black antelope skins, cows, lands, and cows with their newly born calves. His mind continually meditated on the Supreme Spirit : he was like the

† A kind of demigod.

‡ Mentioned in the translation of a Grant presented to the Asiatic Society by General Carnac, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 357.

kalpa druma (desire-fulfilling tree) to the gods of the world (brahmins).

10. He performed sacrifices, and gave the tula purush (a statue of iron with eyes of rubies, teeth of diadems, and other precious jewels in different parts), and the fifteen other valuable gifts (as a couch, elephant, &c.). He was pure as the water of the Ganges : by his virtuous disposition his fame is like a mansion.

* 11. His son Vijya Ark Deva was a lion among the elephant Rajas of petty states. He was the one hero in * 395 the three worlds : the foreheads of Rajas his enemies forming his footstool, the splendour of his fame burst forth.

12. He collected wealth only for charitable purposes : he pursued conquests only for the protection of mankind. His agreeable speech contained truth : his mind was steadfast in contemplating the feet of Hari ; his wealth was appropriated to removing the distresses of the learned and the good. Who is the bard capable of celebrating his praise ?

13. He reinstated those Rajas who had been dispossessed of their kingdoms : by his renown he firmly re-established the overthrown Rajas of Goa. The incomparable Vikshana by his alliance acquired the Chakra Warti (or chief empire of the earth) : thus was the Prince Vijya Ark Deva a lion among his enemies of elephants.

14. His son Bhoja Deva, whose renown extends to the furthest boundary of every region, subdues his enemies by the turn of his eyebrow, sustains the load of this world ; the chief of Rajas, his splendour shines forth for ever.

15. He is terrible in the field of battle ; the sound of his war-drum is the destruction of (opposing) princes : the three worlds are filled with his fame ; he removes the three miseries† which afflict mankind. The beloved son of Rutna, like Indra, he imparts happiness to all his attendants : no portion of the earth remains unsubdued by him : may he be victorious !—Be

† Natural diseases, evils inflicted by the gods, and those inflicted by men, or other natural agents.

prosperity. He is well versed in the five holy books [the four Vedas and the Bharata, which is reckoned a fifth Veda]. He is lord of an extensive principality, and chief of the nobles of the city of Tagara, born of the race of Shilahara; he is the moon in the cool season, increasing the joy of the inhabitants of the world. He is the *paree jat* (desire-fulfilling tree), satisfying the desires of the learned. He is descended from Jimuta Vahana, and is a fire consuming the forest-like Rajas his foes. His standard bears the golden eagle; he is eager as a lion to destroy

his intxi*cated elephants of enemies. He is the terror
 * 396 of petty princes, and in destroying them is like Garuda among serpents. He is pure as the stream of the Ganges; he is a young Cupid, creating love in the hearts of beautiful damsels. He is eminent in valour as the lion Vijyaditya Deva, the crested gem among the *Khattris of Morabak Sarp*†; he carrieth off the wealth of hostile Rajas. By rendering the gods subservient to his will, he has become master of his foes‡. He has crossed the ocean of all the Shasters: in form he resembles Narayana; he merits praise universal throughout the world. He is the sun, causing the moon to disappear; by the wind of his victorious flag the hostile cloud of his enemies is dispersed; he is a thunderbolt levelling the mountain-like race of turbulent Rajas, who had subjected the hill-forts. His powerful arm bears the branch of valour from the lords in *(the countries of) Kalinga and Lankusha*. He stops the rapid motions of the Rajas of petty states; is as a lion amongst them, and ravishes from them their wives; he is a millstone grinding the armies of his powerful foes, and destroys his Arsawa enemies, as Maheswara consumed Camadeva; in valour he resembles the lord of Lanka, bruising the cheeks of petty Rajas. He is the sole warrior, and extends protection to those who seek safety at his feet; he is the fire of destruction drinking up the ocean of his enemies. He is delighted with harmonious numbers, and him-

† Dr. Taylor says this is not very clear, and that perhaps Morabak Sarp is the name of the country, or of a particular race of Kshattrus.

‡ In the original this passage is not clear.

self celebrates in verse the praises of Rama, whose name is continually contemplated by Siva: his unfading happiness consists in creating various duties. The goddess Maha Lakshmi having conferred on him her benediction, he shines forth the first of the race of Rajas. Such is Bhoja Deva, the lord of a great kingdom, who, amusing himself with pleasing tales, reigns in the fort of Padma Nala.—On Thursday 4th Asar sood, in the year 1113, named Viradhikrut, at the festival of the sun's southern declination, being solicited by his son, Gundur Aditya Bhoja Deva, to promote his prosperity, (made a grant,) with all its revenue, of the village Kuseli, situated between Atwee * and Kumpun, for the purpose of affording daily food to Brahmins; having (first) poured a stream of water * 397 into the palm of Govind Bhat: — A grant to be respected by all, and not to be violated by any one; let no servant of the Raja even point his finger at it, for it has been granted while the sun and moon endure. The boundaries of the village are: to the east the river Kurul; to the south a watercourse (dry in the fair season) named Santurey; to the west is the sea; and to the north a watercourse (dry in the fair season) named Kikhandika, and extending to Amberwarik, where is a grove of betel-nut trees.

1. Many Sagara Rajas have bestowed gifts of land, and each (was allowed by succeeding Rajas to) enjoy the produce of the land (thus granted).

2 With my closed hands uplifted to my head I beseech the rajas who shall descend from my race, and those who may descend from other races, whose minds may be far from evil, to respect this gift which I have made.

3. He that seizes land which he or another has granted, shall become a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.

4. He who granteth land shall abide in heaven sixty thousand years: he who seizes it, or counsels another to resume it, shall abide in hell for the same number of years.

5. Of all the charities the greatest is the gift of land, which neither disappears nor decays, but produces all things desirable.

6. O thou wise Being! he who giveth land giveth gold, silver, copper, precious stones, and pearls, and every thing.

7. He who bestows a grant of land will attain that (beatitude) which is the reward of those who fall in battle in defence of their leader.

Respect this bridge of benevolence erected in common for all men: this Rama Chandra beseeches again and again of all princes who may reign in future time.

[NOTE.—See Selections from the Bombay Government Records, No. 8, New Series: Statistical Report on Kolhapur, by Major D. C. Graham, Bombay, 1854, pp. 326 to 333; also the inscriptions at pp. 342, 357, 398. From these it appears that the sway of a Śilāhāra dynasty had extended to Kolhāpur and the Southern Marāṭhā Country; and Tagarpur must evidently have been a place somewhere in those parts, instead of in Central or Northern India. Regarding Tagara, reference may also be made to Asiatic Researches, vol. I., pp. 369, 372, 374, and vol. IX., p. 45; Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, vol. VII., p. 153.—Ed.]

REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF MUHAMMAD †.

(SUGGESTED BY VOLTAIRE'S TRAGEDY OF "MAHOMET.")

By Major VANS KENNEDY. *

Read 27th March, 1821.

IN lately perusing the *Cours de Littérature* of La Harpe, my attention was attracted by the praises which he has lavished on the *Mahomet* of Voltaire. It must appear singular, that in the capital of France, so greatly distinguished by its study of Oriental literature, a criticism should be publicly delivered in 1795 which vindicates the gross deviations from history that occur in this Tragedy. "Des critiques (observe La Harpe) apparemment fort zélés pour la mémoire de ce fameux imposteur, se sont plaints avec amertume, et même avec indignation, qu'on lui fit commettre dans la tragédie des crimes dont l'histoire ne l'accuse point—c'est pousser loin le scrupule; n'était il pas ambitieux et hypocrite? avec ce double caractère, de quel crime n'est-on pas capable‡?" I propose, therefore, to consider, whether this accusation is supported by history; and whether there were any peculiar causes, arising from the nature of the Muhammadan religion, which were likely either to impel or to induce the commission of such crimes as are in this tragedy ascribed to Muhammad.

It may, however, be first requisite to consider this piece merely as a tragedy, without reference to the particular cha-

† It may appear objectionable that this name should, in the following Remarks, be written in so many different ways; but quoting from different authors it seemed best to retain their mode of writing it in the quotations; though I myself prefer the orthography pointed out by the Koran and by Golius, as, to my ear, it approaches nearest to the manner in which this name is pronounced by Muhammadans.

‡ Tome viii., p. 354.

racters intended to be re*presented in it.—“Elle a
 * 399 d’assez grands défauts (according to La Harpe) ; mais
 les beautés de tout genre y prédominent tellement, elle
 est d’une telle force de conception morale et dramatique, que
 tous les connoisseurs s’accordent à la placer dans le premier
 rang des productions qui ont illustré la scène Française. C’est
 une chose remarquable, que deux de nos plus étonnans chefs-
 d’œuvre dans la tragédie et dans la comédie, Tartuffe et Ma-
 homet,” &c.† Of this admirable and astonishing production
 it is rather difficult to ascertain what is the real plan and inten-
 tion. The fable seems, however, to be as follows :—Mahomet,
 in order to avoid the delay and risk which might attend the
 siege of Mecca, has demanded a truce, in order to endeavour to
 prevail on the inhabitants to capitulate. Zopire, the chief of
 Mecca, opposes the truce, which is, however, granted by the
 senate. During this truce Mahomet enters Mecca with a few
 followers, and Zopire succeeds in exciting the people of Mecca
 to break the truce and to destroy Mahomet ; but the design is
 interrupted by Zopire being murdered by Seide, a young
 fanatical follower of Mahomet, and by his orders. As Zopire,
 however, is dying, he discovers that Seide is his son, who
 had been taken prisoner and educated by Mahomet. At
 this moment Seide is arrested and imprisoned by Omar ;
 and soon after, the people, on learning that Mahomet had
 directed the murder of Zopire, assemble tumultuously, break
 open the prison, and place Seide at their head ; but just as they
 are going to attack Mahomet, Seide dies of poison adminis-
 tered to him by Mahomet’s orders, who avails himself of this
 circumstance to persuade the people that—

“ La nature et la mort ont entendu ma voix ;
 La mort, qui m’obéit, qui, prenant ma défense,
 Sur ce front pâlisant a tracé ma vengeance.
 La mort est à vos yeux, prête a fondre sur vous.
 Ainsi mes ennemis sentiront mon courroux ;
 Ainsi je punirai les erreurs insensées,
 Les révoltes du cœur, et les moindres pensées.

Si ce jour luit pour vous, ingrats, si vous vivez,
Rendez grâce au pontife, à qui vous le devez.
Fuyez, courez au temple apaiser ma colère.

(*Et le peuple se retire †.*)

* Besides this, there is, according to the most approved French fashion, a love episode between Mahomet and * 400 Palmire, a daughter of Zopire, who had also been taken prisoner and educated by Mahomet ; but she rejects his passion, as she and Seide have fallen in love with each other without knowing that they were brother and sister.

To this plan there are the strongest objections, both moral and dramatic. The introducing on the stage a vicious character whose every crime is crowned with success, and sacrificing innocence, patriotism, and virtue to such a character, cannot possibly be productive of any moral effect whatever. Voltaire himself admits that “ l'action que j'ai peinte est atroce ; et je ne sais si l'horreur a été plus loin sur aucun théâtre. C'est un jeune homme né avec de la vertu, qui, séduit par son fanatisme, assassine un vieillard qui l'aime, et qui, dans l'idée de servir Dieu, se rend coupable, sans le savoir, d'un parricide ; c'est un imposteur qui ordonne ce meurtre, et qui promet à l'assassin un inceste pour récompense ; j'avoue c'est mettre l'horreur sur le théâtre‡.” But what lesson of morality can be derived from the representation of such actions ? Voltaire and La Harpe merely point out its tendency to prevent ingenuous minds being imposed upon by fanaticism, and to expose religious hypocrisy to detestation : but neither of these objects is attained by this tragedy ; for the bare possibility that an enthusiastic love of religion may lead to the commission of crimes, is too remote a consequence to admit of its having any influence on such as, from temperament or other circumstances, may be prone to carry their devotion beyond its just bounds. Nor does this tragedy in any manner render hypocrisy odious ; because in no one scene of it is Mahomet represented as a hypocrite. On

† *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, 1785, Tome iii., Acte 5, Scène 4.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

the contrary, Zopire calls him a "fanatique," a "monstre imposteur," but at the same time "l'Arabe qui marche égal aux rois." And Mahomet declares, without the least disguise, both to Zopire, his greatest enemy,

"Non; mais il faut m'aider à tromper l'univers†,"

and to Omar, his confidant,

"Ne donnons point le temps aux mortels détrompés,
De rassurer leurs yeux de tant d'éclat frappés.

* 401

* Les préjugés, ami, sont les Rois du vulgaire.
Tu connais quel oracle et quel bruit populaire
Ont promis l'univers à l'envoyé d'un Dieu,
Qui, reçu dans la Mecque, et vainqueur en tout lieu,
Entrerait dans ces murs en écartant la guerre:
Je viens mettre à profit les erreurs de la terre‡."

The fanaticism of Mahomet also is not made apparent in this piece. It is true that he is called a fanatic, but in no one instance is he made either to speak or to act as a fanatic; and the author even renders the murder of Zopire necessary for Mahomet's safety:—

"Demain (says Omar) la trêve expire, et demain l'on t'arrête:
Demain Zopire est maître, et fait tomber ta tête§."

In such a situation a bold bad man, though no fanatic, would not hesitate in the least to avail himself of any means in his power to destroy his enemy; and Mahomet accordingly replies,—

"Zopire périra.

OMAR.

"——— Cette tête funeste
En tombant à tes pieds fera fléchir le reste."

But Mahomet, at the same time completely master of himself, adds:—

"——— Mais, malgré mon courroux,
Je dois cacher la main qui va lancer les coups,
Et détourner de moi les soupçons du vulgaire||."

This cool and cautious conduct is the characteristic of a subtle politician calculating on the best means for obtaining the possession of Mecca, but it does not betray the slightest fanaticism.

† *Œuvres Complètes*, p. 167.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

|| *Ibid.*

But this tragedy, so defective in morality, errs also against the rules of the drama. The French theatre requires the most rigid adherence to the three unities; and Voltaire, rather than infringe the unities of time and place, has preferred admitting the greatest improbabilities: for the complicated action of this piece must be supposed to occupy no more than twelve hours; and the various confidential conversations between Zopire and Phanor, Mahomet and Zopire, Mahomet and Omar, Seide and Palmire, the murder of Zopire, and the love * 402 scenes between Mahomet and Palmire, and Seide and Palmire,—are all represented to have taken place

“ ————— sous ces sacrés portiques.

Non loin de cet autel de nos dieux domestiques†:”

that is, in the most frequented place of Mecca. But the unity of action, that unity which ought alone to be observed, has been entirely disregarded; and there is in consequence no principal action or catastrophe in this piece. From its name (*Le Fanatisme*), it might be inferred that the principal action was intended to be the triumph of fanaticism, or rather of him who can fashion and use this powerful instrument; for Zopire, Seide, and Palmire are consigned to death, and Mahomet alone remains to enjoy the benefit of his crimes. But in this case it is a triumph without a victory; for from the commencement until the end, except during the approach of the insurgent people of Mecca, an ebullition of popular fury instantaneously quelled by the unexpected death of Seide, and a few high-sounding words, Mahomet has never been in the slightest danger.

But the greatest deviation from every just principle of tragedy consists in the unexplained or inadequate motives which are supposed to influence the actions of the leading characters. What motive, it may be asked, has induced Mahomet to intrust himself, even during a truce, within the hostile walls of Mecca? What motive has prevented Hercide from informing Seide and Palmire that they were children of Zopire? What motive has induced Mahomet to educate these children of his bitterest

† *Œuvres Complètes*, p. 144.

enemy ? and if for the purpose of attempting to gain him over to his party, why did he not before make this attempt, during the fifteen years they have been under his charge, as he himself mentions :

“ ————— Hercide en ma puissance

Remit depuis quinze ans leur malheureuse enfance†.”

For what purpose did he encourage their love for one another ? as he informs, Omar :

“J’attisai de mes mains leurs feux illégitimes‡.”

* By what means was Seide arrested and imprisoned in * 403 Mecca, where Mahomet had no power whatever, and where even his life was in danger§ ? and in what manner could so rapid a poison, as the one administered to Seide must have been, operate, without its effects being self-evident to the unbelievers of Mecca ? But, above all, what motive could induce Mahomet to persuade Seide to commit a parricide ? There are crimes which even the most wicked will not commit coolly and deliberately, unless they cannot obtain their object by any other means : but the death of Zopire might have been effected in some other way, and the love of Seide for Palmire would have been changed into fraternal affection immediately on his being informed that she was his sister. The only motives, however, which are mentioned by the author, are contained in these lines spoken by Mahomet :—

“ Le sang du meurtrier que Mahomet abhorre,
Qui nous persécute, qui nous poursuit encore ;
Qui combattit mon Dieu, qui massacra mon fils ;
Le sang du plus cruel de tous nos ennemis,
De Zopire—|| ”

And Zopire speaks thus to Omar :

“ Dans le cours de la guerre un funeste destin
Le priva de son fils, que fit périr ma main ;
Mon bras perça le fils, ma voix bannit le père ;

† *Œuvres Complètes*, p. 162.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ He had just informed Omar, who could not possibly require such information,

“ ————— Il faut que dans une heure

On nous traîne au supplice, ou que Zopire meure.”—p. 187.

|| *Ibid.* p. 179.

Ma haine est inflexible, ainsi que sa colère ;
 Pour rentrer dans la Mecque il doit m'exterminer,
 Et le juste aux méchans ne doit point pardonner †."

These reasons, politically speaking, are sufficient to render the death of Zopire necessary, but are perfectly inadequate to induce Mahomet to direct a son to murder his father. The law also of retaliation, established amongst the Arabs, would have fully justified this. But what offence had Seïde committed, that he should be punished by becoming the instrument *of a parricide? To suppose that Mahomet was not touched by the affection and respect which the children of * 404 his education entertained for him, would not only be contrary to nature, but even to this tragedy itself; for in it his affection for Palmire has ripened into love. And could Mahomet for a moment imagine that his love would be more successful by assassinating her father by the hands of his son, and by poisoning her brother†? Such atrocities coolly and deliberately committed are too unnatural to be for a moment believed; and it is therefore impossible to understand how this *chef-d'œuvre* of French tragedy can be praised for "la force de conception morale et dramatique."

The French critics attribute to their principal tragic writers the peculiar excellence of representing characters and manners exactly as they are described in history. It was not, however, absolutely necessary that in this tragedy Voltaire should have displayed a faithful picture of the manners of the Arabs; nor, had he been able to depict them, would such a representation have been acceptable to the audience of Paris. It may also be doubted whether that audience was capable of discovering that this piece was totally at variance with the authentic history of Mahomet. But Voltaire, as a man of letters writing for posterity, ought to have blushed at betraying so complete an ig-

† *Œuvres Complètes*, p. 153.

‡ He says, indeed,—“Qu'elle passe en mes bras

Sur la cendre des siens qu'elle ne connaît pas.”—p. 187.

But he could not with any probability expect that Palmire would always remain ignorant of her birth.

norance on a subject respecting which he might without trouble have obtained the most accurate information. He mentions, for instance, that Zopire is intended for Abu Sofian ; but could he be ignorant that Abu Sofian on the capture of Mecca embraced Islamism, and died a natural death ? and that his son Moaviah (the only legitimate one mentioned in history†) became at the same time a Muhammadan, was appointed secretary to Mahomet, and afterwards rose to be the sixth khalif, and the founder of the dynasty of Ommeyah ?

* Mahomet, however, is the principal character of this *405 tragedy ; and, without entering at present into a consideration of the real character of that extraordinary man, it may be sufficient to observe that he was descended from the noblest tribe of Arabia. But being born after the death of his father, who was a younger son, and died at an early age, he possessed scarcely any property, and was educated first by his grandfather, and afterwards by the eldest brother of his father, the chief of his tribe. He continued in this dependent state until he was taken notice of by a rich widow, who first made him her factor, and afterwards married him when he was twenty-five years of age. At forty he declared himself a prophet, but for twelve years did not attempt to propagate his religion by the sword, until after the death of his uncle he was obliged to fly from Mecca ; and being then received and assisted by the men of Medina, he commenced the holy war against unbelievers. After various success, he captured Mecca in the eighth year after his flight. In these circumstances all Muhammadan authors agree. It must also be recollected that Hejaz, the province in which Mecca and Medina are situated, and the country adjacent, into which the Muhammadan religion extended during the life of Muhammad, are unfertile, and that the richest inhabitants lived in comparative poverty. Yet Muham-

† I find, that at the battle of Beder one son of Abu Sofian was killed, and another taken prisoner, and that Moaviah, on succeeding to the khalifat, appointed a brother to the government of Egypt ; but nothing further is mentioned of these sons of Abu Sofian. His illegitimate son Ziad is distinguished in history.

mad, before he had obtained Mecca, and the power which followed from its capture, is thus represented in the first scene :—

“ Mahomet citoyen ne parut à vos yeux
 Qu'un novateur obscur, un vil sédition :
 Aujourd'hui c'est un Prince ; il triomphe, il domine.
 Imposteur à la Mecque, et prophète à Médine,
 Il sait faire adorer à trente nations
 Tous ces mêmes forfaits qu'ici nous détestons.
 Que dis-je ? En ces murs même une troupe égarée,
 Des poisons de l'erreur avec zèle enyvrée,
 * De ses miracles faux soutient l'illusion, * 406
 Répand le fanatisme et la sédition,
 Appelle son armée, et croit qu'un Dieu terrible
 L'inspire, le conduit, et le rend invincible †.”

But however highly Phanor may consider Muhammad, Zopire is of a very different opinion ; for he thus addresses Omar, who was sent to propose peace :—

“ Un vil séditieux prétend avec audace
Nous accorder la paix, et non demander grâce !
Souffrirez-vous, grands dieux ! qu’au gré de ses forfaits
Mahomet nous ravisse ou nous rende la paix ?
Et vous, qui vous chargez des volontés d’un traître,
Ne rougissez-vous point de servir un tel maître ?
Ne l’avez-vous pas vû, sans honneur et sans biens,
Ramper au dernier rang des derniers citoyens ?”

And again :—

“ Banni toute imposture, et d'un coup-d'œil plus sage
Regarde ce prophète à qui tu rends hommage ;
Vois l'homme en Mahomet, conçois par quel degré
Tu fais monter aux cieux ton fantôme adoré.
Enthousiaste ou fourbe, il faut cesser de l'être ;

† This passage, though not easily reconcileable with the speeches afterwards delivered by Zopire, gives, with an exception or two, a very lively and correct picture of Muhammad when he advanced against Mecca in the eighth year of the Hjirah. But a prince was unknown amongst the Arab tribes, and was a character never assumed by Muhammad and his immediate successors. *The nations* may be only a poetic figure for *tribes*; but the *trente* is too great an exaggeration. But what crimes had he committed? Toleration was universal in Arabia, and Muhammad was therefore the person injured, in not being allowed to profess his religion peaceably at Mecca.

Sers-toi de ta raison, juge avec moi ton maître :
 Tu verras de chameaux un grossier conducteur,
 Chez sa première épouse insolent imposteur,
 Que, sous le vain appas d'un songe ridicule,
 Des plus vils des humains tente la foi crédule†.—pp. 149,
 150.

* Voltaire does not seem to have determined in his own
 * 407 mind on the precise character which he ought to attribute
 to Mahomet ; and hence he has erred against that most
 important rule of dramatic writing, which requires that every
 character, whether historically true or not, should be consistent
 in itself, and be sustained without variation throughout the whole
 piece. For he describes Mahomet as a fanatic and impostor :
 but if a fanatic be, as Dr. Johnson defines it, a man mad with
 wild notions of religion, it is impossible that he should be at the
 same time an impostor, in the sense here understood ;—that is,
 a man who imposes on others by means of a pretended religion
 which he himself does not believe.—Zopire also, the chief of
 Mecca, the place where Mahomet was born, and lived until he
 was fifty-two years of age, informs us, that Mahomet had “ rampé
 au dernier rang des derniers citoyens,” and that he had been
 “ de chameaux un grossier conducteur.” That such a man
 might be a fanatic, and that his fanaticism merely by its intense-
 ness might impose on others, must be admitted, as instances of
 this kind have occurred in history ; but that he should be capa-

† This last compliment must have been peculiarly flattering to Omar. But these “ plus vils des humains” were such men as Abu Becr, Omar, and Ali, who were afterwards khalifs. Omar is considered as the complete example of a perfect Moslem ; and it is therefore needless to observe that his character is entirely misrepresented in this tragedy, and never more so than when these lines are ascribed to him :—

“ Tes autres favoris, zélés avec prudence,
 Pour s'exposer à tout ont trop expérience ;
 Ils sont tous dans cet âge, où la maturité
 Fait tomber le bandeau de la crédulité.”—p. 169.

These lines might be intended to characterize the philosophers of France ; but they were altogether inapplicable to the first Muhammadans, and particularly to Omar, who after the death of Muhammad drew his sword and declared that he would put any man to death who said that the Prophet was dead.

ble of imposing on others, and rising to power from so degraded a state, by dexterously inventing a new religion, and by ably availing himself of that pretence, is not within the bounds of probability.

The character becomes still more improbable when Mahomet himself appears on the stage; for to this very natural question of Zopire—

“ Quel droit as-tu reçu d’enseigner, de prédire,
De porter l’encensoir, et d’affecter l’empire ? ”

* he replies—

* 408

“ Le droit qu’un esprit vaste, et ferme en les desseins,
A sur l’esprit grossier des vulgaires humains†.”

A singular sentiment to be placed in the mouth of a camel-driver of the lowest of the low: but the following lines are, if possible, still more inconsistent with such a character:—

“ Je suis ambitieux; tout homme l’est sans doute;
Mais jamais roi, pontife, ou chef, ou citoyen.
Ne conçut un projet aussi grand que le mien.
Chaque peuple à son tour a brillé sur la terre,
Par les lois, par les arts, et surtout par la guerre:
Le temps de l’Arabie est à la fin venu:
Ce peuple généreux, trop long temps inconnu,
Laissait dans ses déserts ensevelir sa gloire:
Voici les jours nouveaux marqués pour la victoire.
Vois du Nord au Midi l’univers désolé;
La Perse encore sanglante, et son trône ébranlé;
L’Inde esclave et timide, et l’Égypte abaissée,
Des murs de Constantin la splendeur éclipsée;
Vois l’Empire Romain tombant de toutes parts,
Ce grand corps déchiré, dont les membres épars
Languissent dispersés sans honneur et sans vie;
Sur ces débris du monde élevons l’Arabie.
Il faut un nouveau culte, il faut de nouveaux fers;
Il faut un nouveau Dieu pour l’aveugle univers.

En Égypte Osiris, Zoroastre en Asie,
Chez les Crétois Minos, Numa dans l’Italie,
A des peuples sans mœurs, et sans culte, et sans rois,
Donnèrent aisément d’insuffisantes loix.

Je viens après mille ans changer ces loix grossières.
 J'apporte un joug plus noble aux nations entières.
 J'abolis les faux dieux, et mon culte épuré
 De ma grandeur naissante est le premier degré.
 Ne me reproche point de tromper ma patrie ;
 Je détruis sa faiblesse et son idolâtrie.
 Sous un Roi, sous un Dieu, je viens la réunir ;
 Et pour la rendre illustre, il la faut asservir†."

* I have quoted this long passage, as in it the author
 * 409 has introduced Mahomet explaining without reserve the
 motives of his actions : but, without adverting to the singular
 idea, that to render a nation illustrious it is necessary to
 reduce it under the power of a despot, are the sentiments contained
 in this speech consistent with the character of Mahomet, either
 as an Arab or as a camel-driver? It must however be admitted,
 that, notwithstanding some exaggeration, these sentiments possess
 a nobleness and elevation which could proceed only from a superior
 and generous mind ; at least the love of glory, and the desire of
 conferring power and dignity on our native country, have been in
 general considered as noble passions, which deserve the applause
 and not the censure of mankind : but to represent a man animated
 by such passions as the instigator of a useless parricide, as the cool
 and deliberate murderer of his friend, and of a youth whom he had
 brought up from childhood, is totally at variance with every
 principle of human conduct ; yet Voltaire makes Mahomet act in
 the following inconceivable manner :—

MAHOMET.

"Eh bien, que pense Hercide?"

OMAR.

"Il paraît effrayé,
 Il semble pour Zopire avoir quelque pitié!"

MAHOMET.

"Hercide est faible : ami, le faible est bientôt traître.
 Qu'il tremble, il est chargé du secret de son maître.
 Je sais comme on écarte un témoin dangereux.
 Suis-je en tout obéi?"

OMAR.

"J'ai fait ce que tu veux."

MAHOMET.

"Préparons donc le reste. Il faut que dans une heure
On nous traîne au supplice, ou que Zopire meure.
S'il meurt, c'en est assez; tout ce peuple éperdu
Adorera mon Dieu, qui m'aura défendu.
Voilà le premier pas; mais sitôt que Seide
Aura rougi ses mains de ce *grand homicide*,
Réponds-tu qu'au trépas Seide soit livré?
Réponds-tu du poison qui lui fut préparé?"

* OMAR.

* 410

"N'en doute point.†"

If Voltaire has here unnecessarily debased the character of Mahomet, by representing him thus calmly directing a parricide and two murders, he has by no means elevated it in the scene with Seide, where he represents him speaking as a prophet; and it may therefore be asked if, with exception of the followers of The old man of the mountain, any fanatic or zealot was ever induced to commit a religious murder by the mere order, without any persuasions being used, of the person whom he considered to be intrusted with the secrets of God. But Mahomet merely says—

"Enfant d'un Dieu qui parle à votre cœur,
Ecoutez par ma voix sa volonté suprême;
Il faut venger son culte, il faut venger Dieu même."

And again,

"Faites ce qu'il ordonne, il n'est point d'autre honneur
De ses décrets divins aveugle exécuteur,
Adorez, et frappez‡."

But Mahomet himself is sensible that such peremptory orders are not quite sufficient, and he therefore very adroitly adds—

"Le prix était tout prêt, Palmire était à vous;
Mais vous bravez Palmire et le ciel en courroux§."

† *Œuvres Complètes*, pp. 186, 187.‡ *Ibid.*, p. 178.§ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

And it appears also from this speech of Omar,

“ Lui seul était formé pour remplir ton dessein.
 Palmire à te servir excite encore sa main.
 L'amour, le fanatisme aveuglent sa jeunesse;
 Il sera furieux par excès de faiblesse† —”

that fanaticism had but a trifling influence in inducing Seide to assassinate Zopire; for love, youth, and fury from excess of weakness (whatever that may mean), would probably have been sufficient to impel him to the commission of this crime. It is impossible, therefore, to view this act as the effect of fanaticism alone; and Voltaire has thus, by the introduction of this love episode, completely failed in forcibly representing the direful consequences which may result from the abuse of religion.

* At the same time Mahomet himself, throughout the
 * 411 whole of this tragedy, is represented in so degrading a point of view, that he can neither excite interest, nor impress the spectator with a belief that he is a superior genius, who subjugates all by the vast powers of his mind. It is true, that in the fourth scene of the first act Omar thus describes him:—

“ Mais enfin quand j'ai vu, que Mahomet est né
 Pour changer l'univers à ses pieds consterné;
 Quand mes yeux, éclairés du feu de son génie,
 Le virent s'élever dans sa course infinie;
 Eloquent, intrépide, admirable en tout lieu,
 Agir, parler, punir, ou pardonner en Dieu;
 J'associai ma vie à ses travaux immenses:
 Des trônes, des autels en sont les récompenses.”

But in the course of the piece is this character supported either by the sentiments or the actions of Mahomet? On the contrary, he enters Mecca without any ostensible design, and there employs himself in nothing but talking of his love for Palmire, in concerting useless murders with Omar, and in unnecessarily rendering the sacred name of God the instrument of a parricide. In the last act, indeed, he displays for a moment calmness and intrepidity; but the author, seemingly apprehensive lest the

slightest magnanimity on the part of Mahomet should leave too favourable an impression on the minds of the spectators, immediately ascribes to him the following singular and extravagant speech :

Palmire having stabbed herself on the body of her poisoned brother (the dead body of the father is also lying on the stage), has just expired, when Mahomet thus exclaims :

“ Elle m'est enlevée—ah ! trop chère victime !
 Je me vois attacher le seul prix de mon crime.
 De ses jours pleins d'appas détestable ennemi,
 Vainqueur et tout-puissant, c'est moi qui suis puni.
 Il est donc des remords ! ô fureur ! ô justice !
 Mes forfaits dans mon cœur ont donc mis mon supplice !
 Dieu ! que j'ai fait servir au malheur des humains,
 Adorable instrument de mes affreux desseins,
 Toi, que j'ai blasphémé, mais que je crains encore,
 Je me sens condamné, quand l'univers m'adore.
 * Je brave en vain les traits dont je me sens frapper : * 412
 J'ai trompé les mortels, et ne puis me tromper.
 Père, enfans malheureux, immolés à ma rage,
 Vengez la terre et vous, et le ciel que j'outrage.
 Arrachez-moi ce jour, et ce perfide cœur,
 Ce cœur né pour haïr, que brûle avec fureur.
 Et toi, de tant de honte étouffe la mémoire ;
 Cache au moins ma faiblesse, et sauve encore ma gloire ;
 Je dois régir en Dieu l'univers prévenu ;
 Mon empire est détruit, si l'homme est reconu †.”

I do not observe any stage direction for Mahomet to be here represented as delirious : but certainly so absurd a speech could not be delivered by any person in his right senses. A man must be insane to invoke fury and justice, and to exclaim that there is remorse merely because he has been disappointed in his love : but what blasphemy, or nonsense, to say that he has made God serve as the adorable instrument in producing the misfortunes of mankind ! and in what manner are the father, and the children sacrificed to his rage, to avenge earth and heaven ; or to tear from him his life and his perfidious heart : —

“ Ce cœur né pour haïr, qui brûle avec fureur.”

† *Œuvres Complètes*, p. 211.

La Harpe observes, with regard to this speech—"S'il n'en résulte pas d'effet dramatique, on en emporte au moins une satisfaction morale qui contribue à faire supporter ce dénouement." Yet he admits—"Les remords de Mahomet en font peu (d'impression) parcequ'on n'y croit pas, parceque les hypocrites n'en ont point, parceque, de tous les méchans, ce sont ceux qui savent le mieux ce qu'ils font du mal ; enfin, parceque qu'après ce retour passager sur lui meme, il revient aussitôt à son caractère†." He might have added, that had Mahomet really felt remorse, he would have carefully concealed his feelings, and not have unnecessarily exposed them in such an extravagant speech.

It would be deviating too much from the object of these remarks, were I to enter any further into the merits of this piece ; for, considering it merely as a tragedy of invention, and not of history, the preceding observations will have perhaps *413 evinced that this *chef-d'œuvre* of the French theatre errs against every principle of dramatic writing. The French critics admit, that the essential part of a tragedy is the action, which ought to be entire, having a beginning, middle, and end ; that all the events ought to contribute to the catastrophe, and ought to be connected together, and to arise naturally from each other ; that the interest ought to be progressive, and the catastrophe so complete as to satisfy the spectator : but in Mahomet there is neither action nor catastrophe, nor have the events any necessary connexion with each other. The stage is strewn with dead bodies, and yet it remains doubtful whether these murders will produce the capitulation of Mecca. Nor do these murders excite any interest, for they neither remain in suspense, nor do they tend to promote any one object. The scenes between Seide and Palmire and Zopire might be affecting, were it not apparent that after all their speeches nothing will prevent the assassination. On the improbabilities with which this piece is crowded I have before remarked, and La Harpe himself admits the badness of the fifth act, the most

† *Cours de Littérature*, tome viii., p. 377.

important of every tragedy ; and that the catastrophe is defective—" Ce dernier (acte) laissait peu de matière ; tous les grands nœuds de l'intrigue sont coupés†. Le crime est consommé ; Mahomet démasqué ; on ne peut plus attendre que la punition du scélérat, et le choix du sujet la rendait impossible‡."

To turn from the fictitious to the real character of Muhammad : Voltaire has observed, with his usual wit, and he certainly will have the laughers on his side,—“ M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers écrivit, il y a quelques années, la vie de ce prophète§. Il essaya de le faire passer pour un grand homme que la Providence avait choisi pour punir les Chrétiens, * et pour changer la face d'une partie du monde. M. Sale, qui *414 nous a donné une excellente version de l'Alcoran en Anglais, veut faire regarder Mahomet comme un Numa et comme un Thésée. J'avoue qu'il faudrait le respecter si, né prince légitime, ou appelé au gouvernement par les siens, il avoit donné des lois paisibles comme Numa, ou défendu ses compatriotes comme on le dit de Thésée. Mais qu'un marchand de chameaux excite une sédition dans sa bourgade, qu'associé à quelques malheureux Coraçites, il leur persuade qu'il s'entretient avec l'ange Gabriel ; qu'il se vante d'avoir été ravi au ciel, et d'y avoir reçu une partie de ce livre inintelligible qui fait frémir le sens commun à chaque page ; que pour faire respecter ce livre il porte dans sa patrie le fer et la flamme ; qu'il égorge les pères, qu'il ravisse les filles, qu'il donne aux vaincus le choix de sa religion ou de la mort, est assurément ce que nul homme ne peut excuser, à moins qu'il ne soit né Turc, et que la superstition n'étouffe en lui toute lumière naturelle||."

† I should, however, have been glad to be informed what those "grands nœuds de l'intrigue" were, as it is impossible to discover them in perusing this tragedy.

‡ *Cours de Littérature*, tome viii., p. 375.

§ In this paper I have also applied the usual term prophet to Muhammad ; but it is, strictly speaking, improper, because a prophet is one who predicts future events, and this is a character which was never assumed by Muhammad, who merely calls himself a messenger from God—the bringer of a revelation from God.

|| *Œuvres de Voltaire*, tome iii., pp. 130, 131.

The errors contained in this passage are not of so much consequence as the systematic attacks made against Muhammad by Dr. Prideaux, and a nameless doctor (as Gibbon designates him) in the *Modern Universal History*. These writers have, however, rejected some gross misrepresentations respecting this celebrated *impostor*, but they have supplied their place by various circumstances which are not to be found in any Muhammadan author. I have not the means of tracing their authorities; but I observe that the principal Arabic writers whom they cite are—Eutychius, a Christian patriarch of Alexandria, who flourished in the ninth century; Elmacinus, an Egyptian Christian born about the middle of the 13th century; and Abul Pharagius, an Armenian Christian, born A.D. 1226†. It can

* scarcely be necessary to remark, that neither such
* 415 writers, nor the later Byzantine historians,—Theophanes,

Zonaras, and Cedrenus,—can be admitted as competent authority on this subject. The first may have consulted original authors, but the greatest suspicion may be reasonably entertained respecting their making a faithful use of these materials; and the latter could record nothing but the rumours and reports of fear, hatred, and religious malevolence.

Prideaux informs us that Mahomet, in the beginning of his life, was in a very poor and despicable condition; that his uncle Abu Taleb educated him out of charity, and bred him up to the trade of merchandize; and that as soon as he was of a fit age he was sent with his uncle's camels into Syria‡; that Khadijah, a

† On referring to D'Herbelot, I find this passage:—"Comme les Annales d'Eutychius, les Dynasties d'Aboulfaragé, et l'Histoire Saracénique d'Erpenius (Elmacinus) sont entre les mains de tout le monde, on ne dira ici quo fort peu de chose de ce qu'elles contiennent touchant la personne de Mahomet." I am not acquainted with their works: but this tacit approbation would seem to intimate that these writers do not differ in any material point from Muhammadan authors; and it may therefore be suspected that Prideaux makes them vouch apparently for much more than they intended.

‡ This circumstance is of no consequence: but as Prideaux here quotes the authority of Abul Feda, it may be as well, in order that Prideaux's authorities may be properly appreciated, to give the words of the original—

ثم خرج ابوطالب في تجارت له الي الشام حتي وصل الي بصري

rich widow, wanting a factor to manage her stock, invited Mahomet into her service, who undertook the employment and traded for her for three years; that in the management of this charge he gave her that content that she gave herself to him in marriage. Mahomet having been thus rendered equal in wealth to the best men of the city, his ambitious mind began to entertain thoughts of possessing himself of the sovereignty over it. He, therefore, being of an ambitious, aspiring mind, and a very subtle, crafty man, after having maturely weighed all ways and means whereby to bring this to pass, concluded none so likely to effect it as the framing of that imposture which he afterwards vented, and which is a medley of Judaism, the several heresies of the Christians in the East, and the old pagan rites of the Arabs, with an indulgence to all sensual delights. That he aimed first of all to draw Khadijah into the imposture, but she rejected his stories as vain fancies * of his own disturbed imagination, or else delusions of the devil. At length, * 416 after several repeated attempts, she consulted with a fugitive monk then in the house, who, being in the plot, confirmed her in the belief of what Mahomet had communicated to her; that Mahomet was subject to the falling sickness, and that when the fit was on him he pretended to be in a trance, and that then the angel Gabriel was come to him from God with some new revelations†. Prideaux further informs us, that the whole of this imposture was a thing of extraordinary craft, carried on with all the cunning and caution imaginable; and that the framing of the Alcoran (wherein lay the main of the cheat) was all contrived at home in as secret a manner as possible, but there is still no doubt that it was principally composed

“And Abu Taleb, in the course of his trade, journeyed with him (Muhammad) unto Syria, until they arrived at Bosra.”

Gagnier, in the Notes to his Translation of Abul Feda's *Life of Mahomet*, justly observes—“De hoc primo Mahommedis itinere in Syriam cum patruo suo Abu-Talebo dubitant nonnulli.”—Gagnier's edition of Abul Feda's *Life of Muhammad*, p. 10.

† Prideaux quotes no original authority for this circumstance, which is entirely unknown to the Muhammadans; and the earliest secondary authority is Roderick of Toledo, who flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth century!

personal and social virtues, which are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet amongst his sectaries and friends. Of his last years ambition was the ruling passion ; and a politician will suspect that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor !) at the enthusiasm of his youth, and the credulity of his proselytest.†.—In another place Gibbon observes : “ He possessed the courage both of thought and action ; and although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his divine mission bears the stamp of an original and superior genius‡.”

The error of ascribing to Muhammad a superiority either in abilities or wickedness, proceeds, I conceive, from the attention being chiefly directed to the consequences of his imposture. To persons accustomed to contemplate the various revolutions which are recorded in the history of Europe, it seems impossible that the founder of a new religion and of a new empire should not be distinguished by peculiar talents. But a perusal of Muhammadan authors would evince, that Muhammad possessed none of those qualities which we are apt to consider as essential to the success of revolutions. The very silence of the followers of the Prophet must be a convincing proof that the first forty years of his life attracted so little notice, that they could not subsequently afford a single occurrence on which even a legend could be founded. The same may be said of the early life

* of Cromwell, who is the nearest parallel to Muhammad. But Cromwell, as soon as an opportunity offered, availed himself with a master-hand of every circumstance : Muhammad, on the contrary, never commanded circumstances, but was always commanded by them. Except in the decisive step of declaring himself a prophet, which might perhaps have proceeded merely from a heated imagination without the slightest foresight of the consequences, he allowed himself to be entirely guided by each successive event ; and had not the persecutions of the people of Mecca obliged him to seek, at the age of fifty-

† *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ix., pp. 320, 321, 322, 323.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

two, protection elsewhere, it is probable that the Muhammadan religion never would have existed.

To form, therefore, a correct judgment on the character of Muhammad, it is necessary to consult the earliest original authors, who relate the circumstances of his life with so much simplicity and unreservedness that they enforce belief. For it will I presume, be admitted, that the calumnies of the Christians and the legends† of the Muhammadans ought to be equally rejected, as resting on no sufficient grounds. The earliest author, however, with whom I am acquainted is Tabari‡, but it is not improbable that * more ancient histories may be found in the libraries of Europe. This writer passes over * 420 entirely the first twenty-four years of the life of his Prophet, and commences his account of it in this manner :—

“ When our Prophet (may the benediction and peace of God be upon him!§) was twenty-five years of age, he took to wife

† To show how very valuable the early authors must be, I add the following remarkable instance. In Abul Feda, and other writers, this miracle is related : The Koreish, in order to oppose the progress of the new religion, had entered into a written bond with each other that they would have no communication whatever with the family of Hashem, and had hung it up in the Kaaba. Some time after, the Prophet informed his uncle Abu Taleb, that his God had sent a worm, which had destroyed the whole of the writing of that bond excepting the name of God. Abu Taleb immediately went and informed the Koreish of this circumstance, who hastened and inspected the bond, and found it worm-eaten exactly in the manner that Muhammad had mentioned. Tabari, however, after relating the first part of this story, adds, that after seven months one of the Koreish, whose mother was Muhammad's aunt, became desirous that this bond should be destroyed, and that the former intercourse between the Koreish and the Hashemites should be renewed; that he associated to himself for this purpose six other persons, who went together to the Kaaba, in order to destroy the bond by force or persuasion; and that after some altercation with the chiefs of the Koreish, one of the party took it down and found all the writing, except the name of God, completely worm-eaten: which event was immediately considered as a sign that God disapproved of the agreement.

‡ Muhammad ben Jurar al Tabari was born A.H. 224, died A.H. 311. His Persian translator, Abul Fazl Ahmed, died A.H. 335. The style of this translation is more Arabic than Persian, and is remarkable for its simplicity.

§ I need scarcely observe that Muhammadan writers never mention the name

Khadijah the daughter of Khawiled, who was then forty years old. Khadijah was a relation of the prophet, being descended from Koreish, and had been married, but her husband was dead and had left her a very great property. She continued, however, by means of her servants, to carry on his commerce, and to send a caravan annually to Syria. Having heard of the high estimation in which the Prophet was held for his integrity (for he was so known amongst the Koreish for his faithfulness that they named him Muhammad the faithful), she sent for him, and proposed that he should take charge of her caravans. The Prophet consented, and proceeded to Syria, some say as a hired factor, and some say as the partner of Khadijah†. On his return, Khadijah found that this year's traffic had succeeded much better than any previous one; and observing that her affairs thus prospered under the Prophet's charge, and being at the same time informed of the miracles that had occurred on the journey, she sent for him, and thus addressed him: 'O Muhammad! thou knowest that I am a woman of consequence, and have therefore no need of a husband, and that I have refused the principal men of the city who have asked me in marriage, being afraid that they might squander away the great property which I * possess, and * 421 not take proper care of it. But finding that thou art trustworthy, and feeling an affection for thee, go and tell thy uncle Abu Taleb to demand me in marriage from my father.' This marriage was accordingly effected, after some opposition on the part of the father."

of their prophet without adding this formula, which it will therefore be unnecessary to repeat.

† The miracles on this journey will be found in Prideaux and the *Modern Universal History*. The writer in the latter observes, with regard to Khadijah's freedman having informed her of these miracles, "If this be true, Muhammad began to act the part of an impostor pretty early, and discovered himself to be a person of some capacity, even at that time, by finding means to influence Maisara in his 'favour.'" Would it not have been more consistent with probability, to have considered this story as one of those legends which have been invented by Muhammadan writers?

Tabari relates nothing respecting the next fifteen years of Muhammad's life, but gives the following account of his assuming the character of a prophet :—

“ When the prophet had attained the age of forty years complete, God directed Gabriel to reveal to him his prophetic mission. As the moment approached for this revelation, the prophet saw in the visions of the night a tall and majestic figure, which inspired him with fear; and in the day as he walked by himself, the stones and the clouds exclaimed as he passed, ‘ O Prophet of God ! ’ Now it was the custom of the Koreish, that every year, in the month of Rejeb, whoever wishes to be distinguished for piety should retire to Mount Hira, and there remain in solitary contemplation, abstaining from the converse of men; and this custom was most particularly observed by the family of Hashem. For this purpose each family had constructed small buildings on the mount. It was while the prophet was on this mount that these visions appeared to him; and when he returned to his house, he said to Khadijah, ‘ I am afraid that I am becoming insane.’ She replied, ‘ Why ? ’ He answered, ‘ Because I perceive in myself the signs of insanity : for, as I walk in the day, I hear the voice of the stones and the clouds; and at night I see a majestic and mighty figure, with its feet on the earth and its head in the heavens, which seems to approach for the purpose of seizing me; and I know not what it is.’ Khadijah said, ‘ O Muhammad ! be not grieved : a person of thy virtuous qualities ought not to be alarmed at any thing which he may see. But when thou again beholdest this figure, inform me.’ One day soon after this, as the prophet was sitting with Khadijah, he told her he saw the figure. She immediately came and took him in her arms, and said, ‘ Dost thou now see it ? ’ The prophet replied, ‘ I do.’ Khadijah then uncovered her face and head and said, ‘ Dost thou now see it ? ’ The prophet replied, ‘ I do not.’ Khadijah then said, ‘ Glad tidings be to thee, * O Muhammad ! for that is not a divi, but an angel: for * 422 had it been a divi, it would not have disappeared, and thus respected my unveiled face.’

“ The prophet continued for some time† under this anxiety,

until Monday the eighteenth day of Ramzan; when being by himself on Mount Hira, Gabriel appeared personally to him, and thus addressed him: 'The peace of God be upon thee, O Muhammad! O prophet of God!' The prophet was alarmed, and started up; and thinking that he had become insane, hastened to the brow of the mount, in order that he might precipitate himself from it. But Gabriel grasped him, and pressed him to his bosom, and said, 'Fear not, but compose thyself; for thou art the prophet of the Most High, and I am the angel Gabriel.' The prophet being encouraged, and reposing under the wings of Gabriel, Gabriel said to him, 'O Muhammad! read.' The prophet replied, 'How can I? I know not how to read.' Gabriel answered, 'Repeat, *In the name of the most merciful God. Read, In the name of thy Lord who hath created all things, who hath created man of congealed blood. Read, By thy most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen, who teacheth man that which he knoweth not*†.' Gabriel then disappeared, and the Prophet, trembling and repeating these words, descended from the mount and returned to his house. He then informed Khadijah that the figure which he had before imperfectly seen had appeared to him personally. She asked him, 'What did he say to thee?' 'He said, *Thou art the prophet of God, and I am Gabriel*: and repeated these words.' Khadijah was acquainted with ancient books, and with the Pentateuch and the Evangelists; and she was therefore convinced that the time was come for the appearance of another prophet, in the same manner as former prophets had * 423 appeared.

* Muhammad shortly after, finding himself cold, lay

† The author mentions that Muhammad first saw these visions in the month of Rejeb, and Ramzan is the second month in succession to Rejeb, according to the Muhammadan calendar. But it is most probable that his thoughts had been long before turned to the contemplation of religious subjects, and that these visions, if true, resulted from his imagination having in consequence become exalted.

‡ I throughout this paper use Sale's translation of the Koran, which is in every respect most faithful and accurate.

down, and desired Khadijah to place clothes over him ; which she did, and the prophet fell asleep.

“ Khadijah then went to Warkeh ben Nouful, a learned man, but a Christian and a worshipper of God according to the Law of Jesus, who had read much ; and asked him if, in any of the books he had read, he had met with the name of Gabriel. Warkeh inquired why she asked this, and Khadijah acquainted him with all that had occurred to the Prophet. Warkeh replied, that the fame of Gabriel was great, as he was the prince of angels, and the angel who conveyed unto the prophets the messages of God, and who had instructed Moses and Jesus ; and added, ‘ If what thou hast told me be true, Muhammad must undoubtedly be that prophet who, as every book announces, is to be born amongst the Arabs of Mecca.’ Having heard this, Khadijah returned home.

“ While Muhammad was sleeping, thus wrapped up, Gabriel came, and called out, ‘ Arise, O thou wrapped-up !’ The Prophet raised his head, and asked, ‘ Why should I arise ?’ Gabriel replied, ‘ Arise and preach, and magnify thy Lord ; and cleanse thy garments, and fly every abomination.’ Muhammad rose, and said to Khadijah, ‘ It is not for me to sleep or to rest ; for Gabriel has appeared to me, and has commanded me to declare the message of God unto the inhabitants of the world : but how can I call men to worship the true God, as they will not believe in me ?’ Khadijah replied, ‘ Call me first of all, and inform me of the true faith, for I will believe in thee.’ The Prophet was rejoiced at these words, and explained to her the true faith†, and Khadijah adhered unto God, and unto the Prophet of God. And Gabriel was at this time present, and said to the Prophet, ‘ Call for water, in order that thou mayst learn how to pray unto God.’ Water being brought, Gabriel

† *و مسلماني بروي عرضه كرد* This phrase frequently occurs in Tabari, and in other places : there is no doubt that it means teaching the symbol of Islamism,—*There is no other God but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God.* But it does not here appear how Muhammad had become acquainted with this symbol. It may, however, be supposed that Tabari does not pretend to relate all that Gabriel may have said to Muhammad.

taught the * different ablutions, and then proceeded
 *424 to teach the different postures in prayer. At this
 time Ali, who was seven years old, came in; and seeing
 Muhammad and Khadijah kneeling and prostrating themselves
 and nothing before them he said, 'O Muhammad! to whom dost
 thou make these prostrations, and for what purpose?' The
 Prophet replied, 'I prostrate myself before the God of heaven;
 for Gabriel has informed me that I am the prophet of God, and
 that I am sent by him to call men unto the true faith: and if
 thou embrace this faith, it will be the means of thy salvation
 in this world, and in the world to come.' Ali then requested to
 be instructed in this new religion, and became the second of
 the true believers."

In this simple account, which probably rests on what Muhammad himself may have thought proper to make public, as it is supported by several passages in the Koran, it is impossible to discover any vestige of a scheme framed with great artifice and sagacity, or of a conception which bears the stamp of original and superior genius. The course of subsequent events also fully evinces, that Muhammad received at first no assistance in planning this imposture; for he concealed his prophetic character for three or four years, and it was not until the conversion of Abu Becr, one of the principal men of Mecca, that he publicly declared himself to be the messenger of God. That Muhammad should have influence over his wife, over a child, and over a slave whom he immediately enfranchised, is easily conceived; but that a man of mature age, of rank, respectability, and prudence, should forsake the religion of his fathers, and embrace a new faith, may reasonably excite surprise. The motives assigned by Tabari may have influenced Abu Becr, and they would at least be those which Abu Becr after his conversion would himself assign. Tabari relates, that "Abu Becr one day asked Muhammad why he had left off worshipping the idols which were in the Kaaba: he replied, 'I cannot persuade myself to worship that which I can fashion with my own hand; and I know that neither good nor evil can proceed from these idols.

But I am fully convinced that there is a God who has created me, and who gives me my *daily bread.' Abu Becr replied, 'Thou speakest a truth which has sometimes *425 occurred to my mind; for I cannot tell what kind of religion this is, in which we and our fathers have for so many years continued.' That night Abu Becr could not sleep, from reflecting on the subject of this conversation, and the next morning went to Muhammad, and requested to be informed respecting the new faith; and on hearing it explained, immediately embraced it." The influence of Abu Becr procured many proselytes; and the new religion soon after received increased consequence from the conversion of Omar, which being ascribed to a miracle, excuses the historian from accounting for it by any human considerations. But twelve years after the commencement of Islamism, when Muhammad was obliged to fly from Mecca, the number of true believers remained still very inconsiderable.

Of the motives which may have induced Muhammad to assume the prophetic character nothing can be known; for as soon as that was once announced, it was firmly held by the Muhammadans as a tenet of belief, and it consequently became blasphemy to suppose for a moment that the Prophet of God could be actuated by human motives or passions. It is therefore ridiculous in Christian writers, imperfectly acquainted with the manners, customs, and political institutions of Arabia in the beginning of the seventh century, or totally ignorant of them, to mislead their readers, by gravely informing them that Muhammad acted from a design to satisfy his lust, and to raise himself to the supreme government of his country. It is even doubtful whether he had at first imagined the possibility of destroying idolatry, and reducing religion to its original purity; though, that this was afterwards his object, is sufficiently proved by the Koran. It must also at this day remain equally unknown, whether this book was written entirely by Muhammad, or whether he was assisted in its composition. The latter was the general opinion of the unbelievers of Mecca, who maintained that it was not possible for him to compose a work of such beauty, elegance, and harmony

of style. In forming, however, a judgment on this point, it must be recollected that the Koran was not originally published in the state in which it now exists, but in short and * detached passages, as occasion required. The publication, therefore, without method or arrangement, of a variety of loose and unconnected thoughts suggested by circumstances, by a person who had never before distinguished himself by any composition, presents not such a difficulty as can be solved only by depriving that person of the credit of the work, or by having recourse to a miracle. The Koran contains nothing inconsistent with that degree of knowledge which a person of an observing mind, and desirous of information, might have acquired in Arabia, though he could neither read nor write: and it should not be forgotten that the admirers of this work were equally, if not more, illiterate and uninformed than the Prophet himself; and that it is probable that it was not the subject, but the purity of the language, and the rhythmical cadence of the style, which attracted this admiration amongst a people who delighted in oratory and poetry†. But as it is incontestable that the greatest part of the Koran was written by degrees, during a course of twenty-three years, and that it everywhere exhibits the same style, it may be justly concluded, in the words of Gibbon, "that the uniformity of a work denotes the hand of a single artist."

The same reason has prevented Muhammadan writers from supposing that any part of the Koran could have been composed previously to the revelation of Gabriel; nor does a perusal of

† Sale observes: "Their orations were of two kinds, metrical or prosaic; the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both; and whoever was able in an assembly to persuade the people to a great enterprise, or to dissuade them from a dangerous one, was honoured with the title of Khateb, or orator; which is now given to the Muhammadan preachers. They pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators, their sentences being like loose gems, without connexion; so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings." *Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, p. 35.—The loose gems is an Oriental figure, and European connoisseurs would be very far from admiring the brilliancy of such gems.

the work afford the means of determining how much of it may have been written at the time when Muhammad assumed the character of a prophet. It is therefore difficult * to judge whether he had at that moment formed in his own * 427 mind the plan of his new religion, or whether he acted from the crude and undigested phantasies of a heated imagination. But until this point is determined, it is not consistent with just views of human nature to decide that Muhammad was a fanatic, hypocrite, or intentional impostor. Gibbon has profoundly observed, that "the energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestions of the understanding, or the fancy, would be felt as the inspirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God. From enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery: the dæmon of Socrates affords a memorable instance how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud†." The first part of this quotation is strikingly applicable to Tabari's simple account of the gradations by which Muhammad was led to persuade himself that he actually held conversations with the angel Gabriel; and the example of Socrates might have induced Gibbon to hesitate before he concluded that Muhammad, in the last years of his life, might secretly smile at the enthusiasm of his youth and the credulity of his proselytes. It is at least certain, that in the Koran, and in all the traditions of the Prophet, his words and actions are strictly adapted to that character; and it would perhaps be more conformable to experience, to suppose that, had even this character been assumed in the first instance, Muhammad might have been gradually led to believe in its reality.

But, admitting that Muhammad acted from self-illusion, it

† *Decline and Fall*, p. 321.

may be asked, whence arose those contemplations which occasioned this deception? To this question I think both the Koran and Muhammadan writers afford a satisfactory answer. The Jews were widely spread in Arabia, and their prophecy of the coming of the Messiah was well known to the * Arabs.

* 428 Tabari mentions that they possessed several castles and villages in the territory of Medina, and adds, "The Jews believed, that the coming of a prophet was announced in their scriptures; but they thought that this prophet would be one of the children of Israel and a descendant of Moses, until they examined the books, and there they found a description of Muhammad, and exclaimed—'O Lord, this is in truth the Prophet whom thou wilt send with mighty hosts and with victory to crown us with conquest.' But when our 'prophet was born amongst the Arabs, and not in the manner which they had expected, they denied him." It was from the Jews, therefore, that Muhammad learned to assume the character of a prophet; and had they acknowledged him for the Messiah, he would have probably contented himself with restoring the religion of Moses to its pristine splendour: but when they rejected him, he declared that this religion was corrupted, and that he was sent by God to re-establish the only pure faith—that of Abraham. But the God of Abraham was also the God of the Jews and the Christians; and hence arises that strange mixture in the Koran of stories derived from the Talmud, and from the spurious gospels or writings of the Eastern heretics. It was also by the Jews and Christians that he was taught to appoint fasts, and to set apart one day in the week for public worship. Nor can it be doubted that it was from the Jews that he learnt to abhor idolatry, and to believe in the unity of God. A Christian monk would have instilled very different notions into his mind. But at what period of his life Muhammad may have turned his thoughts to the difference between the Jewish religion and that of his fathers, cannot be conjectured. It will however be admitted, that the different accounts of divine missions, which were familiar to the Jews, and communicated by them to Muhammad, were the objects of contemplation the best adapted for

inspiring him with the persuasion that he also had been selected as a prophet by God. It may be difficult to conceive such self-illusions; but as experience has proved that it is not improbable, and as no trace of artifice or design can be discovered, Muhammad ought to be acquitted of hypocrisy and intentional imposture.

With regard to enthusiasm and fanaticism, it is impossible to affix any* precise meaning to these terms. But Muhammad never conducted himself, except in affirming that he *429 received revelations from heaven, in a different manner from the rest of mankind. If he sincerely believed in those revelations (and what proof can be adduced that he did not believe in them?), a firm adherence to his religious opinions ought not to be branded with the name of enthusiasm: for it seems by no means a necessary consequence, that a person who fancies himself inspired by heaven should be divested of human prudence, or that he should act as if it were under the influence of frenzy. And Sale has justly observed—"That though all enthusiasts or madmen do not behave with the same gravity and circumspection that he (Muhammad) did; yet it will not be the first instance, by several, of a person who had been out of the way only *quoad hoc*, and in all other respects acted with the greatest decency and precaution." It is still more difficult to understand on what grounds Muhammad has been accused of fanaticism; for never was a purer religion propagated than his, and never one which more inculcated charity and benevolence amongst them who believed in it. If this accusation rest on his declaring war against the unbelievers, it must be recollected that he learned this also from the Jews, and that he diminished the horrors which attended the occupation of the Holy Land, by giving to every unbeliever the option of embracing Islamism, or of paying tribute, and by directing that women and children should never be put to death.

On the remaining charge against Muhammad, his ambition—with its usual concomitants, perfidy, injustice, and cruelty—it may be more easy to form an opinion. All Muhammadan writers agree that, during the twelve years which elapsed between

- Muhammad's assuming the character of a prophet and his flight from Mecca, he led a life of continued persecution, and submitted to the grossest insults, without ever attempting to defend himself, or even consenting to the repeated request of his followers, that they might be allowed to have recourse to arms. He allowed himself to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck ; and he daily beheld his followers treated in the same manner ; and yet he bore *all
 * 430 these indignities with the utmost humility. As long, however, as his uncle Abu Taleb lived, his opponents dared not to make any attempt on his life : but immediately after Abu Taleb's death†, Muhammad perceived that it was impossible that he could continue any longer in safety at Mecca : he therefore addressed himself to the Arabs as soon as they arrived on their annual pilgrimage to the Kaaba, in the hope that some tribe would afford him protection. Amongst these were six respectable men of Medina, who received his application favourably, and were pleased with the passages of the Koran which he recited to them ; but observed, that Medina was divided between two tribes, to only one of which they all belonged ; and that it was therefore advisable that they should, before they conducted him there, return and obtain the consent of their fellow-citizens for his reception. Tabari observes, that the people of Medina were much inconvenienced and alarmed by the vicinity and increasing power of the Jews : hence, on their return, these men first recited the passages of the Koran which they had learned from Muhammad, and then said, " This is that prophet whose name the Jews daily invoke, and whose coming they so anxiously expect : should they therefore receive him, and become obedient to him, you will be reduced to the greatest difficulties : it is therefore expedient that you should hasten to

† His uncle Abbas, who succeeded as chief of the family of Hashem, is represented as a good, easy man, who was quite incapable of opposing or resisting the other chiefs of the Koreish. It is to be observed, that Mecca was governed by an aristocracy, consisting of the heads of families which had descended from Koreish.

anticipate the Jews, and receive Muhammad before they can unite with him." In the course of the year these men so effectually exerted themselves, that when the period for the next pilgrimage arrived, all the people of Medina assembled, and deputed twelve men to Muhammad for the purpose of swearing fealty to him, and of conducting him to Medina. But so devoid of ambition or enterprise was Muhammad, that, even after this solemn deputation, he would not venture to proceed to Medina until he had sent a confidential person there, in order to ascertain whether his party had been embraced by the whole of the people.

* It will be admitted, that in this first step to his subsequent greatness, never did authority rest on a more *431 legitimate foundation than that of Muhammad. Banished and proscribed, and possessed neither of power nor riches, a numerous people, with general consent, received him as their chief, and swore to serve him with fealty and obedience, and to defend him against all injury with their properties and their lives. But, by thus submitting to Muhammad, the men of Medina exposed themselves to the enmity of the Koreish and their numerous allies, and it became his bounden duty to exert himself in the defence of his new subjects. Self-defence is not ambition; and it will be found that, with the exception of the last war against Mecca, all the other wars against the Arabs were strictly defensive. Nor can Muhammad be justly blamed for this last war; for though he had acquired such power as to render the hostilities of the Koreish of little importance, yet he well knew that a sincere reconciliation with them was impossible, and that in case of any reverse they would immediately avail themselves of it. To establish, therefore, his power firmly, and even to secure his own life, it was absolutely requisite that he should possess Mecca. It may be said that in these wars Muhammad was the aggressor, by his having soon after his flight attempted to intercept the caravans of Mecca. But the first aggression was undoubtedly the conspiracy of the Koreish to assassinate Muhammad; and when, to save his life, he fled from Mecca, and himself and his followers were thus deprived of their property, and obliged to depend for their subsistence on the

hospitality of the men of Medina, it could not be reasonably expected that they would allow the caravans of their enemies to pass unmolested. His wars against the Jews appear under a more questionable character ; for they possessed almost all the country in the vicinity of Medina, and one of their strongest castles was situated within four miles of its walls. Muhammad had, even before he fled from Mecca in consequence of their power, endeavoured, by adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and customs, to persuade them to receive him as a prophet : but the Jews, so far from becoming his proselytes, viewed his progress with envy and hatred, and excited and carried on continual * wars against him ; so that their * 432 reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life†. This constant and inveterate opposition of the Jews, and their alone rejecting, individually and collectively, his divine mission, seem to have exasperated Muhammad against them, and to have induced him to treat them with a severity inconsistent with his general conduct on all other occasions : but neither these wars nor this severity can with any justice be ascribed to ambition.

Of Muhammad's perfidy and injustice I cannot discover the slightest trace in Muhamnadan writers ; and as no particular instances are specified by Christian authors, I am at a loss to understand how so correct a writer as Gibbon should have asserted—"That the use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith‡." It is impossible to prove a negative : but during the

† This circumstance is not disputed by European writers.

‡ The only act of injustice which I find ascribed to Muhammad is thus remarked upon by Gibbon himself :—"Prideaux reviles the wickedness of the impostor, who despoiled two poor orphans, the sons of a carpenter ; but the honest Gagnier has shown that he was deceived by the word *al najar*, which signifies in this place not an obscure trade, but a noble tribe of Arabs. The desolate state of the ground is described by Abulfeda ; and his worthy interpreter has proved from Al Bochari the offer of a price from Al Jamiabe the fair purchase, and from Ahmed Ben Joseph the payment of the money by the generous Abu Bacr. On these grounds the Prophet must be honourably acquitted."

ten years that Muhammad lived after his flight from Mecca, every circumstance of which has been so minutely related by his followers, not a single occasion occurred that could render injustice or perfidy either advantageous or requisite. It is not improbable that, had any writings of his enemies been preserved, he might have been accused of the infraction of treaties; and this is the only circumstance on which a doubt can rest. But history too clearly shows that, even amongst the most civilized nations, it is difficult to determine who has been in any war the aggressor; it also shows that the conquerors and the conquered have very seldom agreed upon the proper meaning of the articles of any capitulation. Muhammadan writers, however, assert that the only terms which Muhammad ever granted to the few forts, which he captured were, that the besieged * should submit to whatever God might command; and this account is so conformable to the whole of the Prophet's conduct, that it cannot well be controverted. * 433

But there are apparently some grounds for accusing Muhammad of cruelty, for he put to death two men who had been taken prisoners at Beder, and seven hundred Jews who had surrendered to him: he authorized the assassination of two principal men of the Jews; and on the capture of Mecca he prescribed six men and four women, four of whom were killed†. I cannot find any other acts which bear the appearance of cruelty mentioned by Muhammadan authors; and it is evident that, had any occurred, the writers who have mentioned these instances would not have omitted the others. It must however be recollected, that the continual wars between tribes, and the perpetual feuds between individuals, had communicated a peculiar ferocity to the manners of the Arabs: hence the messengers whom Muhammad sent to different tribes were assassinated, and three attempts were even made on his own life‡. It can-

† This is the number mentioned by Tabari and Abulfeda; but in the *Rouzet ni Ahbab*, a celebrated life of Muhammad, written by Ata Allah, a distinguished writer in the reign of Sultan Hussein (A.D. 1461—1505), five more men and two women are enumerated, four of whom were put to death.

‡ We may reject the miracles which frustrated these attempts, but there is no reason to doubt of the attempts having been actually made.

not be reasonably expected that any man should rise entirely superior to the prejudices of his education, or the customs of his country ; and, considered merely as an Arab, his benevolence and clemency were fully entitled to the high praises which they received from his countrymen. But can all the pages of European history produce a single example of victory and power having been used with the same moderation as was displayed by Muhammad ? He was a man and an exile, and he had the grossest insults and indignities to avenge : he was a prophet, and he had conquered the enemies and blasphemers of his God ; and yet no blood but that of six or ten Arabs ever stained, except in battle, the whole course of his victorious career. His conduct to the Jews, as I have before remarked, proceeded

* from their being, without provocation or cause, his most
 * 434 active enemies. They were also the sole instigators of the war of the Ditch, in which Muhammad was besieged in Medina by twelve thousand men, and in which his rising greatness had been almost crushed ; and the tribe, whose males he put to death, by joining in this war, had availed themselves of so favourable an opportunity to violate the treaties which existed between them and Muhammad.

I have thus impartially considered the accusations which have been alleged against the prophet of the Muhammadans ; and it will perhaps, at this day, excite surprise how they could ever have been admitted into the page of history. His life was passed in a remote province of Arabia, and his actions were too unimportant to excite the attention of the neighbouring nations† : no account of Muhammad, therefore, entitled to the slightest

† And had they even excited attention, by whom could they have been recorded ? Persia and Constantinople were the only contiguous countries : the first was soon after conquered by the Arabs, and its writings and religion destroyed ; and Constantinople was at too great a distance to admit of its historians obtaining correct information. I observe also, that the earliest Byzantine historian, Theophanes, who mentions Muhammad, was born A.D. 758.—Muhammad died A.D. 632. But in less than a century the Arabs had conquered Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain ; and it would then have been impossible, from existing circumstances, to have formed any correct opinion on the obscure life and actions of the prophet of Hicaz.

credit, could be derived from any other source than from the writings of his followers. Christian bigotry might reject the virtues which they ascribed to him, but Christian charity should not have accused even an impostor of vices† of which he never was guilty. It may, however, be allowable to suspect that the praises lavished on him by Muhammadan writers are exaggerated; but there is no reason for doubting that his life, previous to * his flight from Mecca, was pure and irreproachable; and from that moment all his actions have been recorded * 435 with such minuteness and unreservedness, that they are alone sufficient to prove that these praises are not unfounded.

It cannot be controverted that Muhammad possessed affability, benevolence, prudence, courage, and such talents as enabled him to persuade men to embrace his new religion, and to exert the greatest influence over all his followers. Nor do these qualities appear to have been sullied by any failings or vices: but not one of his actions displays either a commanding mind or a superior genius. His success proceeded from the rudeness, versatility, and indifference to their religion, of his countrymen; and that there was at this period some peculiar disposition to credulity amongst the Arabs, is apparent from the several prophets who arose at the close of Muhammad's life, and particularly Mosleima, who in three or four years was able to collect an army of forty thousand men, at the head of which he was slain in the twelfth year of the Hijrah. As soon as Muhammad could persuade a considerable body of men that he was a prophet, it required no great talents to support that character; and amongst the tribes of Arabia, in which, properly speaking, no government existed, the power of the chiefs of families depending en-

† The only vice with which he can be charged is his incontinency: but Priedaux is peculiarly unhappy in ascribing Muhammad's imposture to the desire of satiating his lust; for before him the license of polygamy was unlimited, and he restricted it to four legitimate wives or concubines. But he himself was specially permitted to deviate from this law, and Gibbon remarks—"If we remember the seven hundred wives and the three hundred concubines of the wise Solomon, we shall applaud the modesty of the Arabian, who espoused no more than seventeen or fifteen wives."

tirely on the voluntary consent of individuals, political intrigues and the favour of armies were not requisite for his success.

As a test of Muhammad's abilities the Koran still remains ; and though we might not agree with Voltaire, in designating it " ce livre inintelligible qui fait frémir le sens commun à chaque page," it must be admitted that it too plainly proves that Muhammad's knowledge and literary acquirements were inconsiderable in the extreme. On the purity and elegance of its language, and on the harmony of its rhythmical cadence, a stranger cannot be a proper judge. These beauties, however, if they really exist, would only evince that Muhammad had paid attention to his native language, and that he possessed a poetic imagination, qualifications by no means unfrequent in Arabia. But the particular excellence in its subject, and composition, which has induced Christian writers to deprive Muhammad of the credit of this work, and to ascribe it to a Jewish rabbi

* and a Christian monk, I cannot discover. That it * 436 contains scarcely any thing which can be considered original, is evident ; but the strange, incoherent manner in which it is composed shows clearly that Muhammad wrote from memory, and on the impulse of the moment : for it can scarcely be supposed that, had the Koran been written deliberately by a rabbi and a monk, they would not have given it a better arrangement, or at least avoided the repetitions which continually occur in it : and with regard to the few civil institutions which it contains, Sale has fully pointed out that they in general agree with the Jewish laws and customs ; and that where they differ, it proceeds from Muhammad's having either retained or abolished some particular custom of the Arabs†. A perusal of the Koran, therefore, will leave a very unfavourable impression of Muhammad's abilities ; but his followers were too illiterate to discover its defects, and willingly received its pages as the revelations of heaven. A man, however, may be possessed of amiable qualities, a strong mind, and

† So far was Sale, as Voltaire states, from representing Muhammad as a Numa or a Theseus.

a clear judgment, and yet be a very indifferent scholar, and a worse author.

But it must excite surprise that Prideaux should allow his zeal to carry him so far as to assert that Muhammad forced the Arabs "to exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad†." He must have forgotten the command of God—"But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images and cut down their groves : for thou shalt worship no other God ; for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God‡." Had Muhammad been acquainted with these texts, he could not have more strictly conformed to their spirit than by the conduct which he adopted. "There is no other God but God" is the distinguishing symbol of the faith which he established ; and the most rigid piety cannot object to the simple addition, "and Muhammad is the prophet of God." For he ascribes to himself no peculiar excellence, but declares that he is a man and a sinner selected by God to preach the true faith ; and it will be admitted that there is nothing repugnant to the general belief of mankind, * in supposing that God might thus condescend to reveal his will to men. His abhorrence of idolatry was * 437 signalized by the destruction of idols wherever his power extended ; and when the people of Tayef agreed to submit to him, on condition that he would spare them a favourite idol for three years, or even for one month, no considerations would induce him to consent to such a proposal. Nor did he or his followers ever improve or debase a religion founded on a belief in the unity and perfections of God, by the addition of sublime mysteries incomprehensible to reason, or by the pomp of a superstitious worship, approaching in appearance to that idolatry which he had abolished. There was no order of priesthood created, to intervene between man and his God, and to prescribe certain observances and penances by which alone his favour and mercy could be propitiated. Faith in one God, without companions or similitude, prayer, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage to the house of Abraham, are the sole

† *The Life of Mahomet*, p. 76.

‡ *Exodus*, ch. xxxiv., ver. 13, 14.

and fundamental principles of this religion ; nor to these pure and unexceptionable tenets have any institutions been added, except the appointment of Friday for public worship, and two festivals ; the one in honour of Abraham's sacrifice of Ismael, and the other at the end of the fast of Ramzan.

It must therefore appear that the faith of Islam as far as it respects the Supreme Being is liable to no reproach ; and it will be found that with regard to man it is equally free from blame. It forbids gaming, intoxication, incontinency, calumny, false testimony, injustice, particularly the oppression of orphans, and every vice in general ; and it inculcates brotherly kindness, charity, a strict regard to truth, and the performance of promises and contracts, patience, humility, resignation, and a contempt of worldly riches and distinctions. Muhammad thus expresses himself in the Koran :—" Moreover, man, when his Lord trieth him by prosperity, and honoureth him, and is bounteous unto him, saith, My Lord honoureth me ; but when he proveth him with afflictions, and withholdeth his provisions from him, he saith, My Lord despiseth me. By no means : but ye honour not the orphan, neither do ye excite one another to feed the poor, and ye devour the inheritance

of the weak with undistin*guishing greediness ; and ye *438 love riches with much affection. By no means should ye do thus. When the earth shall be ground to dust, and thy Lord shall come, and the angels rank by rank, and hell, on that day, shall be brought nigh, on that day shall man call to remembrance his evil deeds ; but how shall remembrance then avail him ? He shall say, Would to God that I had heretofore done good works in my lifetime !" — *Koran*, ch. lxxxix. A Moslem's life in this world ought to consist in an abstinence from all pleasure ; and though he may engage in temporal affairs, his chief object ought to be the service of God, by a strict adherence and attention to all the duties of Islamism : it therefore displays no attractions for proselytes. But it is said that all the hardships and miseries of this life will be fully compensated by a future life to be passed in sensual enjoyment, and that Muhammad's description of the delights of

Paradise was so adapted to the gross comprehension of the generality of men, that it was one of the most efficient means by which he propagated his religion. Were this objection even admitted, it must be recollected that he equally preached that these delights could not be acquired except by the practice in this world of self-denial and virtue. The beatitude which the blessed shall hereafter enjoy is difficult to be conceived; and the rendering sensible to the comprehension of his followers the eternal pleasures which were to be the recompense of good actions in this life admits of the best excuse—necessity. But Muhammad also, in the Koran, distinctly states, that besides these sensual delights, “they who do right shall receive a superabundant addition†,” “and that good will from God shall be their most excellent reward‡.”—*Koran*, chap. x., ix.

† Al Ghazali (a commentator on the Koran) supposes this additional recompense will be the beatific vision.

‡ Prideaux, with his usual accuracy, asserts (p. 160) that, “as Muhammad invented his new religion to promote his own ends, so the Alcoran, in which it is contained, sufficiently proves it, there being scarce a leaf in that book which doth not lay down some particulars which tend to the gratifying either of the ambition or lust of that monster who contrived it.” “That a strain of rapine, bloodshed, and lust, runs through the whole book” (p. 168); and “that it does not inculcate the doctrines of mortification, repentance, and self-denial” (p. 160). To refute these assertions, it is merely necessary to refer to the Koran itself, so ably translated by Sale: but to show Prideaux’s acquaintance with the book which he thus censures, I need only point out that he affirms (p. 186), that Mahomet “allows fornication, and justifies adultery by the law:”—offences which are expressly prohibited in the 4th and 24th chapters of the Koran. It may be proper to observe, that Maracci’s translation of the Koran, the only early version which, according to Sale, is complete and accurate, was not published before 1698, a year after the first edition of Prideaux’s *Life of Muhammad*. But as Prideaux lived until 1724, he was bound to make such alterations in his work as a correct translation of the Koran might have rendered necessary. Admitting, however, that former versions were imperfect, can the Dean of Norwich be acquitted of disingenuity at least, in asserting (p. 200), that Mahomet, to please the Arabians, retained most of the rites and ceremonies which they had been accustomed to? for he could not be ignorant that the former religion of Arabia was the grossest idolatry, and that the faith of Islam was a pure and spiritual Deism, unaccompanied by any rites or ceremonies whatever. The pilgrimage to Mecca cannot be considered as an exception, as it was only required to be performed once in a man’s lifetime.

* But whatever opinion may be formed on the effects
 * 439 which the religion of Muhammad may have produced in other countries, it cannot be denied that in Arabia it was productive of the most beneficial consequences. The Arabs, divided into a variety of unconnected communities, lived in a state of independency, it is true; but that independency resulted from the absence of all laws and institutions which could restrain or repress the passions of man: they were therefore prone to war, bloodshed, cruelty, rapine, and to malice the most vindictive. Parental and conjugal affection was destroyed by the custom of burying their daughters alive; and every social virtue must have been greatly weakened, if not destroyed, by their hostile mode of life. Their religion consisted in the grossest idolatry, which exerted but little or no influence over their morals; and, as each tribe followed a distinct mode of worship, religion itself formed no bond of union between the different tribes. It was at the same time corrupted by the most absurd superstitions. That Muhammad entirely eradicated the evil dispositions of the Arabs by introducing a purer faith, cannot, perhaps, be asserted; but it cannot be doubted that this faith, by uniting them under one God, and by inculcating brotherly kindness, rendered private feuds and public wars much less frequent; and that by this means, * and by abolishing infanticide†, restricting
 * 440 polygamy, and encouraging in the strongest manner every amiable and social feeling, it must have had the

† I cannot refrain from adding the following story on the subject, which I find in an Arabic collection published by the College of Calcutta.

It is related, that when Kais ben Aasem came to the prophet of God, some of the persons present asked him respecting the custom of burying female children alive; to which he replied, "Never was a daughter born to me that I did not immediately bury alive, for I feared dishonour. But being once obliged to set out on a journey, I left my wife pregnant; who, being delivered of a daughter in my absence, sent it to her sister to be taken care of, and when I returned informed me that she had been delivered of a dead child. This circumstance remained concealed for a few years, and the child grew up; but one day that her mother visited her, I observed her arranging and plaiting the child's hair, and fondling her, and placing round her neck a string of beads; and I admired the beauty of the child, and asked her 'Whose child is this?' and she wept, and

greatest effect in subduing the ferocity of their tempers, and in humanizing their manners. The particular nature of the country, and the peculiar habits resulting from it, rendered the sovereignty which was established by Muhammad of short duration ; but his religion remained, and its influence has not been diminished by the revolution of ages.

I am at the same time sensible, that two pernicious effects have flowed from this religion. It has fettered the freedom of thought, and it has created and encouraged in every Moslem a bigoted antipathy against all who do not profess the faith of Islam. But the first of these effects cannot be ascribed to Muhammad, for it does not rest on any tradition, or any precept contained in the Koran : he, on the contrary, recommended the acquirement of learning, and exhorted his followers to seek for knowledge * even as far as China. It was the khalif Omar, who established as a principle, that the Koran contained all * 441 that was requisite for the information or instruction of a true believer ; and to this principle the Muhammadans have ever since adhered, at least in theory, with the utmost strictness. But the Koran being thus prescribed as the sole rule of law and religion, and it containing but a few precepts on these points, there naturally and rapidly arose a host of commentators and interpreters of law, who rested all their opinions and decisions on its divine text. Hence, though no order of priesthood had been appointed, its place was doubly supplied by a numerous body of theologians and lawyers, who were equally interested in repressing the liberty of thought, and in requiring a rigid submission to their expositions. Despotism was familiar to Asia,

said ' This is thy child.' And I waited for a day or two, until I could elude the watchfulness of her mother ; and I then took her, and having dug a grave, placed her in it, while she said, ' My father, why do you do this ? Let me know thy intention.' And I began to throw the earth upon her, while she continued saying, ' O my father, why dost thou cover me with this earth ? Oh ! leave me, and depart from me.' But I threw earth upon her until I saw her no more, and her voice ceased ; and my heart was grieved." On hearing this relation, the Prophet wept, and said, " Never may he receive mercy who hath refused mercy !" And yet Prideaux thinks that the religion which eradicated this perversion of feeling is altogether as bad as the religion which sanctioned it.

but unknown in Arabia ; and the authority, in consequence, exercised by the first khalifs was a religious and not a civil power. The adherence to the Koran, as the sole rule of faith and practice, preserved in the opinions of the Muhammadans the original sanctity which had distinguished their first rulers, and induced them, when the reality ceased, to pay the most implicit obedience to their kings. Yet under the most absolute despotism there exists the most singular equality, and the poorest true believer thinks himself of equal consequence in the sight of God as the mightiest prince. The Muhammadan submits to disgrace, punishment, or death, without ever questioning or resisting the authority which inflicts it ; but, whatever his rank or situation may be, he addresses personally the governor, minister, or prince, with the independence, if not the familiarity, of an equal. Fate has determined that their situations should be different ; but the faith which they both profess has taught them, that God respects not riches or dignities ; and experience has convinced them, that he who is rich or powerful one day, may be the next reduced to poverty or a prison. Nor has this equality been ever infringed by the institution of distinct and hereditary ranks. The peasant or the soldier whom the sovereign may raise to office and nobility, enjoys for a time a certain respect and distinction ; but the children derive no advantage from the good fortune of their father. In a state of society, therefore,

formed upon a religion which * thus establishes equality,
 * 442 inculcates humility and contempt of worldly distinctions,

and preaches the practice of virtue and the strict observance of a few simple precepts, as the only means of obtaining the favour and mercy of God, it is obvious that freedom of thought could have been of no advantage, unless it could have destroyed the authority of the Koran, and introduced another form of government better adapted to the dignity of human nature. If it could not have effected that object,—and experience has shown that the best opinions have little or no effect on prejudices,—it would have only contributed to the ruin of individuals, and to the disturbance of the public peace.

But Muhammad is strictly responsible for having drawn a

marked line of distinction between the infidel and the true believer, and for having incited his followers to carry on a holy war against all people who were idolaters, or who ascribed companions to God. It cannot, however, become either the Jews or the Christians to assign these precepts as an objection to the Muhammadan religion; for the objection must recoil on themselves. The effects, also, which resulted from these precepts, have been entirely misunderstood by European writers; and they have in consequence too inconsiderately branded the Muhammadans with the names of enthusiasts and fanatics. They seem to forget, that within eighty years after the death of Muhammad, his followers had conquered Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain; and that, had their zeal continued undiminished, there remained no further field for its exertion. They seemed to forget that the crusades of the Moslems were fair and open wars, and that to every country which they invaded during their rapid career of victory, they gave the option of three conditions,—to embrace the faith of Islam; to submit and pay tribute; or to decide by the sword which of their regions was the revelation of God. Did the people accept the first condition, they became not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of the true believers. Did they accept the second, the tribute imposed on them was moderate, their properties and lives were protected, and they were permitted to profess the religion of their fathers. But if they appealed to the sword, and were conquered, their women and children became captives, and the men might either be slain or considered as prisoners†. * 443 seldom, however did the Muhammadans abuse the

† “When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until you have made a great slaughter among them; and bind them in bonds; and either give them a free dismissal afterwards, or exact ransom, until the war shall have laid down its arms.” Koran, ch. 47.—On this passage Sale remarks: This law the Hanefites judge to be abrogated, or to relate particularly to the war of Beder; for the severity here commended, which was necessary in the beginning of Muhammadism, they think too rigorous to be put in practice in a flourishing state. But the Persians, and some others, hold the command to

power of victory, and never were such extensive conquests effected by so little devastation and bloodshed. Their armies, which displayed the banners of the Unity of God from the banks of the Jaxartes to the mountains of Asturias, were inconsiderable in number; nor could these numbers be replenished or augmented by the scanty population of Arabia. It therefore became necessary that they should incorporate themselves with the proselytes of the different countries which they conquered; and the most rigid follower of the Prophet, the khalif Omar, thus wrote to the General of his army in Syria: "God has not forbidden the use of the good things of this world to faithful men, and such as have performed good works: therefore you ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and to partake freely of those good things which the country affordeth. If any of the true believers have no family in Arabia, they may marry in Syria; and whosoever of them wants any female slaves, he may purchase as many as he hath occasion for†." The different countries which they subdued thus became their homes; and during their progress the Muhammadans in consequence abstained as much as possible from rapine and destruction. "When you fight the battles of the Lord," said Abu Becr to the army about to march to Syria, acquit yourselves like men, *without turning your backs; but let * 444 not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn: cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word†." The Koran, also, in several places directs, that

be still in full force; for, according to them, all the men of full age who are taken in battle are to be slain, unless they embrace the Muhammadan faith; and those who fall into the hands of the Moslems after the battle are not to be slain, but may either be set at liberty gratis, or may be exchanged for Muhammadan prisoners, or condemned to slavery, at the pleasure of the Imam or prince."

† Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, 3rd ed., vol. i., p. 275.

† Ibid., p. 22, and Tabari.

all who submit and pay tribute shall receive security and protection, and shall not be treated with injustice or oppression. As far, therefore, as these holy wars affected the people of the different countries which the Muhammadans invaded, it may be said that the disasters and calamities inseparable from war were of a transient nature, and that, when the storm had passed over, the situation of the great mass of the people was but little altered. The form of government which they introduced was defective, but it was strictly Asiatic; and as long as the khalifate remained in vigour, the power of the governors of provinces was restrained within just bounds, and whenever it was abused, the delinquent was punished. Religion, at the same time, exerted a most beneficial influence in supplying and correcting the defects of administration, and perhaps the people might justly prefer the government of the khalifs to that of the emperors of Madain or Constantinople.

The question, however, is, whether or not this tenet of war against unbelievers must necessarily produce enthusiasm and fanaticism; for the preceding remarks will have perhaps evinced that with the exception of this tenet, and its natural consequence, a dislike and contempt of those who profess a different religion, all the other tenets of the Muhammadans are pure and unexceptionable. On this point it may be difficult to form an opinion, as it seems probable that minds exalted by religious zeal might be guilty of any excess; but it must be recollected, that with regard to the Muhammadans, this zeal was tempered and moderated both by the example and precepts of their Prophet, who, on several occasions, received unbelievers under his protection, and who strictly enjoined that if they submitted and paid tribute, they were neither to be treated with injustice nor oppression. That the Moslems were in one sense of the word enthusiasts, is evident; for they *445 entertained the sincerest conviction of the truth of Islamism, and they were inflamed with the holy ardour of propagating this faith throughout the universe. Yet the influence of this enthusiasm was confined solely to themselves, and it never actuated their individual conduct to infidels. In the day

of battle the exhortation of their General, that Paradise was before them, and Hell behind, must have powerfully inspirited every true believer ; but as soon as the sword was sheathed, the effervescence of zeal was also calmed, and the conquered were treated with clemency. At first, the Muhammadans acted in some instances with severity ; but as their power increased, and even in the lifetime of the Prophet, their conduct was distinguished by the greatest moderation ; and not the slightest trace of enthusiasm appears in the mode of government which they adopted or introduced in the different countries that they reduced under their subjection. Nor can I discover, in any act or opinion of the Muhammadans, that their enthusiasm ever confounded the distinctions externally existing between virtue and vice, nor that their religious opinions ever sanctified a single action which the universal voice of mankind has distinguished by the name of crime†.

If fanaticism, therefore, be that disposition of the mind which believes that the perpetration of crimes may be rendered meritorious and deserving of heaven by the religious motive which has induced their commission‡, it may be safely affirmed that the Muhammadans never were fanatics. The whole tenor

of the Koran, and of Muhammadan history, fully * proves,
 * 446 that the Muhammadans never admitted of a distinct rule
 of right and wrong between the Moslem and the Infidel.
 The latter might be despised, but the faith of Islam did not sanction his being robbed, or his being assassinated. Judges

† War, originating from whatever source, except the defence of one's native country, is, I believe, considered as an imperfection of human nature, and not as a crime.

‡ I find in the French *Encyclopédie* the following more extended definition : "*Fanatisme*—c'est un zèle aveugle et passionné, qui naît des opinions superstitieuses, et fait commettre des actions ridicules, injustes, et cruelles ; non seulement sans honte et sans remords, mais encore avec une sorte de joie et de consolation." It will be evident that no part of this definition can apply either to the actions or the religious opinions of the Muhammadans. This article deserves perusal, though it contains the usual mistakes relating to Muhammad and his religion ; and it will show how little entitled the Muhammadans are, according to authentic history, to the name of fanatics.

might be partial, princes might be oppressive,—for they were men and bigots,—but the partiality and oppression were in direct opposition to the precepts of their religion. But fanaticism cannot exist without an object; and had the Moslems been actuated by this passion, on whom were they to exercise it? Their conquests proceeded for eighty years, without meeting a single obstacle which could retard or obstruct them; and the people who were subdued immediately became either true believers, or subjects entitled to protection. • Fanaticism is peculiar to the Christians, and can originate only in those countries where the pride of man insists on all the people being of one opinion on religious topics. The Muhammadans hold it as a tenet, that salvation cannot be found out of the pale of their church; but, they at the same time permit their subjects to follow the path of perdition in whatever manner they may prefer. But as they consider them to be under the reprobation of God, it naturally follows that they entertain an antipathy to them, and avoid all intimacy with them. “O true believers (says Muhammad in the Koran), take not the Jews or Christians for your friends, they are friends one to the other; but whoso among you taketh them for his friends, he is surely one of them: verily, God directeth not unjust people†.” Idolaters he commanded to be put to death, unless they embraced the faith of Islam. But circumstances have sometimes, particularly in India, obliged the Muhammadans to admit of this abomination; and in such cases the idolater is looked upon with greater contempt than either the Jews or Christians, but he is equally entitled to protection. Such are the principles, it must be admitted, which have for ages regulated the intercourse in private life between the Moslem and the unbeliever. But, however objectionable they may appear, they cannot with propriety be denominated fanatical; as the mere abstaining* from intimacy, or even the expression of contempt, cannot be considered as * 447 crimes; and formerly such conduct in a Christian would have been esteemed the most exemplary virtue.

† Koran, cap. 5.

I have thus examined, perhaps at too great a length, the character of Muhammad, and of the religion which he established; and from these Remarks it may perhaps appear, that the accusations which have been alleged against the Muhammadans and their Prophet rest on no sufficient grounds. Had European writers supported these accusations by specific facts, they would have admitted of a direct refutation; but it is difficult to controvert mere assertion†. I have therefore been obliged to enter into a rather long discussion, in order to show that there is nothing either in the conduct of Muhammad, or in the precepts of his religion, from which it can be justly concluded, that he ever authorized or sanctioned as religious duties the commission of crimes. Whether he was an intentional impostor, can be known only to the Supreme Being; but that he was neither a hypocrite nor a fanatic, as far as man may judge, is fully proved by the minutest accounts of his words and actions for the last ten years of his life. The course of events, also, which he neither prepared nor commanded, rendered ambition and its concomitant passions unnecessary. To describe, therefore, Muhammad as coolly and deliberately directing a parricide, the assassination of his friend, and the administration of poison to a youth whom he had brought up from infancy, displays not only the most gross misrepresentation of his character and religion, but the most singular opinion of human nature, in supposing that there ever existed any society of men who could be * persuaded to believe that the perpetrator of gratuitous cruelties and revolting atrocities was actually the bringer of a revelation from God.‡

† To be convinced of the inconceivable absurdity of the accounts of Muhammad which have been formerly published, great part of which still retain their place in history, and of the complete worthlessness of the authorities on which these accounts rest, it is merely necessary to read the article "Mahomet" in the Dictionaries of Moreri and Bayle. With regard to the latter, Gibbon very justly observes: "In the article of 'Mahomet,' Bayle has shown how indifferently wit and philosophy supply the place of genuine information."

‡ I ought, perhaps, to observe, that in these Remarks I have confined myself to the Tragedy of *Mahomet*, and to the "*Lettre au Roi de Prusse*" prefixed to

[NOTE.—This subject has since been treated by various standard writers, amongst whom I may refer to Dr. Sprenger, Sir William Muir, and the Calcutta Review, vols. XVI., XVII., XIX., XXIII., XXV., and XLVI., and the works therein noted.—ED.]

it, without examining Voltaire's voluminous works, to ascertain what he may have said of Mahomet in other places; but I find the following Note in Gibbon (vol. ix., p. 307): "After the conquest of Mecca, the Mahomet of Voltaire imagines and perpetrates the most horrid crimes. The poet confesses that he is not supported by the truth of history, and can only allege, 'que celui qui fait la guerre à sa patrie, au nom de Dieu, est capable de tout.' *Œuvres de Voltaire*, tome xv., p. 282. The maxim is neither charitable nor philosophic; and some reverence is surely due to the fame of heroes, and the religion of nations. I am informed that a Turkish ambassador at Paris was much scandalized at the representation of this tragedy."

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* XIV.

ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY FROM KATIF ON THE PERSIAN GULF TO YAMBOO ON THE RED SEA.

WITH A ROUTE.†

By Captain G* F. SADLIER, of His Majesty's 47th Regiment.

*Read 24th April, 1821.**Introductory Note by the Secretary.*

CAPTAIN SADLIER having kindly permitted me to make such extracts from the Diary of his Mission to the Turkish camp of Ibrahim Pasha as I might think would be acceptable to the Society, I have gladly availed myself of that permission. A journey of twelve hundred miles from Katif on the Persian Gulf, by Lahissa, to Yamboo on the Red Sea, must excite curiosity ; and it will be fully gratified by the interesting observations contained in the following account. Travelling, however, expeditiously and alone, through a country in which the exact position of a single town has never been ascertained, and unprovided with the necessary instruments, it has not been in Captain Sadlier's power to give that geographical precision to his Route which he would have wished ; but he was particularly attentive in frequently marking the direction of his march by a very good compass, and in noting exactly the time of each day's journey ; and by such means, as it is well known, a near approximation to the truth may be obtained.

The principal part of Captain Sadlier's journey lay through the provinces of Hajar, or Bahrein, and Najd, which have been always the residence of the Bedouin tribes. Their peculiar mode of life, and the deserts which they inhabit, must ever prevent any material change taking place in their manners,

† For remarks on the construction of the Route see Appendix.

* customs, and government. Hence the accurate description of them given by Niebuhr fifty-eight years ago * 450 will be found equally correct at this day. He observes with regard to Hajar :—" Tout le district appartient à la tribu Beni Khâled, une des plus puissantes parmi les Arabes, laquelle s'étend si avant dans le désert, qu'elle inquiète souvent les caravans entre Bagdad et Haleb. Le Shech aujourd'hui regnant se nomme Arâr. La plus grande partie de ce pays est habitée par les Bedouins, et par diverses tribus qui reconnaissent la souveraineté de la tribu Beni Khâled. On y trouve encore plusieurs villes. Lachsa est la résidence du Shech regnant†." Captain Sadlier mentions that Lahissa, Katif, and the greatest part of this district, had been reduced by the Turks; and that, on Ibrahim Pasha withdrawing his troops from this part of Arabia, Lahissa and its dependencies were restored to the Beni Khalid, but as tributaries to the Pasha, who claimed a proportion of the revenues as a remuneration for the expenses of the war, and for reinstating the tribe in their former possessions. Niebuhr concludes this account of the seaports of this province by observing—" Je ne sais au reste aucune particularité des autres villes et villages de l'intérieur du pays‡." On this point Captain Sadlier's Journal will afford new and important information.

Najd is thus described by Niebuhr:—" La plus grande partie de cette province est habitée par les Bedouins ou Arabes errans. La partie qui est particulièrement connue sous le nom de Nedsjed est montagneuse, remplie de villes et villages, aussi bien que de petites seigneuries, de sorte que presque chaque petite ville est gouvernée par un Shech indépendant. Les lieux de Nedsjed montagneux sont très fertiles en toutes sortes de fruit, surtout en dattes. On y trouve peu de rivières§, et même celle qui est marquée sur la carte de M. d'Anville n'est qu'un *wadi*, ou torrent qui n'a de l'eau qu'après de grands pluies. C'est

† Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 294.

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ This is a mistake, as there does not appear to be a single river in the whole extent of this province.

pourquoi les Arabes de * cette contrée sont obligés de
 * 451 creuser des puits très profonds, et cette disette d'eau y
 rende le labourage fort pénible. Les Arabes de Nedsjed
 ne sont pas plus inhumains envers les étrangers que le reste
 de leur nation, ni moins hospitaliers; mais comme l'on trouve
 dans ce pays tant de petits états indépendans qui ont chacun
 leur Shech, on peut aisément comprendre, que les voyageurs
 y trouvent peu de sûreté. Chaque prince cherche à tirer
 d'eux ce qu'il peut attraper, et comme ils sont presque toujours
 en guerre entre eux, les étrangers sont ordinairement dépouillés
 par le premier entre les mains duquel ils tombent, afin que les
 voisins ne puissent s'en enrichir.† This province was the
 principal seat of the Wahabis, and in it was their capital situ-
 ated: but the Bedouin tribes embraced the new faith with sin-
 cerity; and as soon as the constraint which imposed it on
 them was removed, they immediately returned to their for-
 mer habits of public and private life. Unfortunately the
 devastations of the Turks, so irreparable in a desert, will long
 prevent this part of Arabia from recovering its former pros-
 perity.

But Captain Sadlier's Journal acquires particular interest
 from the account given in it of the final subversion of the Wa-
 habis. The author of an *Histoire des Wahabis*, published at
 Paris in 1810, concludes his work with the following remarks:—
 “Abd-el-whaab est venu rendre à ce zèle son ancienne ferveur.
 Les Wahabis sont aujourd'hui plus intolérans et plus fanatiques
 que ne le furent jamais les Mahometans. Réunis sous un seul
 chef, ces Arabes regrettent leur ancienne puissance, et attendent
 impatiemment le moment de la rétablir. Tout porte donc à
 croire, que les Wahabis deviendront, au moins en Orient, ce
 qu'y furent autrefois les Arabes, et cette révolution ne peut
 être éloignée.”

This author does not seem to have adverted to the impossi-
 bility of forming the Bedouins into a single state, or of effec-
 tually reducing these wandering and independent tribes under

† Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, pp. 296, 297.

the authority of a single ruler; nor to the inadequacy of the Desert for maintaining an army sufficiently powerful to extend its conquests beyond the limits of Arabia. But to these causes must it be ascribed, that every attempt of *the Wahabis to occupy Syria, or even the Pachalik of Bagdad, has * 452 invariably failed. In the provinces, however, of Hajar, Najd, and Hijaz, as they met with scarcely any opposition, they succeeded, in a few years, in establishing a seeming formidable power.

The exact date of its commencement has not been ascertained, but it was founded by Muhammad-ibn-Saud. He was succeeded by his son Abd-ul-Aziz, who successfully carried into effect the projects of his father, and captured the holy city of Mecca. Abd-ul-Aziz was assassinated in 1803, when his authority devolved on his son Saud, who completed the conquest of Hijaz by capturing Medina and Jeddah. Saud died in the middle of 1814, and was succeeded by his son Abdallah, who was taken prisoner by Ibrahim Pasha in September 1819, and an end thus put to the power of the Wahabis.

It is evident that the success of the Wahabis proceeded from the weakness of the Turkish Government. For as soon as Muhammad Ali was appointed viceroy of Egypt, being possessed of an energy and skill in general unknown to Turkish Pashas, he speedily expelled the Wahabis from Hijaz, and finally subverted their authority. Of Muhammad Ali's successes against them the best account is contained in the following extracts from Burckhardt's Letters :

“The Pasha of Egypt is in possession of all the principal towns of the Hedjaz; but whenever he has endeavoured to push on into the interior, he has constantly been defeated by the Wahabi Arabs, amongst whom a female chief, called Ghaly, whose residence is in Taraba, eight days' journey south-east of Mecca, has particularly distinguished herself.—Many powerful Wahabi chiefs have come over to the Pasha, who has thus been induced to undertake an expedition against Derayeh, and the Nedjed itself. At the moment I am writing, Toussun Pasha, the son of Mohammed Aly, is proceeding from hence to Medina

to command the expedition, which will take place as soon as the rains set in†."

* On the 20th July, 1815, he writes:—"Mohammed * 453 Aly himself, who had been in the Hedjaz for twenty months, returned at the same time to his capital, after having completely defeated and destroyed the power of his enemy, from Medina southward as far as Arabia Felix. Toussun Pasha remains in the neighbourhood of Medina to finish the war, by taking Derayah, the Wahabi capital."

"2nd September 1815.—The Wahabi war draws to a conclusion.—The Pasha, on quitting Arabia, left his son Toussun Pasha at the head of his small army in the northern parts of the country. In April last, during the time of my residence at Medina, Toussun took possession of the province of Kasyne, a fertile district between Medina and Derayah, the chief seat of the Wahabi; he fought three several battles with the Wahabi.... The chief of the Wahabi, Abdullah-ibn-Saoud, was apprehensive that the repeated advantages gained by Toussun Pasha might cause the principal of his adherents to join his enemy; he therefore commenced negotiations."

"8th February, 1816.—Toussun Pasha, left by his father Aly as governor of Arabia, concluded in June 1815 a treaty of peace with the Wahabi. The possession of the whole Desert, and the far greater part of the Bedouin tribes, were given up to them, while the holy cities were acknowledged as dependencies of the Sultan. The Wahabi promised to put no obstacles in the way of the great pilgrim caravans. But it is contrary to the politics of Mohammed Aly to quell that war entirely; for he knows that as long as Arabia is in an unsettled state, and Mecca in danger, he becomes necessary to the Mussulman world in his governorship of Egypt, of which he might possibly

† Burckhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, p. 57, letter dated Jidda, 7th August, 1814. He had said in a preceding letter, dated May 2nd, 1813:—"Travelling in Arabia, few parts excepted, is as safe as travelling in Egypt; and it will not be less so to me, as I shall have recommendations to all the officers of Muhammad Ali, who garrison the cities of the Hedjaz, since the complete defeat of the Wahabis, who have retired to their native seats in the Nedjed."

be soon deprived if Hedjaz was quiet; he has therefore refused to ratify the treaty, and his younger son Ibrahim Pasha is now proceeding to Arabia with a new armament of troops."

"May 18th, 1817.—We are left without precise news from the seat of the war which Ibrahim Pasha conducts in the Hedjaz against the Wahabi. Until within the last two months he had not pushed further than Hanakye, * a station three days' journey in advance of Medina towards the Wahabi * 454 country."

Captain Sadlier's Journal will give full information respecting the further proceedings of Ibrahim Pasha, and the complete subversion of the power and the faith of the Wahabis.

In making these extracts, I have of course found it necessary to give them a certain degree of method and arrangement; but in other respects I have scrupulously retained Captain Sadlier's style and diction, in which I have merely made a few verbal alterations. It is, however, to be regretted that Captain Sadlier's absence, on a mission to Sind, has prevented this account receiving the benefit of his correction.

Account of a Journey, &c.

Having been appointed by the Government of Bombay to proceed on a mission to the Turkish camp of Ibrahim Pasha, after his reduction of Deria, the capital of the Wahabees, I accordingly embarked on board the Honourable Company's cruiser Thetis on the 14th April 1819. The object of this mission was to congratulate the Pasha on his late successes, and to ascertain his intentions respecting further conquests in Arabia; and how far he might be inclined, if practicable, to co-operate with the British in the reduction of Rasal Kheima, and the other piratical stations of the Juassimis on the Persian Gulf. But, as the precise situation of the Pasha's camp was not known at Bombay, I was directed to touch at Muscat, both for the purpose of communicating with the Imam on the intended expedition against the Juassimis, and for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the route by which I

might proceed with the greatest facility to the Pasha's camp.

I arrived at Muscat on the 7th May, and on the next day received a visit from the minister of the Imam, when the time and mode of my reception by the Imam were easily arranged, as little etiquette is observed at His Highness's court. I accordingly proceeded on shore at 11 A.M.,

* where I was received on landing by the minister, who
* 455 conducted me to the Imam's palace. I was there received in the most courteous manner by the Imam and his brother, who were seated in a room neatly carpeted and furnished with chairs.

His Highness made the usual complimentary inquiries with much affability ; and when I approached to present him with the letter with which I was intrusted, he rose from his chair and received it with every appearance of satisfaction. This visit, though the conversation was merely complimentary, was protracted to an unusual length. In the evening the minister waited on me, and entered into a long discussion on several topics connected with my mission. He appeared to be advanced in years, rather stupid, and possessed of even more apathy than is usually blended in the disposition of an Arab.

I was detained at Muscat by several circumstances until the 15th May, and during that time had several conferences with the Imam, the result of which was as favourable as could be wished. The Imam's appearance is plain, but his manners are courteous ; he seems to possess a good temper and disposition, and seldom displays either irritation or peevishness, except when fretted by business ; but this occurs not unfrequently, as he transacts even trifling affairs himself. The successes of Ibrahim Pasha in Arabia appeared to have excited considerable suspicion and jealousy in the mind of the Imam, who frequently inveighed against the cruelty of the Pasha's conduct towards the Arabs.

On the afternoon of the 13th, I availed myself of a leisure moment to pay a visit to Seid Salim, the Imam's brother, who received me with every mark of politeness and regard. As the Seid had resided for some months at Shiraz, he consi-

dered it necessary to show that he had been a traveller, and introduced sherbets and fruits according to the Persian custom. But as smoking is not permitted to the chiefs of the tribe or sect of Beiasi, this latter part of the ceremony of Persian visits could not be complied with†. I observed that when the refreshments had been served up, the * doors of the room were closed, and that an inclination to secrecy * 456 was evidently evinced; which impressed me with an idea that the Seid did not wish it to appear publicly that he ate off the same board with an infidel. The fruits were laid on a table; but I did not perceive that any of the company were at all scrupulous in partaking of the same dish, or using the same bowl, from which I had served myself. On my return from this visit I waited on the minister, who presented me with coffee; but even here smoking formed no part of the ceremony‡. On the whole, the etiquette of visiting is much more rudely conducted among the Arabs than among the Persians.

After making every inquiry, I ascertained that the safest and most expeditious route, by which I could proceed to the camp of Ibrahim Pasha, was by Al Khateef. It therefore became necessary that we should sail to Bushire, in order to obtain a pilot to carry the vessel into that port. The voyage from Muscat to Bushire was peculiarly tedious, and we did not arrive there until the 7th of June. On the 16th we sailed from Bushire, and made the land on the Arab coast at noon of the 18th, expecting that there would be little difficulty in entering the harbour of Katif. But our disappointment was great when we discovered that the old stupid pilot was totally ignorant of the harbour, and brought up, all sail set, on the

† “La secte Beïási, Beïadi, ou Abadi, est la principale de l’Oman.”—Niebuhr, *Description de l’Arabie*, p. 16. “Les liqueurs fortes sont défendues à cette secte, comme aux autres Mahometans. Les Beïási s’abstiennent outre cela de fumer du tabac et de boire du café.”—But he adds, “cependant ils ont la politesse d’offrir l’un et l’autre aux étrangers.”—*Ibid.*, p. 19.—*Note by the Secretary.*

‡ The minister was not of the Beiasi sect. But I never saw either coffee or pipes introduced amongst persons of that sect.

edge of a sandbank, where we remained for the night, not being able to better our situation. I, in consequence, despatched Sheik Kumeest† with a letter to the Turkish governor at Katif to request a pilot; but as he did not return on the following morning, every effort was tried in order to discover a channel up the southern side of the bay, but without success. On the *afternoon of the 19th, Rahman ben Jaber, a sheik *457 who resides on the bay, sent to congratulate us on our arrival, and, at my request, furnished us with two intelligent pilots, who, with the help of the morning's tide, conducted the vessel to its anchorage on the afternoon of the 20th. The course for ships is on the north side of the bay, where there is a fine deep channel running close to and parallel with the narrow spit of sandy land, by which this side of the bay is formed or separated from the ocean.

June 21.—Khalil Aga, the Turkish governor of Katif, sent on board the vessel Yusuf Agha, an intelligent Turkish soldier, who officiated as collector of customs, to receive me and to conduct me on shore. I accordingly landed at the village of Siahah, which is situated on the southern side of the bay, about three miles below the Katif, and which Khalil Aga had fixed upon for my residence, as he said the town was so unhealthy that it would be dangerous to reside in it even for one night. The distance from the anchorage to the landing-place near this village was certainly twelve miles; and the place where we landed, as well as the whole length of this beach, is so very shallow, that camels and horses are used to convey persons from the boats, and all baggage, &c. is brought off by camels or asses.

June 22—28.—I was detained at Katif in making the neces-

† This Sheik had offered his services as a guide; and as he had resided for many months on this coast, and had made two journeys to Deriah, I thought it advisable to entertain him, it being advantageous to be attended by one who is personally known to the Bedouin Sheiks. But by the time that I arrived at Lahissa I found him guilty of so many deceptions, and so deeply implicated in all the impositions which I experienced from the Beni Khalid Bedouins, that I was obliged to get rid of him, and therefore gave him letters at Lahissa to Katif.

sary preparations for my journey. Unfortunately, at this time, the Turkish governor had been recalled, and, as he had not yet given over charge to his successor, the government was in the greatest confusion. Finding, therefore, that I could expect neither assistance nor protection from the Turks, I availed myself of a visit paid me by Mashruf Aal ul Arreeur, nephew of Mahmud ben Arreeur, the chief of the tribe of Beni Khalid, to accept of his offer of supplying me with cattle as far as Lahissa. I also addressed a letter to his uncle, in which I reminded him of the friendly intercourse which had so long existed between his tribe and the English, and requested him to afford me his assistance in procuring the requisite means for the prosecution of my journey. On the 28th, Mashruf, according to his promise, brought the cattle from his Bedouin camp, which was at the distance of a few miles from Katif, and supplied me with six of his own saddle * horses. I at the same time received an answer from Mahmud, promising me every assistance in * 458 his power.

I shall now attempt to give as correct a description of Katif, and the country in its neighbourhood, as my imperfect observations will admit. The bay of Katif is nearly 20 miles at the entrance, and is formed by a very long, narrow, sandy neck on the northern, and by a flat sandy plain on the southern side: the northern point is called Ras-ut-Tanoorah, and the southern Zaheran. The island of Tarut lies in the centre, towards the top of the bay. It is about ten miles in length, extending north-west and south-east, thickly planted with date trees, and well supplied with water. A bank projects from the island towards the opening of the bay in the form of a scallop-shell, and divides the bay into two channels; the northern, as before described, is deep and safe, but the southern is shallow and intricate. On this side there is one very peculiar mark, a sugar-loaf hill on the main, called Zaheran; and further up the harbour is a tower, or fort, called Damam, surrounded by water, and lately repaired by Rahman ben Jaber. Above this is the village of Siahat, on the main; and about four miles higher up, the fort of Katif, which is abreast of the island of Tarut. The northern

channel is the safest for ships, but the anchorage is situated at a considerable distance from Katif, to reach which place large boats are obliged to go round the bank of Tarut. This channel is very easy of access, as it only requires to accommodate the ship's course to the form of the narrow sandy neck, keeping about a cable's length off shore, till you get abreast of Tarut, when two small sandy isles, nearly at the top of the bay, and a decrease of water, give timely notice for anchoring. Here a vessel is safe from north-west gales, but the bottom is sand.

The fort of Katif is an irregular oblong, the longest face towards the sea, and has three gates. In the northernmost angle is the citadel, which is supposed to have been built by the Portuguese, and which is well supplied with water. The depth of water at the landing-place is greater than at Siahat, but is still very inconveniently shallow. There are some good houses within the fort. A market is held outside the fort every

* Thursday, which is well supplied with mutton, rice,
* 459 dates, and musk- and water-melons, the latter of an extraordinary size, some weighing from 35 to 40 pounds.

Wheat and barley are not produced here in as great abundance as rice; and to the cultivation of the latter is attributed the unhealthy air of Katif. In the gardens, which extend to a considerable distance, skirted by the Desert on one side and by the sea-beach on the other, and which are shaded by date trees interspersed with hamlets, and all well supplied with wells of water, figs are cultivated abundantly, and tolerably good; a few apricots and mangoes, pomegranates, grapes, citrons and limes, and also the Brinjal, onions, and beans.

The trade of Katif is at present trifling, and is carried on principally with Bahrein†, through which goods from Surat, and spices, sugars, &c. from other parts of India, are supplied. Bahrein is in fact the *entrepôt* to Bahran, Katif, and Anjeer, which are all supplied from that island; and on this channel are Lahissa and the interior dependent for their supplies. But the consumption has been hitherto very trifling, on account of

† Bahrein is an island: the continent opposite is called Bahran.

the unsettled state of the country, and of the Bedouins having removed to the northward. Lahissa is chiefly supplied through Anjeer, as it is a more direct communication ; which of course diminishes the trade of Katif.

The district of Katif consists of nine walled and seven unwalled villages, and the population amounts to about 25,000 souls. Of this number the town and suburbs of Katif contain 6000. But there are neither Hindus nor Christians amongst them. The revenue amounts to about 75,000 or 86,000 German crowns, and consists of the following items:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Tax paid by villagers and townsmen, to be excused from taking the field : this is paid in cash, and does not vary. | 20,000 |
| Land Tax, one-tenth of gross produce : paid in kind..... | 50 to 60,000 |
| Sea Customs | 5 to 6,000 |
| Anchorage Fees, a trifling duty. | |

June 28—July 3.—On the 28th of June, at six p.m., we marched from the village of Siahat, and on the 3rd of July arrived at Oomerubiah, a large encampment of Bedouin Arabs of the tribe of Beni Khalid, after having * passed over about ninety miles of desert, generally in a westerly direction. On the first night we merely marched to Mashrut's Bedouin camp, about five miles from Siahat and two from Katif. The camp was pitched in rows of ten tents, near wells in the Desert, on the skirt of date-plantations. Here we lay down on the open plain, while the moon shone beautifully bright on the white sand, which resembled the ocean both in extent and in the form and appearance of its surface. The next day, after considerable difficulty in arranging the loads of the camels, as the Arabs were anxious to spare them as much as possible, we launched into the Desert. The whole of this march was over sandhills and flat sandy plains. The surface of the latter was covered with a thick crust of caked salt, through which the cattle sunk very deep at every step ; and on this there was not a trace of verdure. But on the sandhills, which were deep, there were a few tufts of grass, rushes, some stunted brown bushes very thickly scattered, and in general a profusion of a shrub which grows in the form of a round bunch

or bush. It is very green, full of a saltish sour liquid, and its leaves are thick, of a long oval form, and completely saturated with this liquid. Camels feed on this plant, but do not seem to be fond of it. This plant is called Ishnan, and from its ashes the alkali or potash is procured.

The rest of the journey was over a similar desert, excepting that the surface was in no other place of a saline nature, and that the sand was not so deep. We quitted at the end of the fourth march the sandhills, which resembled the billows of the ocean, rising one after another and abruptly breaking. I observed that this break was generally towards the south. The heat during this journey was intolerable, and the hot wind of the Desert blew at intervals so strong as to render respiration difficult. There is no water to be found in this tract, excepting at wells about forty miles distant from Katif, which supply some wandering Arabs who abide in the Desert tending flocks of sheep and goats, of which they have about two hundred. On the fifth day we saw a very large flock of antelopes,—I suppose two hundred.

An intelligent Arab informed me that there are not any villages in any part of this Desert, excepting to the north or north-west, where there are * seven hamlets, containing * 461 from fifteen to one hundred and fifty families, who have a few date-trees and a little cultivation. To the west and south-west the whole country is a desert.

The Bedouins are certainly the most uncomfortable travellers in the universe, as they make no preparation, and have no plan to guide them. Their halts for refreshment, as they were pleased to denominate them, were generally made at no great distance from the regular stage, and in places where neither water, fofage, nor fire, could be procured. I endeavoured to make them proceed, but they paid no attention to my advice; and these halts always occasioned an unnecessary expenditure of water, as the Arabs made free with every skin of water which they could lay their hands on.

On the day before we arrived at Mahmud's camp, at Oome-rubiah, being halted at a place where no water could be pro-

cured, and our own all expended, Sheik Mashruf determined not to lose so favourable an opportunity for extortion. I had informed him that it was my intention to make him a suitable present on our arrival at his uncle's camp: but on this evening he prevailed on me to give it to him, as he said that he proposed to go on in advance, and wished to have some testimony of my satisfaction to wear on his arrival there. He received the present, and appeared to be well satisfied with it, but shortly after returned to my tent and commenced a conversation respecting the hire of the horses, which I always considered had been lent to me as a compliment, and that the present which I had made him ought to have satisfied him for the attention which he had shown to the party. Mashruf, however, insisted on my paying ten dollars for each horse, and said that, as all the other people had been paid for their cattle, he was determined to be paid for his horses, and that if I did not choose to consent, he would march off and leave me where I was. I was completely in the barbarian's power, and was therefore happy to end the discussion by paying sixty dollars. Shortly after, a report of thieves having been seen was spread; but to this I replied, that the only thieves in this desert were of his own tribe, and since there could therefore be no cause of alarm, I would not comply with any requisitions on account of protection, as he was responsible for my safety. He perceived that I was resolute, and that myself and three or four of the party were well armed, *462 and consequently thought it too hazardous to proceed further.

July 4—6.—I was detained in Sheik Mahmud's camp at Oomerubiah. After my arrival on the 3rd, Sheik Mahmud paid me a visit. He is an old man, very deaf, and was so encumbered with clothes, that I was surprised he could bear the load; but he did not wear shoes, though the sand was so hot that I could scarcely walk over it. It appeared ridiculous to see a man wearing a costly shawl on his head, thick scarlet cloth robe, and under-robe of gold tissue, and at the same time insensible to the comfort of shoes in a burning desert.

Our conversation could not be very interesting ; and as the Sheik was obliged to keep the fast of Ramazan, under a burning sun in this horrid desert, I did not think it would appear polite or hospitable to detain him. Compliments, therefore, and assurances of friendship, having been profusely expended, the old gentleman departed barefoot.

In the evening I addressed a letter to Sheik Mahmud, in which I detailed the particulars of his nephew's conduct to me in the Desert. This letter was fortunately delivered at the moment that a large number of the tribe had assembled ; and having been read aloud, it was consequently heard by all the persons present. Sheik Mahmud appeared much vexed at his nephew's conduct ; and his brother, Sheik Majid, waited upon me after sunset to acknowledge that Mashruf had disgraced himself and his tribe, and to offer any compensation for his conduct. Majid proposed that the present and the sixty dollars should be returned ; but this I declined, and explained that it was not the value of the one or the amount of the other which had induced me to mention the subject, but the consideration that such conduct was a breach of confidence and good faith, which would not tend to cement the friendship that I was anxious to maintain with the Sheiks. He replied, that he was determined to produce Mashruf the next day, and to punish him in a most exemplary manner. I then changed the conversation ; and coffee and pipes having been presented, Sheik Majid took his leave. Shortly after, Mashruf came, attended by two or three decent Arabs. He appeared so truly penitent, and so* fully confessed the whole *463 trick, that it was evident he was apprehensive of what might take place the next day. He threw himself at my feet, and implored me to pardon him. I, in consequence, thought it prudent to consider his rank, and to avail myself of that opportunity for conciliating his tribe, rather than to urge a point the success of which was doubtful : I therefore consented to overlook his former conduct.

On the morning of the 4th, I returned Sheik Majid's visit ; more particularly with a view to expediting my departure,

which was fixed for the evening. The fairest promises and the strongest assurances of friendship, were as profusely lavished on this occasion as on the former interview; and both the Sheiks appeared so well versed in the art of deception, that it was difficult to perceive the motive which induced them to delay providing the cattle. They talked of parties of robbers of the Aiciman tribe having been seen near Lahissa, and tried to raise various reports of the dangers to be encountered or expected on the march, merely with the intention of using these circumstances as a pretext for raising the hire of their camels, and to induce me to promise a valuable present. The Sheiks, as I have observed, from the influence which they exert over their tribes, are the persons to whom a traveller must apply for cattle to convey himself and his baggage, as well as for guards to protect it; and should he procure cattle through any other medium, the Sheik is not responsible for his safety, and would be the first to plunder him. I had heard a very favourable report of the character of Sheik Mahmud and Sheik Majid, and entered the camp in the expectation of finding them deserving of this opinion. Their appearance and address, aided by the assiduity of their assurances, might have led me to place implicit confidence in them, had not the conduct of their nephew in the Desert, whose first appearance and acquaintance had made the most favourable impression, fully developed the character of the Bedouin.

The procrastination, duplicity, falsity, deception, and fraudulence of the Bedouin cannot be described in language which would convey to an European mind the real character of these hordes of robbers. It is the *usual practice of the Bedouins to appear meek and humble when bargaining *464 with a traveller; but when he has entered the Desert their conduct entirely changes, as he is then completely at the mercy of these lords of the soil, who rule with despotism, and impose at pleasure. If any disagreement should take place, the Bedouin would immediately desert the traveller, and leave him to perish for want of water. To attempt to argue with them on the principles of equity or justice, is ridiculous; and

to attempt to insist on their adhering to promises or agreements is equally fruitless, unless you have the means of enforcing compliance. The agreement I had made with Sheik Mashruf was, that he was to supply a certain number of camels to convey my party to Lahissa, at four German crowns for each, and that we were to arrive there in four days; his uncle's camp being only, as he stated, three marches distant from Katif and one from Lahissa: and I consented to pay in advance three German crowns for each camel. Mashruf also said that he would do me the compliment of supplying me with his own horses. On my arrival at Sheik Mahmud's camp, I expected from the first interview to have brought him to a sense of the impropriety of his nephew's conduct on the march, and to prevent a recurrence of imposition; but the hoary-bearded Bedouin was too well versed in deceit, and said that Mashruf had no authority to hire the people's camels to me further than his camp, and that it rested with himself to agree with me for their hire to Lahissa: for which he demanded two German crowns for each camel. He had repeatedly promised to refund the sixty German crowns; but, so far from fulfilling this promise, he added another imposition to the treachery of his nephew.

July 7—10. Marched from Oomerubiah to Lahissa, a distance of about ninety-six miles in a south-easterly direction. This march is well supplied with water. At about forty-two miles before we arrived at Lahissa, we passed the village of Hoodia to the left, being the only walled or settled habitation of man that we had met. In its neighbourhood the land is cultivated; and there were several flocks of sheep near the walls. At twenty-one miles' distance from Lahissa, we halted, at the village of *Jooniah, where there is an abundant
* 465 supply of water, and date-gardens. Near this village is an extensive lake, which fertilizes the adjacent plain; but its operation is soon checked by the Salt Desert.

July 12—20. On my arrival at Lahissa, I was received with every compliment and mark of attention that the circumscribed means of the Kashif admitted of. Visits were interchanged,

at which mutual assurances of friendship having been established between the respective governments, and hopes that it would continue permanent, formed the general topics of conversation. Nothing material occurred during my stay at Lahissa, which was protracted until the Kashif, who had just received orders to collect the remains of the Turkish troops, and to rejoin Ibrahim Pasha at Soodgur, was prepared to set out for that place.

Ul Ahsa, or Lahissa, is the name of a district, the principal town of which is called Foof. The walls of this town are of mud, and about fifty feet high. It is surrounded by a deep dry trench, and has two gates. The houses within the fort are mean. Foof, and its suburbs, which consist of an open village to the east of the fort, interspersed with cultivated grounds and date-plantations, do not contain fifteen thousand inhabitants, of which number probably six hundred may be considered as capable of bearing arms. About 3-4ths of a mile from the north of Foof, is situated the fort of Mubarruz, the towers of which are lofty. It is surrounded by a deep dry ditch, and has but one gate. Its suburbs, or open village, are not so extensive as that of Foof, and may contain about ten thousand souls, of which four hundred may be considered as capable of bearing arms. Date-plantations extend to the eastward, which are interspersed with open villages and hamlets, said to contain fifty thousand souls. These plantations are nourished by an abundant supply of good water from wells, and several lakes. But I could not perceive any trace of a river, or stream, forming a connexion between any of these lakes; and both Turks and Arabs assured me that no river exists. With regard to the course of a river which is inserted in many of the modern maps, and represented as running close to Lahissa, it may be remarked that there are certainly many torrents formed by the winter rains, which shape their * course according to the direction of the valleys between the mountains; but as they are only periodical, they *466 ought not to be magnified into rivers.

Wheat, barley, and rice are cultivated in the lands adjoining the plantations. The fruits and vegetables are not good. Those which we procured were, a few bad apricots, very hard figs,

and dry, bad water-melons. The tamarisk grows very tall, and is carefully preserved, as it is of essential use in roofing the houses. This valley may produce in ordinary seasons a sufficient supply for the inhabitants. A profitable trade is carried on in this district, in consequence of the whole produce of the date-harvest being required by the Bedouins, and of its serving as the channel for conveying supplies into the interior from the port of Anjeer.

July 21—24. Having made the necessary preparation for proceeding on to the camp of Ibrahim Pasha, and the Kashif being ready to set out, he fulfilled on the afternoon of the 21st the promise which he had made me, by sending me a mihmandar, a horse, and camels. The camp was disappearing, and we were soon on the move. I had not had the pleasure of hearing from the Kashif since the receipt of the present which I had sent to him; and this evening he mounted, and set off without making any inquiries respecting me, and the mihmandar also departed. It appears to me that in a Turkish camp, hospitality, or attention to strangers, does not form any part of their military code. During my stay with the Turks, I have as yet received no mark of personal attention from that nation. On the 24th, I arrived at Oomerubiah, having returned to it by a much shorter route†. The desert through which we passed was barren and dreary, exhibiting only a few tufts of grass, and there was no water to be procured.

July 25. Marched at 4 P.M. in a westerly direction, through a hilly * country, which was barren, more firm, and not so *467 sandy as the flat desert; and halted at 1^h 30' A.M. on the 26th. Water was discovered in a large well in the plain, which is surrounded by hills.

July 26, Replenished our stock of water, and marched at 4

† *July 21.* Marched at 5 P.M. Halted at 8 P.M. at the village of Howrah, which is walled, surrounded by a large date-plantation, and well supplied with water from a hot spring and large lake.—*July 22.* Marched at 5^h 30' P.M. Halted at 6^h 30' A.M. of 23rd.—23. Marched at 4^h 45' P.M. Halted at Oomerubiah, after 11 hours' march.

P.M., keeping a W. by S. course, and halted at 8 A.M. of the 27th. No water procurable; the air rather cooler. The desert, on this march, was better covered with grass, tufts, and bushes. I observed the babul (*mimosa*) in blossom, and a few wild bare-trees which produce a plum common all over India. We saw a few deer, and two or three hares were killed on the march.

July 27. Marched at 4 P.M. Halted at 8 A.M. of the 28th, route westerly. No water to be procured.

July 28. Marched at 4 P.M. Halted at Remah at 7 P.M., route west. Here are seven deep wells.

July 29. Halt occupied in replenishing our water. In the afternoon a thunder-storm, with a heavy fall of rain.

July 30. Marched at 6^h 30' A.M. Halted at noon at Samama; route SSW. Our march was over a hilly country, and gravelly surface. In many places the rain-water had lodged, and the desert appeared refreshed by this fall of rain. Water in a nullah, on the banks of which were several babul trees of a large size.

July 31. Marched at 5^h 30' A.M. Halted at Aoormah, at 2^h 30' P.M. No water to be procured. The first part of our route was SSW., along the nullah: we then proceeded SW., and approached this place by a westerly course. In the nullah we found some pools of rain-water, but none in the plain, which is covered with stones, and very barren. The nullah runs NNE., but is lost in the desert. The hills from which it flows are composed of gravel covered with large loose stones, and are extremely barren.

August 1. Marched at 6^h 30' A.M. Halted, at noon, at Gahul Bahban, where we found a stream of rain-water.

August 2. Marched at 11 A.M. in the direction of Munfooah. Obligated to halt, by a heavy thunder-storm and fall of rain, at 4 P.M.

* *August 3.* Pursued our route to Munfooah, and halted within a mile of that place. * 468

August 4—12. Halted at Munfooah.

On this part of the journey, our night marches were rendered more tardy and unpleasant than our former ones, as the

convoy consisted of nearly six hundred camels, which moved on in tens and fifties, each person's baggage forming a separate party. But one part of the arrangement of our march appeared to me very judicious, and forcibly brought to recollection the justness of the simile, so frequently introduced by the Arabs, which compares the desert to the ocean, and the camel to a ship. An advanced guard, accompanied by the guides, moved on in front, under the command of an officer of cavalry: and a large lantern elevated on a pole affixed to the saddle of a camel, appeared like the top-light of a commodore's ship, to which the column was expected to pay attention. During the night, also, several pistols were discharged from front to rear, to mark the position of the different groups, and to prevent their becoming too widely extended.

During the march of the 27th July, one of the Bedouins picked up a hedgehog, and brought it to me at our halting-place as a present. The animal was not so large as the hedgehogs I have generally seen in India. Having examined it, I returned it to the Bedouin, who immediately repeated the bismillah, and, having skinned it, placed it on the fire and made an excellent broil of it. The Bedouins eat all the wild animals they find throughout the desert,—the jerboa, the lizard, the guana, and even snails; as they consider all wild animals (except the hog) to be created for the use of man, and have therefore no repugnance to any of them, provided it has been lawfully killed†. There are, however, fewer animals in the deserts of Arabia than in any country of the same extent on the face of

* the globe. Throughout a long march over an open
 * 469 country, where every thing is exposed to view, there
 are not probably seen more than a dozen jerboas, three
 or four hates, which are remarkably small, as many guanans,

† “Verily God hath forbidden you to eat that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which any other name but God's hath been invoked.” Koran, chap. ii.—“For this reason, whenever the Muhammadans kill any animal for food, they always say Bismi'llah, or, In the name of God; which if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it.” Sale's Koran, vol. i., p. 31.—*Note by the Secretary.*

half-a-dozen bagra caras, or desert partridges, with the breast black, whence they take their name, and a few blue pigeons; but crows are rarely seen.

At Remah, where camels were used in drawing up water from the wells, I had an opportunity of witnessing the camel performing a labour to which we would imagine that he was ill adapted by nature; and on expressing my surprise at so unusual a sight as that of a camel converted into a draught animal, the Kashif informed me, that Ibrahim Pasha's guns were principally dragged by camels from the Red Sea to Deriah. The Turks are not much more advanced in the science of mechanics than the Arabs, to whom this laborious duty was generally intrusted. The arrangement, therefore, of harnessing the animal, and applying his powers to the best advantage, could not be expected from either; but the proof of the ability and fitness of the camel for draught has been fully ascertained.

The town of Munfooah contains some good houses, built of mud and stones, some of them two stories high, with flat roofs. It was formerly surrounded with a ditch and a wall, which latter Ibrahim Pasha ordered to be razed. Its population may be about two thousand families. About the distance of a mile to the north is situated Read, which is separated from Munfooah by ruins of walls and houses. The former is not so well peopled as the latter. Each of these villages is surrounded by extensive date-plantations, which are well supplied with water from deep wells. In the winter season, the torrents from the barren mountains form a large stream that inundates the valley. The inhabitants were at this time in a more wretched state than at any former period since the establishment of the power of the Wahabis. Their walls, the chief security for their property, had been razed, their year's crop had been consumed by the Turks, and there remained neither wheat nor barley to be purchased. In neither of these villages was there a single horse. For the supplies which they furnished our camp, they demanded four German crowns for a sheep, * 470 one piastre for three eggs, and in the same proportion

for a few bad peaches and figs. The water and musk-melons were very bad. A few brinjals, onions, and some greens like spinage, were the only vegetables that I observed. Camel's flesh of a very bad quality was exposed for sale in an open space near the village, where there was a kind of market held every day after our arrival. We procured some clover and straw for our cattle.

The cotton-plant is to be found in the gardens in the neighbourhood of both villages, and the cultivation of wheat and barley was formerly extensive. Indian corn is also cultivated.

I was very particular in my inquiries respecting the late heavy falls of rain, which to me was an unexpected occurrence in Arabia at that season of the year. The villagers informed me that such an occurrence had not taken place within the memory of the oldest Arab in the village; but that during the cold season, or winter, the weather was usually very cold in this elevated and mountainous district; at which period frequent heavy falls of rain were to be expected. An old Arab, of whom I made some inquiries on this subject, replied, "God is great! I have lived to see three wonders in one day: a Turk and a Feringee at Munfooah, and rain at midsummer."

The western route from Lahissa to Deriah, *via* Salemiah, can be accomplished in ten days. The Kashif publicly expressed his intention of proceeding by this route; but he had long determined to avoid encountering the Saadeh tribe, and therefore suddenly changed his march to the NW. There was a party of Turks at Salemiah, whom he ordered by an express to join him at Remah. On arriving, however, at this place, he heard no intelligence of this detachment, and in consequence directed his route to the south; and thus, after a laborious march from Lahissa of fourteen days, we arrived at Munfooah, completely worn out with fatigue. During the first part of the journey we travelled by night, as there was little chance of attack;

but during the latter part of it we were obliged to march
* 471 by day; for had we been attacked at night, we could not
have * easily performed the double duty of repelling

the assailants, and of guarding our Bedouin camel-men, who would have been happy to join their countrymen, or to throw down their loads and desert.

On the 13th August, the detachment of Turks from Salemiah arrived at Munfooah, when the following facts transpired: At Kharjeh, near Salemiah, four Sheiks of the tribe of Saood resided, one of them named Abdoolluh, and another Abdool Uzeez, names which have hitherto appeared very conspicuous in the history of the Wahabis. To these Sheiks Ibrahim Pasha had extended mercy, had promised protection, and had even presented khulats. But when the Pasha determined to abandon this side of Arabia, he ordered the Chokadar Bashee at Salemiah to destroy these Sheiks. The Chokadar, as his party amounted to only fifty men, did not possess the means of openly effecting his master's orders. He therefore determined to resort to treachery, and accordingly invited these Sheiks to a repast, which closed with their assassination. A few days subsequent to this transaction, the Turks were attacked by a party of 1500 Bedouins, and obliged to take shelter within the walls of Salemiah; from which situation they were released by the appearance of the reinforcement which had been detached for that purpose by the Kashif.

August 13. Marched at 5 A.M. Halted at 4 P.M. at Oinieh. First part of the route, north; latter part, west.

This is an extensive valley of ruins, but contains extensive date-plantations, and numerous fig-trees. It has at some former period been well peopled, but it now presents a scene of wretchedness, where few inhabitants remain.

August 14. Marched at 4 A.M. Halted at 1 P.M. at Hussiah, where we procured good water from wells. Route, west by north. Our march lay through a valley that opened into a plain, which we crossed, and entering a ravine, ascended a range of hills, from which we descended by a very rugged road into the plain of Hussiah, bounded by broken mouldering hills. The road was generally hard and good. The track of Ibrahim Pasha's guns was still visible; and, except the descent * 472 from the * hills near Deriah, and the rugged road that

leads into this plain, little difficulty could have been experienced in conveying them.

August 15. Marched at 4 A.M. Halted at 1 P.M. at Aoorez. Here we procured water from wells, which was rather bitter. Route NW. and WNW.

August 16. Marched at 3^h 30' A.M. Halted at 9^h 30' A.M. at Surmudda. Here are several wells of water, which is not good. Route NW. The desert very flat and gravelly; as barren as usual; some large bushes. Shakrah is situated very low. Its walls appear to have been strong, as it held out for eight days against the force of Ibrahim Pasha, who ordered the walls to be razed. But the town has not been dilapidated. It contains a good mosque and a market-place, and is surrounded by extensive date-plantations, which are plentifully supplied with delicious water from very deep wells.

August 18. Marched at 5 A.M. Halted at 1 P.M. in a barren range of red sandhills, which afforded neither water nor forage. Route west.

August 19. Marched at 4 A.M. and after labouring through sandhills, descended into a plain, where we found an extensive sheet of rain-water, and halted at 9^h 30' A.M. near the remains of a small walled village and some wells, called Aioonal Sir.

August 20. Marched in the evening about four hours NW., when we lost our road, and were thrown into such a state of confusion that we were obliged to lie down.

August 21. Marched at 5 A.M. Halted at 10 A.M. on the banks of a sheet of rain-water, where we also found grass for our cattle. Route NW.

August 22. Marched at 5 A.M. Halted at 12^h 30' P.M. Here, in a run of sand, we dug, and found water. The fall of rain must have been very abundant, as the supply of grass was plentiful. Route WNW.

August 23. Marched at 5 A.M., and halted at 9 A.M. at Mooznib, an open village, well supplied with wells, the water of which is rather bitter. The date-plantations and cultivated grounds in its environs were extensive. Route N. by W.

* *August 24.* Marched at 4^h 30' A.M. ; halted at 12^h 30' P.M. at Anizeh. Route NW., over barren hills covered * 473 with loose stones.

August 25. Marched at 6 A.M., and, after labouring through a range of sandhills halted at 12^h 30' P.M. Route westerly.

August 26. Marched at 5 A.M., and arrived at Rus at 1 P.M. Route westerly.

August 27. Halted at Rus.

On marching from Munfooah, I was enabled to visit and ascertain the present state of Deriah, which is situated about ten miles NW. of that town, at the head of a deep and narrow valley formed by very barren mountains. To the west an extensive range of hills extends NW. and SE., and another range is seen to the north, apparently running NE. The walls which surrounded Deriah, its forts and towers, and several of its houses, have been razed by order of Ibrahim Pasha. But the ruins are very extensive, and the remains of the walls mark the site of the principal city, which was closely built on a natural eminence, protected on one side by a deep ravine, and on the west by a range of towers connected by a curtain. The western side was denominated Tarifa, and was separated from the eastern town, called Selle, by the principal ravine. This town was also inclosed with towers and a wall. Through the ravine a stream flows all the year, which in the winter is increased to a torrent. In both divisions of the town there are the remains of several good houses. The date plantations of Deriah were extensive, and produced very fine dates, and its gardens produced apricots, figs, grapes, pomegranates, citrons, and other fruits. But Ibrahim Pasha determined to render this place a wilderness, and previously to his departure caused all the date-plantations and gardens to be destroyed ; so that at present there is not a single family inhabiting the ruins of Deriah. Those families who were so fortunate as to escape from the calamities of war have principally taken shelter at Munfooah.

The only place formerly of consequence which we passed on the march from Munfooah to Rus was Anizeh. But this town has been rendered a complete ruin, and the fort has shared the

same fate as the other forts * which fell under the * 474 displeasure of Ibrahim Pasha. Some of its date-plantations have however been spared. Anizeh is situated in a valley, and is plentifully supplied with water from wells. It is considered as the principal town of the district, and from its geographical situation it has been generally the centre of trade. The caravans from Bussorah, Koit, Katif, and Lahissa, used to pass through it annually ; and it is also conveniently situated with respect to Medina, the Red Sea, and Jubul Chumber. It has always been the medium of communication between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ; and from its position it may be justly considered as the centre of Arabia in a geographical, political, and commercial view. I met several merchants of the Ootoobee tribe from Koit and Zobeir, both at Shakrah and Anizeh, and we found Indian rice and other articles in their bazars.

On my arrival at Rus, I was much disappointed to find that Ibrahim Pasha had two days before set out by post for Medina. This disappointment was greatly increased when I waited on the Effendi, who had been appointed by the Pasha to officiate for him in his absence, in finding him as little acquainted with the geography of the country, in which his master had been carrying on war for three years, as a child who had never left the city of Cairo. It was in vain, therefore, that I requested him to furnish me, according to the Kashif's promises, with an escort to Bussorah, as he insisted that the proceeding there would be a most hazardous undertaking, and therefore recommended me to proceed either to Medina or to Bagdad, *viâ* Syria. I thus found it impossible to proceed to Bussorah ; and my return to Katif, through the assistance of the Sheiks of the Behi Khalid tribe, was rendered equally impossible by the conduct of the Turks themselves : for the whole country was in arms in consequence of a further breach of faith on the part of the Kashif. He had solemnly promised the Beni Khalid Bedouins, by whose assistance he was enabled to quit Lahissa, that they should be allowed to return with their camels as soon as they were relieved by an equal number

which were to be supplied by the tribe of Dewys. But on arriving at that tribe, so far was the Kashif from fulfilling his engagements with the Beni Khalid, that he seized their camels * and dismissed them without paying them what they were entitled to. Thus these unfortunate men were * 475 turned adrift in the deserts, surrounded by enemies, and unprovided with any means of subsistence or defence, and experienced the same treatment which they had inflicted on many an unhappy pilgrim.

August 28. Being obliged to proceed to Medina, I marched with an escort of Turks at 5^h 30' A.M. Halted at the wells of Mutta at 10^h 45' A.M. Route SSW.

August 29. Marched at 5 A.M. Halted at the wells of Uddas at 10^h 45' A.M. Route W. by S.

August 30. Marched at 4^h 30' A.M. Halted at the wells of Zurzaweeah at 3^h 30' P.M. Route west.

August 31. Marched at 4^h 30'. Halted at 1^h 30'. Route west.

September 1. Marched at 5 A.M. Halted at 3^h 30' P.M. Route west.

September 2. Marched at 4^h 30' A.M. Halted at 1 P.M. Route west.

September 3. Marched at 4^h 30'. Halted at 10 A.M. of the 4th at Heneekah. Route W. by S.

September 5. Time omitted, but called a good march.

September 6. Marched at 3 P.M. Halted at 3 A.M. of the 7th.

September 8. Marched to Bir Ali, where I arrived at 9 P.M.

The route from Rus to Medina lay entirely through the Desert, which was in general a barren, gravelly plain, interrupted in a few places by bare rocky hills and ranges of sandhills. Water is procurable at wells situated at no great distance from each other. There are no villages or cultivation.

Christians not being allowed to enter Medina, Ibrahim Pasha sent his Peshkar Aghasee to meet me, and to conduct me to Bir Ali, situated about three miles to the west of that town, where the Pasha's haram was encamped. The Peshkar offered to conduct me by the direct road, which runs close to the city,

lest I might feel displeased if any zealots or devotees met us, as they would not fail to make use of remarks which it would be difficult to silence. For the Turks at the Holy City are obliged to deport themselves with deference to the priests, and to pay every attention to the prejudices of their religion.

This was the first instance, since* my arrival among
* 476 the Turkish soldiery, that I had heard the subject of religion introduced. My European dress passed unnoticed, and the soldiery had, throughout this long and fatiguing march, invariably conducted themselves towards me in a very respectful manner. I felt a strong inclination to visit Medina, or to obtain a good view of it; but, as I had now entered the land of Mahomedan superstition and fanaticism, prudence forbade me to expose myself to insult. I therefore requested the Agha to conduct me by whichever road he thought most expedient.

Of the city of Medina I can afford but an imperfect description, as, infidels not being permitted to enter this hallowed spot, I obtained but an imperfect view of the sacred city. It is situated in a hollow, amidst the most barren, rocky mountains. The walls and towers are built with stone and lime, and the minarets are all plastered and whitewashed, which in this dreary situation renders them very conspicuous. There are three gates, one of which, that of Damascus, is rather a citadel than a gate. On this there are several pieces of cannon mounted; and on it the green flag is displayed on Fridays. The other two gates are named Jumaa and Misr, or Egypt, and on the tops of each of them are places for three pieces of cannon. Within the city is an extensive garden, which produces dates, pomegranates, vines, &c., and a few vegetables. The fruits and vegetables, particularly, the banian, are good. The city is watered by a stream called Aioon Zarkeh, the water of which is esteemed good, and also by several wells. In the city there are two mosques; and besides the tomb of the Prophet, it contains the tombs of Fatima, Abubeker, and Omar. There are thirty colleges, or rather schools, for the education of youth. It is said that the sum expended by the Grand Seignior in the repairs of the

tombs, mosques, and other sacred buildings, amounted this year to six hundred purses.

There is one Cady, and two Mooftees, the one of the Hanifite and the other of the Shafeite sect, who expound the laws and doctrines. All the inhabitants of Medina subsist on the donations which are annually sent by persons who wish to have prayers offered up in their names. Pilgrims also make suitable presents, and the Grand Seignior sends a large sum *annually. In fact, the Mahomedan world contributes to *477 the support of these lazy, idle beggars, who, because they are rich in alms, conceive they have a right to be arrogant, and to treat even their benefactors with contempt. In their houses they are said to fare sumptuously, though they are proverbial for their avarice. Providence has been bountiful towards this city, in supplying it most abundantly with water; and yet a stranger is obliged to pay for every drop he may require, and to pay also liberally at every shrine at which he offers up his prayers. The sums collected after the arrival of the pilgrims are divided in ratios amongst those who are entitled to receive part of them. The inhabitants pay no taxes. A correct account has been lately taken of the number of houses in Medina, which amounted to 6000; of this number one-half are in ruins. The population amounts to 8000 souls.

To the north of Medina are gardens, and an extensive date-plantation, which contains many inhabitants. To the west is Bir Ali, now in ruins. In this valley, which extends to the mountains to the south-west, are several villages and date-plantations.

The Damascus caravan arrived at Medina on the 13th September, on its way to Mecca. The Pasha of Syria (Saleh Pasha of three tails) is charged with the protection of the pilgrims, and of the new covering of the Kaaba, as far as Medina; and Ibrahim Pasha (also of three tails), as Pasha of Jeddah and the Holy Land of Mahomed, is responsible for the safety of the caravan from thence to Mecca. I was anxious to form some estimate of the number of pilgrims, and to witness their approach to the Holy City; but this could not be accomplished. The

Pasha was accompanied by some pieces of cannon, for the purpose of firing salutes on certain occasions ; and a discharge of cannon announced his arrival. I learned from the Turks who returned from the city in the evening, as well as from my own servants, who had been there for the purpose of visiting the tomb of the Prophet, that the number of pilgrims was by no means considerable, and fell very short of the account which I had previously heard. A great many, it was stated, had perished on their return last year ; and this was assigned as the reason why the number did not this * year exceed five hundred.

*478 The pilgrims who compose this caravan are natives of Constantinople, Asia Minor, Damascus, &c.; and from such extensive and populous countries one would have expected to have seen a greater number of devotees. The Grand Seignior has directed all the reservoirs and wells on this route to be repaired and re-established, which order has this year been in part executed. I did not hear that any person belonging to this caravan had perished on the march.

On my arrival at Bir Ali, late at night, after a long and fatiguing march, I was hospitably received by Doctor Antonio Scotti, an Italian gentleman, the physician of Ibrahim Pasha, who was intrusted with the care of the Pasha's haram. The next evening the Pasha visited Bir Ali, with a retinue not numerous, but richly clothed and armed, and alighted at his physician's tent, as he had no other personal accommodation than the tents of his haram. He then sent the Hakim to request that I would pay him a visit, at which, ceremony would be dispensed with, and business not introduced. I accordingly attended the Pasha, who received me with affability and courteousness ; and on his offering to apologize for the length and fatigues of the journey that I had been obliged to endure, I prevented him by expressing my regret that I had not had the good fortune to reach His Excellency's camp at Deriah, as it would have afforded me the satisfaction of presenting the congratulations of the British authorities on the spot which had been the scene of his successes. The Pasha seemed gratified that the news of his victory had reached so far as Calcutta, and

had been so favourably received. He then inquired respecting India, and the British Government established there, of which he appeared to possess a very superficial knowledge. The conversation was continued on various subjects, and the visit protracted till midnight, when the Pasha prepared to retire, and said to me, that as his stay at Bir Ali could not be prolonged beyond the following afternoon, and as he wished to confer with me, he would visit me at my tent the next morning.

The next morning the Pasha walked over to my tent, carrying his eldest son Osman Bey in his arms, and his daughter Fatima was borne in the arms of one of the officers. I received the Pasha at the entrance of the * tent, and conducted him to a seat; and on his renewing the conversation of the * 479 preceding evening, I availed myself of the first opportunity to present him with the despatches and the sword with which I was intrusted. The Pasha appeared highly gratified by the complimentary congratulations of the British Government. He also attentively examined the workmanship of the scabbard of the sword, and on drawing the blade declared it to be one of the most elegant swords he had seen, and paid the highest compliments to the Governor-General on the taste displayed in the selection of this favour. A conversation then ensued on the subject of my mission; and business being finished, the Pasha expressed a wish that breakfast might be prepared.

Breakfast was soon announced, and His Excellency took his seat at the head of the table. The etiquette of a Turkish meal requires that each dish should be served up in succession, and that each guest should eat out of the same dish at the same time, using only a wooden spoon. But the Pasha accommodated himself with ease to the English manner, and did not appear embarrassed, but used his knife, fork, and spoon, very dexterously, and made a hearty breakfast. The only part of it which he did not relish was tea, and a bowl of sherbet was therefore presented to him. After breakfast, coffee and pipes were introduced, and the Pasha remained till eleven o'clock conversing on different subjects. I availed myself of this op-

portunity to request that His Excellency would permit me to accompany him on his route towards Mecca, and to turn off on the march to Jeddah, where I would await his arrival from the pilgrimage. To this request he at first acceded, but afterwards determined that I should proceed to Yamboo with his haram, who were to embark there for Suez, and to which place he mentioned that he intended to return himself.

The preparations for our march having been completed, it was determined that we should depart on the 15th, the ladies to precede the column, conveyed in their fakht-rewans. This is a very clumsy, uncomfortable kind of carriage. It is constructed with two long poles, or beams, placed parallel, between which, in the centre, a platform is fixed, and on this a canopy is constructed, covered with cloth, and impenetrable either to

* vision or air. This machine is carried by having the * 480 ends of the poles slung over the saddles of two camels, the one placed in the front and the other in the rear. The head of the rear camel is in general poked under the carriage, in order to enable the brute to see the road.

These conveyances have been used to great advantage in transporting howitzers placed on beds as mortars, and similar heavy articles. In this case the canopy is dispensed with, and the platform only used. But the common camel of Arabia is not adapted for this laborious mode of transport, being much too slight. The camels of Arabia are extremely fine animals, and well calculated for the conveyance of loads on their backs, if not overburthened: being slighter and more active, they will outmarch those of Egypt, and they can exist on the bushes which are found on each day's march in the Desert. But this is not the case with the Egyptian camel, which is a very large, heavy animal, requiring a large portion of corn and forage, and incapable of moving at a quick pace.

September 15. Marched from Bir Ali at 7 A.M. Halted at 5 P.M. in an amphitheatre thickly stocked with babool trees and bushes, and in which there was a good well. Route westerly.

September 16. Marched at 5 A.M. Halted at a solitary well at 12 o'clock.

September 17. Marched at 4 A.M. Halted at the village of Humrah, where there was a tolerable supply of water, at noon.

September 18. Marched at 4 A.M. Halted at a deep well of good water at 11 A.M.

September 19. Marched at 3 P.M. Halted at Melha at 4^h 30' A.M. of the 20th.

September 21. Marched at ———, and arrived at Yamboo at 10 A.M.

The whole of the route from Medina to Melha lay through deep narrow valleys formed by high barren, rocky mountains. In the valleys are some bushes, and the road is gravelly and good. On the 16th we halted at Jodeidah, a miserable village of huts built of stones. One part is built on the side of the mountain, but another part lies in the hollow and has several date-plantations. The water here is good; but the water-melons, * cucumbers, &c. which we procured were not good. The sun does not shine on this valley more than three * 481 hours a day, which renders it very unhealthy. The tribes which reside in these mountains are the Misroo and Meimoon. They have made paths along the tops of the mountains, where they can assemble a large force and defend the entrance into their valley. They are armed with pistols, fusils, &c.; and on the advance of Toussun Pasha they defended their valley so resolutely that he did not effect his passage through it without the loss of many men.

At Melha the country assumes a new aspect, and opens into an extensive plain bounded on the west by the Red Sea, on which Yamboo is situated,—a miserable Arab seaport. It is surrounded by a stone wall badly cemented, which, though a modern work, is now tottering. This wall appears to have been built in consequence of the old wall being too circumscribed to afford protection to all the inhabitants, and encompasses an area sufficient to contain five times more houses than are now in it. There consequently remain several vacant spots, which are appropriated for dunghills, burying-grounds, dead horses, and camels. The air is in consequence impure. The supply of water is very precarious, as it is procured by collecting the rain-water

in deep covered pits ; and as it has happened that rain has not fallen for three successive years, the wells sunk in the town produce a water which emits as abominable a smell as the bilge-water of a ship. But good water may be procured from wells within three or four miles of Yamboo.

There is another town called Yamboo situated a little to the southward, but inland, where water is abundant, and the gardens produce vegetables for the supply of the seaport. I did not visit this place, as the weather was extremely sultry, and my health much impaired. I at one time proposed to change the scene by moving to this Yamboo, imagining that the appearance of water and gardens would be a recreation ; but I was dissuaded from this plan, by being informed that the inland town was still more unhealthy than the seaport.

I was detained at Yamboo until the 19th October, when I embarked on board an open boat and sailed for Jeddah, where

I arrived in four days. * I had here several interviews
* 482 with Ibrahim Pasha, who embarked on the 16th November under a salute from all the artillery both afloat and ashore ; and he sailed on the 17th direct for Cossair. The joy experienced by the inhabitants of Jeddah on his departure, and their release from tyranny, was not only manifested in their countenances, but publicly expressed in all societies. I was obliged to remain here, in anxious expectation of an opportunity to proceed to India, until the afternoon of the 23rd January 1820, when I was delighted to see an English vessel approach Jeddah. It proved to be the Honourable Company's cruizer Prince of Wales, on board of which I immediately embarked, and after a tedious voyage arrived at Bombay on the 8th May 1820.

Having thus concluded the account of my journey from Katif to Jeddah, I will endeavour to give as correct a sketch of the life of Ibrahim Pasha, and his late campaigns, as I was able to obtain from comparing the different accounts of his exploits, which are given by the most intelligent persons who were engaged in them.

Ibrahim Pasha is the eldest son of Mahomed Ali, the Viceroy

of Egypt ; but as he was born a few months after the marriage of his parents, it is said that he is only the adopted son of the Pasha. He passed one year as a hostage at Constantinople, and was then appointed to the situation of dufterdar at Cairo, in which office he was esteemed intelligent in revenue affairs, but extremely intemperate, and cruel to those employed under him. In the last campaign of Mahomed Ali against the Mamelukes, Ibrahim Bey commanded a body of three hundred cavalry, and obtained the reputation of a brave soldier. This campaign ended by the massacre of all the Mamelukes who had been taken prisoners, and of all those who resided at Cairo, or in the villages of Upper Egypt.

After having been employed in the collection of the revenues of Upper Egypt, Ibrahim Bey was appointed to the command of an army ordered to march against the Mamelukes. He accordingly attacked them, and, having driven them beyond Ibrim, returned to Asna with a number of * prisoners and other persons who had accepted his protection. Here they * 483 were separated, and placed in the houses of different persons in whom Ibrahim Bey placed confidence. He himself proceeded to Cairo, and shortly after sent an order to Mahmud Effendi, his mohurdar, to destroy every individual. The Effendi obeyed his master's orders, commencing the massacre with his own hand.

In 1809 Ibrahim Bey was appointed governor of Upper Egypt, retaining his situation of dufterdar. During his government, under his father's directions, he enhanced the revenues, and expended large sums on the increased improvement of cultivation. But his general conduct displayed extreme severity and cruelty. On one occasion, the young Bey ordered a Copt to be roasted alive on a spit ; and on another, a Copt charged with embezzlement was placed by his orders on a heap of chopped straw saturated with oil, which was then set on fire. Unfortunately, these cruelties have not been confined to persons guilty of offences, but have been on several occasions extended, through anger or caprice, to the domestics of his family. Were I to relate the many inhuman instances of butchery which have

been mentioned to me, accompanied by a detail of the minutest circumstances, and the names of the persons concerned, the catalogue would swell to an enormous size.

In 1813, Ibrahim Bey was created a Pasha of two tails, and appointed to Girge. During this government, he is said to have checked the cruelty of his disposition, in consequence of the responsibility of his situation, and the hope of future preferment.

In 1815, he was appointed to the command of the army which was ordered to march into the interior of Arabia against the Wahabis. It was at first intended that this army should be composed of volunteers; but the number of men who presented themselves not being sufficient, Ibrahim Pasha issued an order directing the whole of his troops to march. He also ordered that each horseman should supply himself with a camel for the transport of his baggage, and for occasionally mounting, as the Egyptian horse is unable to undergo much fatigue, and is unequal in speed to the Arab. It was therefore necessary that the horses of the * Pasha's cavalry should at all times be * 484 as fresh as possible. But as the Government did not supply these camels, the troops murmured at being obliged to incur so unprecedented an expense.

The cavalry having been left at Cairo, with orders to march by the route of Suez, the infantry were embarked at Cosseir for Yamboo, by which route the Pasha also proceeded. On entering the Holy Land, he determined to renounce the joys of wine, to which he had been much addicted, but with the greatest secrecy, and in consequence destroyed the whole of the stock which he had brought with him from Cairo. The Pasha ordered his camp to be formed at Melha, near Yamboo, where the troops were detained forty days, waiting until the Bedouins should supply them with camels, &c. The mountains extending from Melha towards Medina and Mecca are occupied by the tribes of Jehina, Meimoon, Aoof, and Misroo. These Bedouins, however, would not approach the Pasha's camp; and he was at last obliged to send a detachment against the tribe of Jehina, which captured one thousand camels and two thousand sheep, and killed one

hundred and fifty Arabs, with the loss of only two men wounded. From this circumstance some estimate may be formed of the inequality of the combatants.

During the encampment at Melha the Pasha's army lost nearly four hundred men from sickness; and when it advanced to Heneeka, it consisted of two hundred Turkish cavalry, two hundred Mogrebin or Barbary Bedouin horsemen, and nine hundred infantry, with three pieces of cannon. Here it was joined by a detachment of four hundred cavalry, under the command of Aoozoon Ali, a distinguished officer, who had been left by Toussun Pasha, on his return to Egypt, for the protection of Medina. After remaining at Heneeka twenty-five days, the Pasha sent a detachment against the tribe of Hurub, which captured fifteen hundred camels, six thousand sheep, and a quantity of dates.

Several of the Bedouin Sheiks, alarmed at these marauding attacks, proposed to join the Pasha, who very gladly accepted their assistance. Having been thus reinforced, he sent a detachment against the tribe of Aootibah, which occupies the desert between Deriah and Mecca; but * these Arabs, having obtained intelligence of his intention, betook * 485 themselves to flight, and drove off all their flocks and camels. Seventeen persons, however, fell into the hands of the enraged Pasha, who commenced a slaughter of these unfortunate people with his own sabre.—This failure had nearly proved fatal to the Turks, who suffered the greatest miseries on their return, from the want of water and provisions, of which they had anticipated a superabundant supply from the pillage of the tents of the Bedouins. But they found the wells filled up, the cattle driven off, and every thing destroyed which could not be carried away.

The Pasha, on his return from this unfortunate expedition, received the intelligence of his being appointed a Pasha of three tails. He was therefore obliged to proceed to Medina, to receive the pelisse, and publish the firman announcing his appointment. On his return to Heneeka, the Sheiks of the Anizeh and several other tribes joined him, and mutual assurances of friendship and

assistance were interchanged between them. The Pasha now sent a detachment against the Arabs of Jubul Chumbur, which consisted of six hundred Turkish cavalry, one thousand Bedouin cavalry, and five thousand Bedouins mounted on camels furnished by the tribes who had lately joined him. In the engagement which took place, these Bedouins were placed in front, and were urged on and prevented from retreating by the Turkish cavalry, who brought up the rear. The consequence of this disposition was, that the Bedouins had two hundred men killed and three hundred wounded, and lost a vast number of their horses and camels, while the Turks lost only five men killed, and two wounded.

At the representation of the Arab Sheiks, the Pasha detached Aoozoon Ali, with a part of the army and two pieces of cannon, to Maweeah, to overawe the Wahabi party, who had commenced attacking the tribes which had joined him. Shortly after, the Sheik of the tribe of Mootair (Dewys) having proposed to meet the Pasha at Maweeah, he set out for that place, and on the road received the intelligence of the defeat of the Wahabis by Aoozoon Ali. That officer had been opposed by Abdoollah (the chief of the Wahabis), who led a force of ten thousand * 486 men mounted on dromedaries; but he was completely defeated by the few hundred horse whom Aoozoon Ali commanded. The Pasha only arrived in time to put to death the Wahabis who had been taken prisoners, and thus to increase the number of ears which he wished to send as an offering to his father at Cairo. The transport of heads having been attended with difficulty, ears in pairs had been substituted. The number of Wahabis killed in or after this action was very considerable, and the plain was strewed with their bleached skeletons when I passed it on the 2nd September. This day decided the fate of Abdoollah, who fled to Rus, and thence by Anizeh to Deriah, and did not again appear in the field.

The Pasha, after this success, concentrated his army at Maweeah, which consisted of six hundred cavalry, fourteen hundred regular and four or five hundred Mogrebin infantry, with eight pieces of cannon, one howitzer, and one mortar.

served by one hundred artillerymen. The Sheik of Mootair sent his son to compliment the Pasha on his victory ; and the terms of agreement having been concluded, the Sheik himself arrived in the Turkish camp, and was received with every mark of distinction. The motives which induced this Sheik to join the Pasha originated in a feud which had been occasioned by Abdoollah's having murdered twelve Sheiks of the Mootair tribe, relatives of the present Sheik. By the junction of so many of the Arabs, camels and carriages of every description became more abundant, and the Pasha was enabled to bring forward his stores and supplies, and to prepare for the siege of Rus.

He accordingly marched against that town, and, having arrived before it, declared that he would not permit his camp to be pitched, or his cavalry to dismount, until he had carried the place. The Topeehee Bashee was therefore directed to advance the guns within eighty paces of the walls, and commence a cannonade on the strongest tower. The troops not being covered, but exposed to a heavy fire of muksetry, the slaughter of the Turks exceeded tenfold that of the besieged, who defended the town with spirit. For three days the tower and adjoining wall were battered, when it was reported that the breach was practicable. Fascines * made from branches of date-trees, and a number of sacks filled with straw, had been also * 487 prepared for passing the ditch. The assault was now ordered, and six hundred infantry selected for that purpose threw themselves into the ditch, but could not ascend the wall, the fascines, &c. having proved insufficient for filling up the ditch. The enemy opened a destructive fire from the walls ; and the Pasha, and Mamélukes who attended him, shot every soldier who attempted to retreat. Thus the unfortunate infantry suffered a dreadful loss ; and the soldiers who were killed were denied burial by an order of the Pasha, who was enraged at their failure. The siege of Rus was prolonged for three months and a half, during which time the Wahabis showed more science than the Turkish general. The batteries formed by the Pasha cost 52,000 German crowns: four hundred camel-loads of musket ammunition were expended in firing into the town ;

thirty thousand rounds of ammunition were uselessly thrown away by the artillery; stages were erected of date-trees, of such a height as enabled the soldiers to fire into the town; the cannon was advanced to the very edge of the ditch. Two assaults were attempted, in which the Turks were repulsed, and lost nine hundred men killed, and one thousand wounded, and were reduced to the greatest distress. The Turks assert, that the yellow earth of which the walls were composed was of such an adhesive quality as rendered their shot of no effect. But their own want of vigilance, as the country is a perfect flat, admitted of two large convoys entering the town in perfect safety. At last, the Pasha was obliged to raise the siege on these terms, that his troops should not enter the town, that they should pay for whatever they might require from the inhabitants, and that Rus should remain in a state of neutrality until the fate of Anizeh was determined.

The Pasha then advanced, and captured Kabreh, Anizeh (the Sheiks of which town entered into terms, and its fort capitulated after five days' siege, the garrison being permitted to depart with arms and baggage), and Bureidah. At this place he remained two months, waiting for reinforcements. He next proceeded against Shakreh; and, by commencing to cut down the date-plantations, induced the inhabitants of the town to *separate their interests from the fort, the *488 garrison of which were obliged to surrender, and were permitted to depart, after delivering up their arms and baggage. Here the Pasha remained inactive for three months, waiting for reinforcements and supplies. He then marched against Deroma, which was in a very flourishing state, and on the fourth day's siege assaulted the place. The Turks were at first repulsed, but renewed the assault, and carried the town. The men of the garrison who remained were allowed to depart, after delivering up their arms. But the inhabitants, as the Pasha's temper seemed to have resumed its usual bent, were massacred during seven days, and the usual reward of five German crowns for every pair of ears was granted on this occasion.

These successes were effected before the beginning of February 1818, about which time the season was particularly cold, and several heavy falls of rain had taken place.

The Pasha was now enabled to march against Deriah ; where he arrived with an army of 1950 cavalry ; 4300 Arnaoot and Turkish and 1300 Barbary infantry ; with four 12-pounders, five Turkish guns, one Swedish carronade, two mortars, and one howitzer, attended by one hundred and fifty gunners, two hundred pioneers, twenty-one artificers, and eleven miners. The first attack was directed against Fuzul, a village interspersed with gardens and houses, and surrounded by a wall and towers, which formed one of the suburbs of Deriah. This was carried— in seven days ; when the Wahabis retired into the town, which they had full leisure to strengthen, as the Pasha remained here some days. But many of them, in consequence of this loss, deserted ; and Abdoollah's force was thus considerably weakened.

The siege of Deriah was prolonged for seven months, two of which the artillery remained without ammunition, in consequence of the magazine having blown up. The villages in the neighbourhood were encouraged by this protracted defence to show marks of disaffection ; and so many of the troops were detached for the purpose of keeping them in check, that there did not remain a number sufficient for completely investing the place. The Pasha was therefore obliged to attempt an assault, which he* directed against the quarter called Tarifa ; and as, fortunately for him, the besieged had expected the * 489 attack on the opposite quarter, called Selle, and had there only prepared themselves for resistance, the Turkish troops gained possession of Tarifa without firing a shot. Selle, however, held out for three days ; but, the assailants being more numerous than the besieged, it was at last carried. On this reverse, Abdoollah with two hundred men retired into the citadel, where he shut himself up, and sustained a bombardment of three days, and then requested a parley.

An interview accordingly took place between the Pasha and Abdoollah, at which the former is said to have conducted himself with great haughtiness, and to have presented his hand,

which the latter kissed as a mark of submission, though not entirely fallen. The terms that Abdoollah proposed were, a pardon for the troops who had remained faithful to him, and for his brothers and family, the preservation of the town, and the safety of his own person. But the Pasha would only grant pardon to the troops, and Abdoollah's brothers and their families: with respect to the town he would make no promises; and as to Abdoollah, he would only pledge himself for his personal safety until he arrived at Cairo. Abdoollah was obliged to submit to these conditions, and delivered himself up to the Pasha on the 4th September 1818, when he and his family were immediately sent to Egypt. On the journey one of his sons escaped, but I was not able to learn what had become of him.

The Grand Seignior had ordered the total destruction of Deriah; but the Pasha did not make these orders public until he had extorted large sums of money from the inhabitants, as a ransom for their persons and property. When he could extort no more money, and his troops had enriched themselves by pillage, he directed Deriah to be totally destroyed, and every beam and stick in the town was in consequence burnt, and every tree in the plantations and gardens cut down.

The Pasha remained encamped near the ruins of Deriah till the middle of 1819. He hence extended his power in every direction, and as far as the shores of the Persian Gulf. But he soon found that his troops were too widely dispersed in a country, which was for the most part a desert, *and that * 490 he could not protect his convoys without the greatest difficulty. Many of the Bedouin tribes revolted, and his troops were continually harassed in repelling the attacks of the Bedouins, and in pursuing them into deserts, where they could not be overtaken. The Pasha thus became convinced, that the revenues of the country were insufficient for maintaining an adequate force for its protection, and that the fidelity of the Bedouins could not be depended upon. He therefore determined to abandon the eastern side of Arabia, and to confine the establishment of his power to the western side, where he could easily receive supplies and reinforcements from Egypt. He in

consequence withdrew all his detachments and garrisons to the east of Rus; and to prevent the Arabs in this part of the country from becoming again powerful, he destroyed the walls of their villages (the walls of Lahissa escaped on account of its remote situation), drove off their flocks, and extended destruction and devastation in all directions.

With the fall of Deriah and the departure of Abdoollah, the sect of the Wahabis appears to have been extinguished. All the Bedouins of Nedjed, and all whom I saw, universally declared themselves to be Soonees, and were particularly punctual in their devotions, never omitting to perform the stated prayers, even on the longest marches and under the severest privations. A strange contrast to the more enlightened Turk, who never allowed prayers or religion to interfere with his comfort or ease! I, however, met some persons at Munfooah and Riad, who avowed themselves to be of the Wahabi faith; but their number was inconsiderable, and they were the remains of the inhabitants of Deriah, and not Bedouins. The Bedouins, as I understood, had only been constrained followers of the Wahabi faith, and had merely adhered to it as long as the sect was powerful and afforded them the means of plunder.

During my detention at Jeddah, Khuleel, a Pasha of two tails, arrived there. He had been sent by Mahomed Ali to join Ibrahim Pasha with a reinforcement of 2500 Turks and Arnoots; but as he did not arrive in Arabia until after the fall of Deriah, Mahomed Ali directed him to employ the force under his command against the Wahabis of Aboo Arish, * who had subverted the government of Tehama, and a great part of * 491 Yemen. He accordingly marched against them, and captured many towns both on the coast and in the interior; and while he was at Jeddah, his troops took prisoner Mahmud ben Mahmud, the last chief of the Yemenee Wahabis, whose party in Tehama and Yemen was thus completely reduced.

APPENDIX

Remarks on the Route across Arabia from El Katif on the Persian Gulf to Yamboo on the Red Sea.

WITH a view to elucidate the general direction of my route, to mark the probable relative positions of the intervening towns or places which I passed in my journey, and to render the narrative of His Excellency Ibrahim Pasha's exploits more clear, I have affixed a Route across Arabia from Katif to Yamboo.

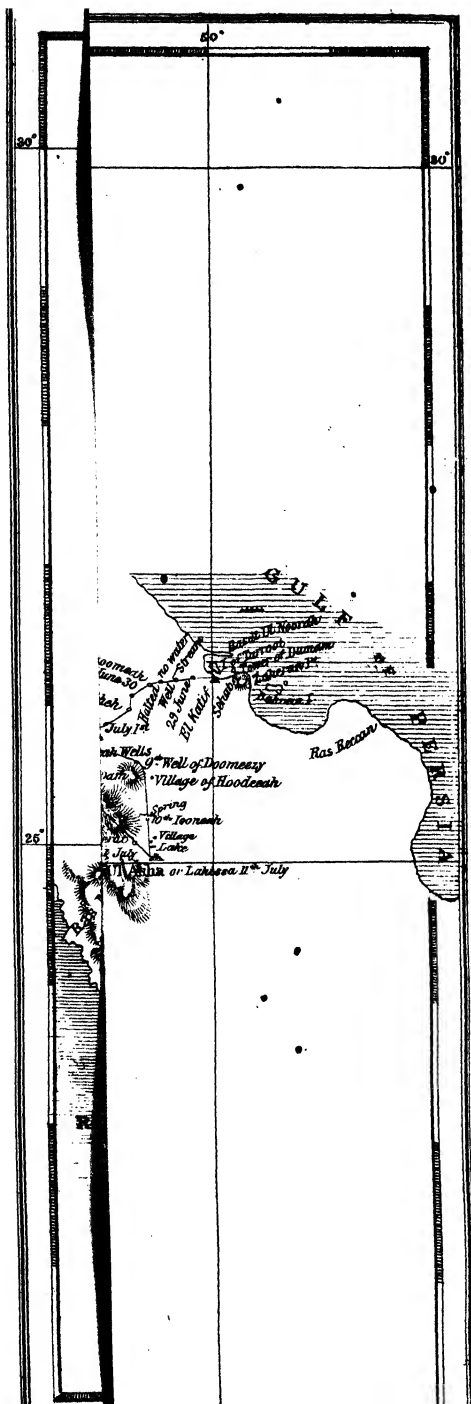
During the first stages I was obliged to guess at the distances, not being as yet sufficiently acquainted with the pace and gait of the camel to form an idea of the rate at which we were moving. A few days' observation, and timing the animal's pace, enabled me to form a tolerably correct opinion, and thence deduce a rate for my general guidance, by calculating from the number of hours we were actually on the march.

For marches not exceeding eight hours, I calculated three miles an hour; and for marches exceeding that number of hours, I lessened the computed distance to two and a half and to two and three-quarter miles per hour, making a deduction in some cases for hilly and rocky ground.

The general direction of the line of march I took frequently with a very good compass, always alighting from my camel,—its motion being too rough to admit of a compass being used even when in a walk.

From Katif we proceeded by broken stages to Oomerubiah, in the * Desert, and thence by a retrograde and circuitous route to Ul Ahsa†, from whence we returned very unexpectedly to Oomerubiah by a different route. On laying down the track thus far, there does not appear to be any considerable error, as the distances and bearings which I had taken brought me within seven or eight miles of my first calculation.

† Ul Ahsa, Lahsa, or Lahissa, is properly the name of a district, and not of any particular town, as will appear in the description of that tract of country; but as Arrowsmith, Pinkerton, &c. still continue to mark the principal town by that name, I have conformed to them.





From this point we again set out, with the intention of proceeding direct to Deriah ; but an unlucky event obliged this route to be abandoned, and we again became wanderers in the Desert till we reached Munfooah and Riaz, to the south of Deriah. These were the only settled habitations of man which we had met with for fourteen days from the period of our departure from Ul Ahssa.

From the site of Deriah we proceeded towards Anizeh, one of the principal towns in the interior of Arabia. I frequently inquired of the guides and Bedouins who accompanied us, how many marches and what towns intervened, and was a good deal surprised when they all agreed that we should pass through Shakra before we should reach Anizeh : the position of these two places with regard to Deriah appears to me to be reversed on the printed maps.

Quitting Shakra, we eventually arrived at Anizeh and Rus ; from whence I reluctantly set off for the Holy City of Medina, which I have placed according to the latitude and longitude assigned to it in the new maps of 1819, although my calculations did not bring me so far south. I have allowed for the variation of the compass during this westerly course, as it appears to be considerable in the latitude of Yamboo, being nearly one point.

An unlucky accident which occurred near Medina, precluded the possibility of my making any just observations on the mazy windings of our route, through the extraordinary valley which affords a communication or passage, through the range of mountains which separates Ul Hejaj from Nedjed. This valley is very confined, and our caravan was much * too numerous to proceed in one body. I do not imagine that * 493 we exceeded two miles an hour during this part of the journey.

I have inserted the names of many places that do not appear on any printed map of Arabia ; but I have limited the insertion to those only through which I passed myself, many of which are mentioned in the narrative of His Excellency's campaign against the Wahabis.

On comparing this Route with the maps of Arabia now in print, the positions I have assigned to many places will be found to differ from them,—some of them materially. I have already noticed Shakra; and had I in this instance adhered to the maps, the position of that place would have been much too far to the north for the theatre of His Excellency's exploits; from the narrative of which it is evident, that Shakra must have lain in his route as an impediment to his approach to Deriah, subsequently to the fall of Rus, Anizeh, &c. If Shakra had been situated at the foot of Jubul Chummer, as Pinkerton has placed it, the Pasha must have visited it when he made the expedition to that place from Heneekah; and this occurred previously to the battle of Jubul Maweeah.

Mr. Pinkerton lays down Medina further to the south than Arrowsmith or Leake; and all the geographers differ from each other in the latitudes as well as the longitudes they assign to the places they mention in the interior of this part of Arabia.

This induces me to imagine that the maps have been compiled from the reports of Bedouins, and that the precise situations of those places have never been ascertained with mathematical precision. These Bedouins are very inexpert in tracing the relative positions and distances of places; they have no fixed measurement to compute their distances, such as miles, coss, fursungs; and their general method of estimating time is by days' marches. The rising sun points out the east, and the setting the west, or the direction of Mecca. The north star and some others are known to the more intelligent Arabs; but in general they do not possess the same acuteness that the Indian Hurkarehs are so justly celebrated for. I have therefore confined myself, in the present instance, to my own observations.

[NOTE.—The article of Capt. Sadlier on his journey from the Persian Gulf to the Rea Sea, although entirely void of stirring episodes, must still be considered as a valuable geographical contribution, on account of the route through which he passed, it being one scarcely ever traversed by any European traveller.—ED.]

OBSERVATIONS ON THE REMAINS OF THE BOUDDHISTS IN INDIA.

BY WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq.

Read 31st July, 1821.

During a late excursion in the Dekhan, having had an opportunity of visiting several of the ancient temples excavated in the hills of that country, I found, with some surprise, that most of them are Bouddhist.

In the following remarks on the remains of Bouddhism still existing so near us, it is not my intention to attempt a description of these magnificent excavations.—I have chiefly two objects in view. The *first* is to fix, if possible, some obvious criteria by which even a transient observer may discriminate the Bouddhist from the Brahminical temples ; the *second* is to turn the attention of the Society to a subject which lies so much within its province, and perhaps to induce some of its Members to furnish a more ample account than has yet been given of the present state of the Jains in the west of India, with a description of the remains of the ancient temples, both of the Jains and Bouddhists, still to be found, especially in Guzerat ; and, above all, copies of the Inscriptions belonging to either religion. The *first* may not be without its use, as we daily find very intelligent travellers quite uncertain to what religion or sect to refer the remains of antiquity they have visited. And at a period when all India is laid open to the research of our countrymen, it would obviously much facilitate and extend the means of accurate information, if some simple tests were generally known, by which certain classes of antiquities could instantly be referred to the religion to which they belong. The second is no less desirable ; and such a collection as is suggested—in which the Society has already made considerable

progress, by the industry and *liberality of its Members—
 * 495 must necessarily precede any attempt at deciphering the unknown character in which a great proportion of these inscriptions is written, and affords, perhaps, the only chance of explaining the origin and age of the excavations themselves. At all events, the labour can hardly fail to throw some further light on the history of the ancient religions of the East.

In pursuance of these objects, I shall proceed, 1st, To offer a few remarks on the comparative antiquity of the Bouddhists, Jains, and Brahmins, the three great sects indigenous of India ; 2nd, To attempt to fix some certain tests by which the excavations of these different sects may be distinguished ; 3rd, To apply these tests to some remains of the Bouddhists in India ; and 4th, To suggest a few observations on the singular and inconsistent character of the Buddh of the Brahmins, a subject which seems still to lie in great obscurity. Of these divisions, the second and third contain all that immediately relates to the subject, as it originally suggested itself ; but some attention to the questions treated in the first and fourth divisions seemed to be naturally required in the progress of the investigation.

1. *Of the comparative Antiquity of the Bouddhists, Jains, and Brahmins.*

It is well known that all the countries included under the general name of India have, from very remote times, been divided between three great religions, the Brahminical, the Bouddhist, and the Jain.

The Brahminical is at the present day, and for several centuries past has been, the prevailing religion in the extensive and populous countries from Kashmir to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the Himalaya mountains and Arakan.

The religion of the Bouddhists prevails over a still more extensive range,—over Ceylon, Siam, Ava, Pegu, the Birman Empire ; over a great part of China and the Chinese provinces ; in Japan ; among the Manchu and Moghul Tartars, from the Eastern Ocean as far as the Wolga, and thence back by the Kash-

mirian hills to Tibet; and it has been supposed, with some appearance of truth, that the religion of Bouddh is pro- * 496
fessed * by a greater number of human beings than any other on the face of the earth.

Into China and the countries to the north of the Himalayan mountains the Bouddhist religion seems not to have been introduced till the first century of the Christian era, and to have spread rapidly from small beginnings; while in all the Indian provinces to the west of these mountains, in Hindustan, Bengal, and the south of India, it appears at some unknown period to have lost the influence it once possessed, and has altogether disappeared.

The Jains at the present day occupy no country peculiarly their own, but are found chiefly in Marwar, Guzerat, and the south of India.

Disputes have long subsisted which of these religions is the most ancient. It is not easy to decide a historical question where there are no historical memorials; and, unfortunately, none of the three religions possesses a single work that has the slightest pretension to be considered as genuine history. It is certainly a remarkable fact, that among nations so far advanced in civilization and the arts of life as those of India,—among nations overburthened with volumes of grammar, metaphysics, and mythology, who possess many works of great merit in poetry and polite letters,—no branch of knowledge founded upon the record of the actions of rational beings, or an observation of the operations of external nature, has made any progress; and that there has not been even an attempt to collect facts as the foundation of such knowledge. Hence, civil and natural history, medicine†, chemistry, and the philosophy which is founded on the observation of nature and the comparison of facts, are not even in their infancy. The only exception, perhaps, is that of astronomy: an exception which, that science owes to its having been employed as an instrument of supersti-

† Since writing this, I have been informed that the symptoms of diseases are often well described in Hindu books; and that they have ample, but of course not very scientific, pharmacy.

tion. This is not the place to inquire into the causes of so remarkable a deficiency, but the most powerful of them

* it requires little research to discover—I mean the influence of a bigoted priesthood.

In consequence of this want of historical annals, we cannot expect the literature of India itself to furnish any thing very satisfactory on the subject in question : the accounts of the rival sects may be expected to differ, and do differ. Each claims an antiquity quite appalling to the mind of a sober chronologist. Hundreds of thousands of years cost the compilers of the sacred books only a word, when the dignity of their religion is concerned.

Those who favour the pretensions of the Bouddhists affirm, that we find indubitable historical proofs of the existence of their religion, and of their priests, the Samanæi, in very early ages : that from the remains of great works, evidently referable to their sect, existing in the whole extent of country at present enjoyed by the followers of the Brahminical religion, from Bamiān to Ceylon and Java, and thence back to Kashmīr, we are justified in concluding that the Bouddhists inhabited that extensive region long before the era of regular history, as these monuments are found scattered over countries in which Brahminism has long been most deeply rooted, and in many instances where, at the present day, no Bouddhist is found, and at no recorded period is known to have existed : that the total absence of every living remnant of the Bouddhist religion throughout India, is the best proof of the early period at which the expulsion or conquest took place : that these arguments are supported by the acknowledged fact, that the Brahmins derive their origin from the North, and do not regard themselves as the aborigines of India : that they probably expelled the older Bouddhist inhabitants, and destroyed the exercise of the religion, as they gained the ascendancy : that the war of Ram against Ravan, of the good spirits against the demons, of the north of India against Ceylon and the south, was probably one of these holy wars, the conflict of Brahminism and Bouddhism : that, mild and tolerant as the Brahmins in our times are, or

affect to be, the sanguinary destruction of the Jains in the south of India is a proof to what extent they may, under * the influence of their religion, indulge the most inhuman passions† : that the Bouddhist is probably the more ancient religion, as being the more simple, especially as wanting the artificial division into castes : and that, finally, the very local position occupied by the two religions seems to point out the Bouddhist as being the more ancient ; the Brahmins occupying the richer plains and the whole central champaign country, while the Bouddhists seem as if thrust out of them into the hills and strong land all around : that in one instance, that of Ceylon, the line of communication with the other nations of their religion has been broken off, the Brahminists having driven them forward, and shut them up beyond the very extremity of the peninsula.

The arguments for the superior antiquity of the Jains very much resemble those used to favour the pretensions of the Bouddhists,—the fact that indubitable monuments of their religion exist in many countries which have long been occupied by the Brahmins : that several Jain principalities remained to a late time unsubdued in the south of India ; and that in that quarter the Brahmins, even at this day, are regarded as strangers and intruders : that the native and indigenious literature is very different from that of the Brahmins ; and that the Sanserit is less the base or root of the southern languages, than the necessary and ornamental part : that their religion is simpler ; and that it was only in consequence of the innovations of the Brahmins, their absurd tales about the gods, and the introduction of bloody sacrifices, that the Jains, seeing the new doctrines and impious practices of the Brahmins gain ground daily, found it necessary to cast them off to preserve the purity of the original faith‡.

The Brahmins pretend that the other two sects are only

† For the time when the Bouddhist and Jain religions were destroyed or persecuted, see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., pp. 158—170 ; Chambers on *Mahabali-puram*, *Asiatic Res.*, vol. vi., pp. 163—166 ; Dr. F. Buchanan *On the Religion and Literature of the Burmas* ; and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels in Mysore*, passim.

‡ Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, App., p. 580.

heretical schisms from their old and primitive religion ; and the advocates of this * opinion urge the visible antiquity of * 499 the Hindu institutions, which have continued unchanged from the most remote times : that the arts, the philosophy, the sacred volumes,—especially the Veds of the Brahmins,—all bear traces of the same distant origin : that the Indian languages are, with few if any exceptions, founded on the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Brahmins, or at least have drawn deeply from it ; so that, if it was foreign, it must have been introduced and begun to influence them in very distant ages : that it mingles in the first origin of the most ancient and distant tongues, the Greek, Latin, Persian, German, Sarmatian, and Scandinavian : that the Purâns, themselves ancient, describe the rise and progress of the Bouddhist heresy, which was a partial but successful schism of some heterodox Hindus : that Buddh, by the most probable accounts, lived little more than five hundred years before the Christian era, a time to be regarded as modern, compared with the antiquity which we may justly ascribe to Brahminism.

Mr. Colebrooke, who maintains the superior antiquity of the Brahminical institutions, founds his opinion on the facts that the story of Gautama, the founder of the present sect of Bouddhists, has been engrafted by them on the Hindu heroic history of the Solar and Lunar races, and that their fictions seem awkwardly copied from those of the Brahmins ; as, though more extravagant, they do not admit the same adaptation to astronomical periods : on the existence of a worship of the Sun and Fire in ancient Persia, similar to the religion of the Veds ; and on the conclusions which he thinks may be fairly deduced from the narrative of the writers of ancient Greece. He argues, that in the very first accounts which they transmit to us, we find the existence of castes in India ; that the Brahmins appear to have been, even then, the priests of the country ; that we are hence authorized to conclude, that at least as far back as the time of Alexander the country was held by Brahmins : that there is every reason to believe, from the description given of them, that the classes by the Greek writers denominated

Brahmins and Samanæans belonged to the same religion, being apparently the Brahmins and Sanyasis; and to infer *that as the Bouddhists are not mentioned in these earliest times, they are probably of a later origin/ or * 500 certainly were not the prevalent sect†.

Mr. Colebrooke's remarks are most rational, as well as learned. That the accounts of the earliest Greek authors indicate the Brahminical as the prevalent religion, and that their narrative corresponds with the idea of a Brahminical population, is undeniable. The name of But (or Buddh), too, does not, as far as I know, occur in any author before Clemens of Alexandria, in the end of the second or beginning of the third century. Some doubts may, however, fairly be entertained, whether the Samanæi are the Sanyasis of the Brahmins, or the Samans of the Bouddhists. The passage of Clemens is by no means distinct, or free from difficulties, especially so far as regards the mention which it makes of the Samanæi of the Bactrians.

It will besides be remembered, that the accounts of the Greek writers, while they prove the existence of Brahminism in India, contradict the existence of Bouddhism in the same country only by inference. They leave untouched the opinion, that both religions flourished at the same time, as friendly or at least not hostile sects. Bouddhism might have prevailed in the remoter provinces of India, though Brahminism was the predominant religion on the Persian frontiers; and even had Bouddhism prevailed in the western provinces as a tolerated religion, a Greek traveller would naturally have been most struck with the manners of the Brahminists, as differing most widely from those of his own country: so that the existence of castes, and the practices and rules rising out of them; the austerities of the Hindu mendicants, and the practice of religious suicide, were likely to make a greater impression on him than any of the quieter and less striking usages of the Bouddhists, who mingled unobserved in the mass of the population.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix., p. 293.

As for the pretence of the Hindus, that the origin and growth of the Bouddhistical sect is contained in their Purâns, it affords little additional * support to their claims : the * 501 Buddh of the Hindus will never by real Bouddhists be acknowledged as the same with the object of their worship : his origin lies in different mythological principles. Add to this, that the doctrines regarding the incarnation and character of Buddh, contained in the sacred books of the modern Hindus, are unfortunately at variance with those entertained on the subject by the Hindus of more ancient times. The Buddh of the modern Hindus is recognized as an incarnation of Vishnu, assumed to sanction the punishment of certain schismatics by leading them into error, and is never worshipped ; the ancient doctrine represented him as a great and beneficent being, to whom all worship was due. The ancient doctrine, therefore, seems to destroy the authority of the modern tale.

The argument derived from the extensive diffusion of the Sanscrit language will not be allowed its full force, until it be shown that it does not equally apply to the Pali and Prakrit, the sacred languages of the other sects, and kindred dialects of the Sanscrit.

As for the local situation of the countries now occupied by the Bouddhists, this would have been nearly the same, whether before their expulsion from India they had been the prevalent or only an inferior sect.

There is one fact, however, which seems to me most strongly to intimate the inferior antiquity of the Bouddhists. In their sacred books we find the birth of Gautama, the present Buddh, carefully recorded as having occurred about five hundred and forty years before Christ. It is true that the theory of the Bouddhist religion does not rest upon a single Buddh, and that many† are supposed to have appeared at different eras, for various purposes, and to accomplish various objects. But I know no evidence of the existence of any sect prior to that of

† In Ceylon, they say twenty-two in former cycles, besides four in the present world : *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., pp. 23 and 443.

Gautama, and we probably may not much err if we take that period as the origin of the religion.

Were I disposed to speculate on the origin of the Jains from the striking coincidences of doctrine and religious usages between them and the * Bouddhists, I should be led to conjecture that they were originally a sect of Bouddhists; * 502 and that as, from whatever cause, the Bouddhists were put down long before the Jains, the probability is, that on their discomfiture the more obstinate remains of the Bouddhists took refuge with the kindred sect of Jains; and hence in the course of ages have conformed to their doctrines, and disappeared as a separate sect. It would seem that the Jains in various quarters were driven to adopt a temporizing policy. When subdued and persecuted by the Brahmins, they connected themselves with the prevailing faith by the ties of caste, and probably by frequenting the religious ceremonies of the Brahmins, as is still customarily done by the Jain Brahmins of the northern parts of Guzerat. They secretly preserved their ancient doctrines, however, and, even in the countries where they were most persecuted, gradually formed themselves into separate religious associations. In Bengal, and in a great part of the provinces of Hindustan, they seem nearly to have died away; but in the south of India, Kanara, Guzerat, and Marwar, they seem always to have preserved some political consequence, and exist in great numbers; and in the latter country at least, the Jains and Hindus intermarry. In some instances, till very recently, both in some parts of Guzerat and in the Mahratta country, where they were in more complete subjection, their temples were underground, to escape the observation of the Brahmins; and materials are said to have been kept in readiness for filling up the entrance, or covering the images, in case of suspicion. Their connexion with the Brahmins has gone so far as to induce them, at some of their temples, to admit into the sacred enclosure certain gods of the Brahmins,—Vishnu, Ganesh, and Kartikeya,—and to new-model some of their religious books to suit the change. But this laxity appears to be quite unauthorized by the more ancient and pure religion both of Jains and Boud-

dhists, and merely proves how far religions once hostile, and not very ready to admit of innovation or to receive proselytes, may yet to a certain degree mingle, to suit the convenience or fancy of their adherents.

Upon the whole, until some proof is discovered of the existence of a Bouddhist religion older than Gautama, or existing more than five hundred and forty years before Christ, I * 503 should be disposed to adopt that era as the origin of the sect, and to suppose the religion of the Brahmins to be older, and that of the Jains more modern, than that date.

One observation is of primary importance in all inquiries regarding these sects. It is indispensably necessary to judge of their doctrines by the accounts given of them by themselves, and not by the representations of their rivals. Nothing can be more false and exaggerated than the notions which the Purâns of the Brahmins give of the peculiar tenets of both the other sects: and we may add, that a translation of the chief religious works of the Bouddhists and Jains is still a desideratum, without which we cannot pronounce, with any thing approaching to certainty, on many disputed points regarding their opinions.

II. *Of the Tests by which the Excavations of the Bouddhists, Jains, and Brahmins may be distinguished.*

It is of some consequence to ascertain certain tests by which a temple of Bouddhist may be discriminated from one of Brahminical origin; as, without some such criteria, any inferences drawn from the appearance of the temples themselves must be loose and inconclusive.

The external symbols of these religions depend, as might be expected, on the doctrines and mythology† which they teach.

Let us, therefore, in the first place, see what are the peculiar tenets and practices of the Bouddhists that are likely to affect their religious edifices, and in what they differ from those of the Brahmins and Jains.

1. The leading distinctive doctrine of the Bouddhist religion is, that from time to time, when mankind have become

† See "Account of Elephanta," *Trans. of Lit. Society of Bombay*, vol. i., p. 198 [214 of this edition].

depraved and degenerate, there has appeared, for their reformation, a Buddh†; that is, a holy and self-denying person, who by meditation has subdued his earthly passions, *and overcome the restraints imposed on spirit by body and its material integuments. This holy person- * 504 age, or saint, by freeing his soul from the restraints of matter, acquires inconceivable knowledge, irresistible strength, the power of working miracles, and the memory of what occurred in all his former transmigrations; after which he disappears like a spark, and enters into the supreme felicity of *Nirupan*; "And this," says La Loubère‡, "is certainly the whole doctrine of the Siamese, in which I find no idea of a divinity."

The Brahmins agree with the Bouddhists in holding that the world has occasionally been reformed, or benefited, by extraordinary beings who have appeared in it. But while, according to the Bouddhists, this has been effected by human beings who by superior virtue have become saints, and almost gods; according to the Brahmins, it is effected by gods who descend upon earth, and assume a human or other form. The saints of the Bouddhists are men, and have the human shape:—the gods of the Brahmins are without number, of every shape and figure, filling heaven and earth with their various classes and dependents. The one system presents men who have become gods; the other, gods who have become men.

2. The truth, however, is, that the Bouddhists do not deny the existence of God, though they have no idea of him as taking any part in the concerns of the world. He exists quiescent, the operations of nature being directed by agents of a much lower class. The Brahmins see the agency of Deity in every thing: he is the fountain of all life and of all action.

† The Buddh universally worshipped is *Gautama*, also called *Saman*, the Saint: *Asiat. Res.*, vol. viii., p. 400. By the Siamese he is called *Sommono-codon*, i.e. *Samana-Gautama*, the Holy Gautama; and *Puti-sat*, i.e. *Bouddh-sat*, Buddh-born: *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., p. 38. The Chinese converts, from the imperfection of their organs of speech, call him *Fo*.

‡ *New Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*. Lond. 1698, fol, pp. 131-140.

3. The Bouddhists hold the eternity of matter†.

The Brahmins, a few of a peculiar sect of philosophy excepted, regard matter as created. Such of them as are immaterialists, regard the perceptions which we refer to matter, as originating in the divine mind.

4. The Bouddhists deny the authority of the Veds and Purâns‡.

The Brahminists all venerate the Veds; and all, except the philosophical Brahmins, respect the Purâns.

5. The division into castes does not exist among the Bouddhists.

* It forms a distinction that runs through and influences every part of the laws and duties of the Brahmins.

6. The priests of the Bouddhists are taken from among all classes of freemen, and, when tired of their condition, may resign the sacerdotal character, and return to the secular state.

The religious instructors of the rival sect are all taken from the hereditary tribe of Brahmins; and though a Brahmin may cease to be an officiating priest, he cannot divest himself of the peculiar restrictions imposed upon him by his birth as a Brahmin.

7. The priests of the Bouddhists profess celibacy, and abstinence from all carnal pleasures: they do not marry, nor keep concubines. Adultery by their law is a capital crime.

The Brahmins regard the state of marriage as holy, and necessary for perpetuating the sacred tribe; and, in addition to their wives, they may keep concubines.

8. The priests of the Bouddhists do not eat after noon. From a fear of destroying any insect, they use no water that has not passed through a cloth. They do not drink after sunset; and sweep the spot on which they are to sit down.

The principal meal of the Brahmins is generally after sunset, and they are not restricted from eating and drinking at any hour.

9. The Bouddhists eat the flesh of all, except a few, animals, though they do not kill to eat, except game, or hurtful animals§.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 180.

‡ *Ibid.* vii. 38.

§ Symes's *Embassy*—Pinkerton's *Collect.*, vol. ix., p. 465.

The higher classes of Brahminical Hindus seldom eat animal food, and perhaps never kill to eat, except game. The inferior castes kill and eat, except of a few forbidden animals. Some tribes of Brahmins eat fish; and all of them may eat of most animal foods after certain ceremonies, which, however, are so troublesome and expensive as to amount to a real prohibition.

10. The priests of the Bouddhists live in a state of celibacy in religious *societies or monasteries, often very numerous, close to the temples; and they have nunneries† as * 506 well as monasteries.

The Brahmins live in their own houses, with their wives and families.

11. The Bouddhists do not respect fire, nor do they sacrifice.

Fire is the great object of a Brahmin's veneration: and the hom, which is bloodless, his great sacrifice. But the law prescribes numerous bloody sacrifices.

12. The Bouddhists venerate the relics of their Buddhs, or saints, and even of their sacred elephants.

To the Brahminists the remains of the dead are impure; and worship is confined to the gods, and their retinue.

13. The sacred language of the Bouddhists is the Bali, Pali, or Maghadha.

The sacred language of the Brahmins is the Sanscrit.

The Jains differ, in some respects, both from the Bouddhists and Brahmins, though they approach most nearly to the Bouddhists. Like the Brahmins, they have castes; their priests never eat the flesh of animals; and I do not find that, in this part of India at least, they venerate the relics of holy men; but, like the Bouddhists, their mythology is composed of human beings raised by meditation, and control over the senses, to a superhuman command of the operations of nature. They acknowledge no God as taking an active concern in the affairs of the world. They believe matter to be uncreated‡. They

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 279. Also La Loubère and Symes.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ix., pp. 252, 285.

do not acknowledge the authenticity of the Brahminical Veds and Purâns. Their priests are selected from various castes, do not marry, nor keep concubines; may lay down their sacred character: never eat or drink after sunset; and carry about with them a brush to sweep the spot on which they are to sit, that they may injure nothing having life. Young Jain widows sometimes study the Sacred Books, and become Arjahs, like the Burma nuns. They do * not respect fire, nor do * 507 they sacrifice: and their sacred language is the Prakrit or Maghadha, which appears nearly to approach to the Pali.—In all this there is a striking coincidence between the Bouddhists and Jains.

Yet, though a difference exists among these three sects on some important points, we must not imagine that it pervades their whole doctrines. There is a strong family resemblance in the leading tenets and fancies of their philosophy. They all teach the metempsychosis; that there is a soul in every animal, in every system and minuter part of nature; that there are classes of demons and other spirits who exercise dominion in earth and air. They agree in the nature of their geography, which has little connexion with any thing actually existing; in much of their astronomy, as the revolution of the sun round Mount Meru, and the manner in which eclipses are caused; in their opinions regarding heaven and hell, and in general in the wild and unsubstantial nature of their tenets, or rather dreams. In all matters of theology and science they have evidently borrowed deeply from the same sources, or from each other.

As might be expected, the diversity in the opinions and usages of these various sects has affected the exterior appearance and ornaments of their religious edifices; and it is chiefly from these peculiarities of form that, in the absence of authentic history, we are enabled to refer a structure or excavation to the sect to which it belonged, and to infer the existence of the Bouddhist religion in situations where we do not learn from history that it ever prevailed.

The leading distinctive marks of a Bouddhist temple, at least in India, may perhaps be reduced to the following:—

1. The images are mere human figures, standing upright, sitting on a bench, sometimes with one foot resting on the knee; or squatted down, with the feet crossed, and resting upon the thighs†. As the Bouddhists * do not admit any of the wild tales familiar to Hindu mythology,—of the * 508 transformation of their sacred personages into animals, or of their assuming many heads or hands,—the figures are always human. And as the Buddhs rose to the possession of their superhuman energies by profound meditation, they are represented in a contemplative posture, generally with the forefinger of the right hand resting on one of the fingers of the left. The sacred Bouddhist figures are, I think, always clothed with a wrapper, which after covering the loins passes over the left shoulder.

2. Another striking characteristic of the Bouddhist temple is the Dagop, a hemispherical figure, or cupola, rising from a low cylinder, and often surmounted by a large umbrella of stone or wood. The object of these monuments is frequently misunderstood: they have been confounded with the Ling of Shiva. But the truth is, that they are supposed to contain relics of Buddh‡, or sometimes of the sacred elephants. “On one side of the Vihari” (or temple), says M. Joinville, speaking of the temples of Ceylon, “there is always a monument in the form of a cupola, placed on a moulded pedestal. This monument contains a particle of the bones of Bouddhou§.” Colonel Mackenzie mentions a Cingalese temple near Dondra-Head,

† It is said that they are sometimes represented reclining on the right side. I have not seen any of this class. M. Joinville remarks, that in Ceylon “their temples have no certain form, being generally built in the caves of rocks; and it depends upon the particular form of the cave, whether the statue of Boudhou be standing, or sitting with its legs across, or lying down on its right side.” *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., p. 424.—But we know too little of the interior doctrines of the Bouddhists, to be able to state this decidedly. Mr. James Baillie Frazer informs me, that he found a reclining Buddha in the excavations at Chandwas, and another at Nasick. The latter escaped my observation.

‡ Hence the name, *Da*, bone; *geb*, belly: i.e. “bone-container.” *Asiatic Res.*, vol. vii., p. 425, quarto ed.

§ *Ibid.*

“ of a circular shape, of about 160 feet in circumference and 12 high, forming a terrace ; from the centre of which rose a bell-shaped spire crowned with a smaller cone on a square pedestal : the height of the whole supposed to be 30 feet. A parapet ran round this terrace, to which a door and staircase led up ; and here, exposed to the open air, as we approached soon after sunrise, we observed some Cingalese men and women walking round, bending and inclined towards the spire, apparently praying.”.....“ This structure, we were told, was solid : it had no * doors, windows, or any opening. They * 509 said one of the teeth of the sacred elephant was buried in it.” “ It was,” he adds, “ on a large scale, what the spire within the inclosure at Belligaum was in miniature, and seems to be the peculiar shape of a shrine or appendage of a temple of Bouddhoo†.”—The figure at Belligaum he describes as being without the temple but within the inclosure, as a solid building with a cupola-figured roof, with no opening whatever. Within it, he was told, was interred Bouddhoo ; or, rather, the sacred elephant‡.—Mr. Harington mentions a similar figure at Kalani, near Colombo, close by two *Vihars*, or temples, “ surrounded by a low wall ; which likewise incloses a third building to the north of the others called *Daghope*, with the addition of *wahunsee*. This building is a solid mass of earth and brickwork of a considerable height, perhaps sixty feet, and shaped somewhat like a dome, with a cupola above. This monumental temple is said to contain twenty images of Buddh§ buried below it.”

The form of this monument is not, however, always a hemisphere, or cupola. In the Burman Empire and Siam it is often that of a pyramid. “ It has already been said,” I quote Dr. Francis Buchanan’s account of the Burmans, “ that Godama commanded his images and relics to be worshipped. The largest and most celebrated temples are generally in the form of a pyramid, and are supposed to contain some of those

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., p. 438, octavo ed.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

§ *Ibid.* vi. 450.

relics, such as a tooth, a bone, a hair, or a garment. To these temples, as containing the sacred relic, the prayers of the devout are addressed,* and their offerings presented. The pyramids are often of a great size, constructed of solid brick-work plastered over, and generally placed on a prodigious elevated terrace. The base of the pyramid is frequently surrounded by a double row of small ones, and the summits or the whole are always crowned with umbrellas, made of a combination of iron bars into a kind of filligree work, and adorned with bells. Many of these pyramids are from three to five hundred feet high." "Other temples of nearly a similar structure, but hollow within, contain images of Godama, to which* the adoration of his disciples† is directed."

It is needless to multiply quotations in proof of the *510 origin and intention of these structures, whether hemispherical or pyramidal. Instances of them abound in the narrative of every traveller in Ceylon, Pegu, the Birman Empire, or the Indo-Chinese provinces; and few of the Bouddhist excavations in India are without remarkable specimens of the cupola *dagop*.

3. The religious excavations of the Bouddhists in the west of India, besides the flat-roofed temples‡, containing in the interior sacred recess a gigantic statue of Buddh, have generally one excavation, oblong, arched above, with a row of pillars passing down each side, and meeting in an elliptical form at the further extremity, and a veranda or passage beyond the pillars round the whole extent of the excavation. At the further end, where the cave curves round, there is, for the

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 293. These pyramids are described by La Loubère, p. 32. The *Pra-chiaidi*, or "Tombs of Sacred Repose," are of the same kind: p. 124. The majestic Shoemadoo, the great temple at Pegu, is a finished specimen: Symes's Embassy, *Pink. Coll.*, vol. ix., p. 438. The *Shoedagon*, near Rangoon, is another: *ibid.*, p. 448. To these may be added, the temples of Bura Booder in Java, so well described by Mr. Crawford: *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay*, vol. ii.

‡ The temples of the Bouddhists are called by different names, according to the countries in which they are found; as Bouddhistaneh, Siddistaneh, Malegowa: *As. Researches*, vol. vii., p. 38; *Vihar* or *Vihari*, p. 424.

most part, or always, a Dagop, often of great size. The excavation itself is sometimes highly finished, especially the grand entrance, and the capitals of the pillars; though, from whatever cause, a few of the pillars nearest the Dagop are generally left rough and unsculptured. I have never in a temple of this class seen any image intended to be worshipped, except at Ellora, in what is called Wiswakarma's cave; where a figure of Buddh is placed in the forepart of the Dagop. The arched roof is usually ribbed across, sometimes by hewing the original rock, and sometimes by wooden ribs suited to the curve and inserted in the rock. Over the grand entrance there is often a gallery open to the interior, not unlike the music gallery of a cathedral. Without is generally a court hewn in the rock, ornamented with elephants, often of the natural size, and other

* figures. In some instances, a gigantic human figure
* 511 guards each side of the entrance. There are also generally

two lofty columns or needles, though sometimes only one, richly sculptured, and placed in the court at the entrance. They are surmounted by some animal, which may perhaps bear a reference to the peculiar Buddh venerated at the spot. The arched excavation, which in its form very much resembles our cathedrals, is one kind of Bouddhist temple. For though in Ceylon, Siam, &c. the Dagop is not within the temples, but only close by, this arched excavation is evidently a magnificent receptacle for containing it; and it is not improbable that the arched roof, terminating at the further end in an elliptical curve, may have been introduced to suit the cupolar form of the Dagop, as it never appears in other Bouddhist or Hindu edifices. But to whatever cause the figure may be owing, it certainly, with its light pillars supporting the arch, presents an infinitely finer form of architecture than we find in any other of their works.

4. The monastic life of the priests of the Bouddhists has occasioned another singularity in their excavations,—the number of small cells found near the chief temple. Colonel Mahony informs us, that in Ceylon the *Vihare* or *Viharagee*, the habitations of the priests, are always built close to the

temples dedicated to Buddh†. And we learn from Dr. Francis Buchanan, that among the Burmas, the Rihans (or priests) live in convents or colleges; and that there are generally convents situated in the neighbourhood of the greater temples†. They sometimes have nuns as well as monks. La Loubère tells us, that in Siam “the convent and temple do take up a very great square space of ground, encompassed with an inclosure of bambou. In the middle of the ground stands the temple, as in the place esteemed the most honourable in their encampments; and at the corners of this ground, and along the bambou inclosure, are ranged the cells of the Talapoins (monks) like the tents of an army; and sometimes the rows thereof are double or triple. The cells are little single houses erected on piles; and that of the Superior is after the same manner, but a little larger and higher than the rest. The pyramids stand near and * quite round the temple§.” In the excavations of the west of India these cells are sometimes separate from each * 512 other, as in some parts of the Kanara caves in Salsette, and under the hill-fort of Juner: in others, as in some parts of the Ellora and Nasick caves, they are excavated in considerable number around, and open into a larger hall or apartment||.

5. In most of the ancient Bouddhist excavations, we find one or more large square apartments, with a raised platform or broad bench running round it. In one instance, at Ellora, we find these platforms or benches running in parallel rows

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., p. 39.

† *Ibid.* vi. 276—279.

§ La Loubère, p. 113.

|| The Bouddhists of Eastern India had also their excavations and cells like those of the west. “After leaving Neowudah,” says Col. Symes, “the eastern bank of the river rises to a perpendicular height eighty or one hundred feet above the river. In the side of the cliff, rather more than halfway up, we saw some apertures resembling doorways, and were told that they were entrances into caves which had formerly been inhabited by hermits; who, desirous of withdrawing from the world, had excavated these abodes with their own hands, and dwelt in them for the remainder of their lives, preserving no further intercourse with their fellow-creatures than was necessary to receive their food, which was lowered down to them by a rope.” *Pink. Coll.*, vol. ix., p. 477.—Some of the caves near Karli, Juner, and Kanara, appear to be of this description.

across the apartments, with narrow passages between the rows. These apartments were probably their school-rooms, as much of the time of the Bouddhist priests is devoted to teaching their scholars or disciples to read, write, and cast accounts, with the principles of morality, their religion, and the Balit language. "The school of the Nens (or novices) is a hall of bambou standing alone; and besides this hall there is always such another, where the people carry their alms on the days when the temple is shut, and when the Talapoins assemble for their ordinary conferences†." Symes informs us, that "all *kioums* or monasteries, whether in town or country, are seminaries for the education of youth, in which boys of a certain age are taught their letters, and instructed in moral and religious duties. To these schools the neighbouring villagers send their children, where they are educated gratis, no

* distinction being made between the son of a peasant
* 513 and of him who wears the *tsaloe*, or string of nobility§.

6. Another peculiarity of the Bouddhist temples in the west of India is, that they generally have inscriptions of some length, in a character of which we do not now possess the cipher||. It is probable that these inscriptions are in the Magadha or Pali, the sacred language of the Bouddhists. "The Pali," says Colonel Mahony, speaking of Ceylon, "is the language in which Bouddha is said to have preached his doctrine and manifested his law. This language is also termed by the learned Singhalais the *Magidee* and *Moola-basha*, *basha* being the Singhalais for language¶. As *mûlq* signifies root, the terms *mûla basha* certainly mean radical or original language. Dr. Francis Buchanan informs us, that the "original of most of the

† La Loubère, p. 59.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 114.

§ Pinkerton's *Coll.*, vol. ix., p. 442.

|| The same seems to be the case in Ceylon. Knox says, "Here are some ancient writings engraven upon rocks, which puzzle all that see them. These rocks are cut deep with great letters for the space of some yards, so deep that they may last to the world's end. Nobody can make any thing of them. There is an ancient temple, Goddiladenni in Yattooar, stands by a place where there are many of these letters."

¶ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., p. 36.

Burma books in law and religion is in the Pali or Pale language, which undoubtedly is radically the same with the Sanscrit. I was assured at Amirapura," he continues, "that the Pali of Siam and Pegu differed considerably from that of the Burmas; and an intelligent native of Tavay who had been at Cingala or Candy, the present capital of Ceylon, and at Anuradapura, the former capital, assured me that the Pali of that island was considerably different from that of Ava. In many inscriptions, and in books of ceremony, such as the *Kammua*, the Pali language is written in a square character, somewhat resembling the Bengal Sanscrit, and called *Magata†*. From La Loubère we learn that "the Bali is the learned tongue of the Siamse, or the tongue of their religion:" that "it is a dead tongue known only to the learned, and is enriched with the inflexions of words, like those we have in Europe. The terms of religion and justice, the names of offices, and *all the ornaments of the vulgar tongue, are borrowed from the Bali‡." This language, which * 514 holds the same place as a sacred language among the Bouddhists that the Sanscrit does among the Brahmins, has, from its name, been supposed to be the ancient language of Maghadha or Southern Bahar§. It is singular that the Jains use this language, or a dialect of it, as their sacred tongue. "The religious books of the Jainas," says Mr. Colebrooke, "are composed in the Pracrit, called Maghadhi; and the Sanscrit language is used by the Jainas for translations, or for commentaries, on account of the great obscurity of the Pracrit tongue." He adds, "This Pracrit, which does not differ from the language introduced by dramatic poets into their writings, and assigned by them to the female persons in their dramas, is formed from the Sanscrit. I believe it to be the same with the Pali of Ceylon||." Dr. Leyden, after a careful examination, came to a similar conclusion, and supposed the Bali and Prakrit, the sacred languages of the Bouddhists and Jains, to be kindred dialects of the same language, and derived from the Sanscrit¶.

† *Asiatic Res.*, vi. 305.

‡ La Loubère's *Hist. Relation*, p. 5.

§ *Asiatic Res.*, vol. ix., pp. 74 and 82.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 310.

¶ *Ibid.*, vol. x., p. 232.

The inscriptions found at the ancient Bouddhist caves are all in one character, very much resembling that discovered on some old edifices of the Jains. I think it is fair to conclude that these inscriptions are in the sacred language of the religion to which the temple belonged; and that, to become possessed of the information they contain, we must try them by a key taken from the Pali and Prakrit languages.

7. Another appearance common in Bouddhist caves, though by no means so conclusive or unerring as the others, is the umbrella over the head of the chief object of reverence or worship. The canopy is frequently composed of a pyramid or tier of umbrellas rising over each other. The Bouddh, at other times, has a canopy of seven heads of the hooded snake expanded over him. But both the umbrella and hooded canopy, particularly the latter, are to be found in Brahminical temples. The umbrella is the symbol of sovereignty or power; the canopy of snakes, of something divine.

* 8. To these tests we may add the regularly curled, * 515 wig-like hair generally given to Buddh. His followers ascribe this appearance to the hair having been plucked out, or cut with a golden knife. Beings with hair of a similar appearance are indeed found in temples of Shiva,—his *gan*, or suite of Peishaches, or demons, having hair quite similar. But in temples of Buddh and of the Jains, this *tête* appears on the object of worship; in those of Shiva on the deformed attendants. One might be tempted to imagine, that in the course of the feuds between the two religions, the priests of Shiva had, from contempt, bestowed the head-dress of the Bouddhist saint on the meanest slaves of their god. *

It is worthy of remark, that the colossal statues of greatest height in India are Bouddhist and Jain.

Such seem to be the principal characteristics, and the most obvious means we possess of distinguishing the holy places of the Bouddhists. The temples of the Brahmins are more easily recognized. As their mythology describes their gods as having descended upon the earth and become incarnated in various forms, the representation of these incarnations, or *avatars*,

forms the chief ornament of their temples. On one hand we see a deity with the head of a boar, on another with the head of a bull: here, a god with two hands; there, one with four or eight, and often with many heads. One god is distinguished by bearing a trident; others have the disc or the chank; the Vedas or the thunderbolt. Each god, too, has some animal to carry him from place to place—the elephant, the goose, the kite, the peacock, the bull, the tiger; and the appearance of his attendant animal leads us to look for the presence of the deity whose motions it is supposed to attend. We can rarely be at a loss to discover what deity a sculpture of the Brahmins represents, though the boundless range of their extravagant mythology may often leave us uncertain which of his innumerable exploits is celebrated. As the Brahmins do not live in a monastic or collegiate state, but marry, and have families and houses of their own, their temples are not surrounded by cells like those of the Talapoins. The storied walls of their temple proclaim the deity to whom it was raised, and his manifold exploits. Inscriptions are not required to communicate * in words ideas that are presented at once by sculpture. Whe- * 516 ther from this, or from whatever other cause, I have never remarked an inscription on a Brahminical temple in the Konkan or Dekhan. Perhaps the Bouddhist is not only a simpler, but a more intellectual religion. The use of numerous external symbols has a natural tendency to call off the attention from dogmas or opinions to forms and ceremonies. The religions in Europe that have the simplest ceremonial are the most metaphysical.

The Dagop cannot, of course, be found in Brahminical structures, as the gods are immortal; and the worship of holy men removed to an union with the divinity is no part of the religion. For a similar reason, the elegant arched temple for containing this object of adoration, not being required, is not to be found.

That there is any connexion between the worship of the Dagop and that of the Ling there seems no ground to believe. They are different in their origin and object. The Dagop is a tomb or cenotaph of a divine man, or the repository of a relic;

the Ling is the symbol of the organ of generation, venerated as the productive power of nature. The one is always supposed to have reference to a Buddh, or sainted man; the other typifies the boundless energy of the divine power acting on the external universe. Nor can an eye in the least experienced mistake their forms. The Dagop rises at once from within the margin of the cylinder on which it is placed, into a hemispherical or globular form: the continuous cylinder of the Ling is slightly rounded off at its upper extremity.

It is not so easy to distinguish the sacred edifices of the Jains† from those of the Bouddhists. Their images are simple, and in the same contemplative postures as those of Buddh. They may, however, generally be recognized by some one of the twenty-four distinguishing characteristic signs engraved on the pedestals of the images of the *tirthankers*‡. Their temples, though dedicated to a particular saint, generally contain the figures of the whole twenty-four; but they do not appear ever to

* have the Dagop of the Bouddhists, nor should we expect
 * 517 the vaulted temple in their excavations. Perhaps, too, we ought not to expect the school-room, nor the numerous cells for monks: for the Jains have no cloistered monastic establishment, though they have monks, and even nuns, who go abroad into the world. The Jatis, or priests, being unmarried, generally reside at the temple, or close by it, and in dress and appearance are easily distinguished from the Brahmins and other Hindus: but the Jains and Shravaks, the laity of the sect, mingle with the Brahminical Hindus of their own caste, resemble them in dress and manners, intermarry with them, and seldom have any objection to worship in their temples, and even to receive the *tilak*, or sectarial mark, from a Brahmin,—circumstances which seem to add strength to the conjecture, that they have to a certain degree incorporated themselves with the orthodox Hindus, and followed their practices to elude observation and persecution.

† There are said to be many Jain excavations in the peninsula of Guzerat.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix., p. 304.

III. *Of the Remains of the Bouddhists in India.*

These preliminary observations will, I think, enable us, with considerable accuracy, to refer any religious structure or excavation to the particular sect to which it belongs.

And the first circumstance that strikes us with surprise, in applying the test, is the wonderful extent of country over which, as already remarked, it proves the Bouddhist religion to have extended: in some instances, over regions where we have no other proof that it ever reached.

The most western territory in which I am aware of any Bouddhist remains is that of the Bamian, known by the name of Balkh-Bamian. From Abul-fazl's account it is probable, though by no means certain, that the excavations near that place belong to Buddh. He describes the recesses cut in the rock, and adorned with carving and plaster-work, as twelve thousand in number: he adds, that they are called *summi*, and in ancient times were the winter retreat of the natives. "Here are three astonishing idols," he continues: "one representing a man eighty ells high; another a woman fifty; and the third, which is the figure of a child, measuring fifteen ells in height†." The Ferhenge Jahangiri gives these figures * 518 the more reasonable yet great height of fifty cubits. If we could trust to the dubious authority of Major Wilford's informers, it was at a very early period considered as the metropolis of the sect of Buddha, and emphatically called Buddha-Bamian, by the Mussulmans corrupted into But-Bamian‡. But of these facts I can elsewhere discover no traces. As these excavations have never, by those who visited them, been referred to any Hindu god, it is probable that, if they are Indian, they belong to the sect of Buddh. An expression used by Clemens of Alexandria, who calls the Samanajans the phi-

† *Ayeen-Akbery*, vol. ii., p. 168. See also *Notices des MSS. du Roi*, vol. ii., p. 474, the extract from Bakia.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 462. The Persian term for an idol is *bât*, and the obvious name of the town is therefore the *Idol Bamian*, from the statues near it. It is a curious question whether the Persian word *bât* was not originally borrowed from the name of the Bouddhist idol-saint.

losophers of the Bactrians, may be alleged in favour of this opinion by those who hold the Samanæi to be the Samans or saints of the Bouddhists. This interpretation indeed has its difficulties. The Gymnosophists of the Indians, and their philosophers the Samans and Brachmans, are mentioned immediately afterwards in the same passage. Mr. Colebrooke supposes that they were the Brahminical teachers and Sanyasis of India. Yet if we consider the Samanæi as the Sanyasis, the Gymnosophists remain to be disposed of. The difficulty is not lessened by Clemens immediately adding, "Some of the Indians obey the precepts of *Boutta*, whom, on account of his surpassing excellence, they honour as a god†." Cyril of Alexandria also speaks of the Persian Samanæans from *Bactria*‡: and could we imagine that the Bouddhist religion prevailed extensively near the Paropamisian mountains, we might be tempted to believe that the religion of the *Zendavesta* derived many of its precepts, and perhaps its Indian language the Zend, from that quarter. All the Persian histories represent Ardeshir Babegan, the restorer of the religion, as issuing from Balkh, after having travelled in India.

* If we descend towards India, neglecting Kashmir,
 * 519 where from history we know that the religion of Buddh once prevailed, we find in the Penjab, beyond the Hydaspes, the *tōp* or mound of Manikyala, described by Mr. Elphinstone§, a building like a cupola, seventy feet high, the origin of which is unknown, but which, in its hemispherical form and whole appearance, carries along with it sufficient proof that it was a magnificent Dagop constructed at a remote period by persons of the Bouddhist faith.

About five miles from Benares is a structure very much resembling that seen by Mr. Elphinstone at Manikyala. In describing it, I am proud to be permitted to use the words of a lady distinguished for her intelligence and research, who visited it a few years ago. "It is a circular mass of brick-work.

† Clem. Alex. *Strom.*, p. 305; ed. Sylburgii, Colon. 1688, folio.

‡ Quoted by Dr. F. Buchanan. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 234.

§ Elphinstone's *Account of Caubul*, pp. 78 and 376, first ed.

There has been a casing of stone-work to it, which in many places has been removed. Where it remains, it exhibits some good carving, high-wrought borders, in which the figure of Boodh is a kind of medallion among a rich pattern of leaves and flowers. There have been all around eight projections from the stone, running out about eight inches from the mass. About mid-height this mass grows smaller, exactly in the shape of a Daghope: but towards the top it is a mere mass of ruins. Round the foundation the ground has been dug up in fruitless search of treasure. Above two hundred yards off are the foundations, still to be traced, of a very large building; and the ground all about is strewn with bricks. There is no tradition; nor any memorial whatever, of the use and nature of this building; but it struck me immediately as the same kind of building that I had seen in the courts of Boodh temples at Ceylon, there called the *taut* of Boodh; and also that which is placed inside the temple in the Carlee Cave, and that of Bishkurma at Ellora. I conjecture the foundations near to have been those of the temple itself. There are now no Booddhists near Benares; but a miserable little pagoda about a hundred yards off is reckoned by the Brahmins the most sacred spot in the neighbourhood of Benares. It is a singular thing," she justly remarks, "and many other instances strengthen * 520 the observation, "that both here and at Gya the favourite seats of the religions so hostile to each other should be the same. Near this Daghope are some very well executed Boodh figures in black granite; they have been collected by Mr. Gold, and all lie together†."

Sir William Jones observes that many Buddh idols are found near Buddha Gaya‡. Their age, however, is uncertain.

The country from the Indus to the Myhi is very imperfectly known; but on entering Malwa§ we again meet with traces of

† Extract from the MS. Journal of the Honourable Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 471.

§ Extensive excavations at Chandwas were visited by Mr. James Baillie Fraser, and seem to be Bouddhist.

the Bouddhist religion. The cave temples of Bag, described by Captain Dangerfield†, are undoubtedly of that class‡.

Very extensive excavations have recently been discovered both at the top and bottom of the Ajunta pass. They have been little visited, on account of the difficulty of approaching them. The only information regarding them, which I possess, is contained in a Memorandum of Captain Morgan's, of the Madras establishment, which states, that "they were described by the officers who visited them in 1819 as having sitting figures with curled wigs." No traces of the Brahminical religion were discovered. The paintings were in a decent state of preservation. There is, near one of the caves, a long inscription, apparently Shanscrit, engraven on a rock, which may throw some light on the excavations." If the conjectures already hazarded are correct, these inscriptions will probably be found to be in the Maghadhi or Prakrit tongue.

The celebrated caves near the village of Virûl, generally called Ellora, are undoubtedly among the most wonderful monuments of human industry and art. They occupy the whole extent of a magnificent amphitheatre, which stretches for about two miles from north-east to south-west, * in * 521 the hill that forms the west wall, to the table-land of Roza. The first view of this desolate religious city is grand and striking, but melancholy. The number and magnificence of the subterraneous temples, the extent and loftiness of some, the endless diversity of sculpture in others, the variety of curious foliage, minute tracery, highly wrought pillars, rich mythological designs, sacred shrines, and colossal statues, astonish but distract the mind. From their number and diversity, it is impossible to form any idea of the whole; and the first impressions only give way to a wonder no less natural, that such prodigious efforts of labour and skill should remain, from times certainly not barbarous, without a trace to tell us the hand by which they were designed, or the populous and powerful nation by which they were completed. The empire whose pride they

† *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. ii.

‡ See Note A at the end of this paper.

must have been has passed away, and left not a memorial behind it. The religion to which we owe one part of them indeed continues to exist; but that which called into existence the other, like the beings by whose toil it was wrought, has been swept away from the land.

It is no part of the plan of this paper to attempt any description of these excavations: indeed any description unaccompanied by plans and drawings would be nearly unintelligible. Should our associate, Mr. Charles Daw, complete an account of the whole, illustrated by drawings of the most striking figures and groups, as the opportunity which he possesses induces his friends to hope, we should possess a work that would enable those who never viewed the wonders of Ellora to judge of their style and mythology, as the drawings of Mr. Wales assist them to form some conception of their grandeur and extent. At present I shall merely run over them, with a view to apply the tests already laid down, for the purpose of distinguishing the Bouddhist from the Brahminical excavations.

The excavations may be divided into three classes: the northern, which are Bouddhist, or perhaps Jain; the central, which are Brahminical; and the southern, which are certainly Bouddhist.

It is to be remarked that the names given to the caves are modern, and imposed with a total ignorance of the mythology of the sculptures. All the Brahminical caves at Ellora are evidently sacred to Shiva under *one form or another: but the names which they bear at present, and by which * 522 they, as well as the Bouddhist caves, are designated in Sir Charles Warre Malet's account of them, have been imposed according to the fancy of modern pouranics; and the names ascribed to the various figures are borrowed from the avatars of Vishnu. The reason of this it is not very difficult to discover. The favourite mythology among the vulgar is that which relates to the incarnations of Ram and Krishna, and the subject of most of the stories or *kathas* of the story-tellers of the Dekhan, as well as of the most popular Mahratta poems, the Ram-vijy, the Hari-vijy, and Pandu-pretâp, which are imitations of the Ramayan and Mahabharat: being derived from that mythology,

the avatars of Vishnu are more familiarly known to the great mass of the people than those of Shiva, though the latter god possesses most temples in the country, and is the deity most venerated. The consequence is, that in fixing the appellation of the various figures, the Hindus refer them to the mythology with which they are most familiar, so that the groups receive the names of gods or heroes who "have no business there."

The huge figure of Buddh on the extremity of the hill was first described by Captain Sykes, who observes, that he sits on a throne, from the centre of which a wheel projects; this wheel is that of his *rath*, or vehicle: and the same remark applies to a similar wheel in one of the northern caves, under a Bouddhist saint, erroneously called Purishram. I have not been able to discover any astronomical figures here or elsewhere about the caves, except perhaps in the nine images representing the nine planets.

It may be doubted whether the four northern excavations are Bouddhist or Jain†. They are generally called the Adnath-sabha, the Jaghanath-sabha, the Parishram-sabha, and the Indra-sabha. All of these names are probably erroneous: the three last certainly are, as they belong to gods of the Brahmins. There is no appearance of Bhagisree-Bhowanee, Lakshmi-Narrain, Indra or Inderani, or of any Brahminical deity, in any of them. The tree, which shades some of the figures, in no

* instance grows out of the head, but rises from behind, * 523 and is probably the sacred tree‡ of the Bouddhists.

The mushroom-like figures that overshadow the chief personages are evidently umbrellas, and used as a mark of dignity, or respect, as they are to this day in the Bouddhist countries of Siam and Pegu. The basement, in what is mistakenly called Indra-sabha, probably supported not a Ling but a Dagop. It must, however, be acknowledged, that in all these northern caves there is wonderfully little appearance of the Dagop; nor is there any arched excavation for containing

† See Note B, p. 536.

‡ See La Loubère, who calls it *Pra si maha Pont*.

one. If no Dagop is found in the lower excavations, now nearly filled up, or in the external chapels, it might be worth while to examine whether any remains of Dagops appear in the courts before the temples, in which they might have existed, as at Ceylon and Siam. Another singularity of these northern caves is, that there is hardly about them any appearance of cells for recluses ; nor did I discover any inscription in the ancient character. There are also some naked saintly images, that are not unlike the *digamber*, or naked figures of the Jains. All Bouddhist images are, I imagine, *seveigamber*, or clothed. These are all circumstances rather indicating a Jain origin. The serpent, the lion, and the elephant, which are found on the sculptures, might be interpreted as indicating the Parswanath, Vardhamana, and Ajita of the Jains. If the northern caves are Jain, we have Jain, Brahminical, and Bouddhist temples in the different ranges at Ellora. This opinion is not without its difficulties ; but the northern caves deserve a more minute examination than they have hitherto received. The fact that they, and especially the figure on the hill, are visited by Jains from Guzerat, is not without its weight.

But, in the whole of these four sabhas, the only figure† having the appearance of any thing Brahminical is one with four arms, which the * present inhabitants of the place call Padmavati, or Lakshmi. It occurs in a passage re- * 524 cently cut entirely through, or at least enlarged, between what are called the Parishram and Indra sabhas. It does not in any respect correspond with the character of the excavations ; and if really coeval with the other sculptures, which I do not believe it to be, would furnish a difficulty not easily solved.

Two sets of caves succeed, nearly filled up with earth, and probably Bouddhist.

† The figures called Indra and Indrani seem rather to represent some distinguished prince and princess of the Bouddhist or Jain faith,—perhaps the excavators of the temple.

In the Adnath-sabha, among other sculptures, in the hand of one figure is very distinctly seen the musical instrument called the *kanun* : in that of another an inverted *trishul*, or trident.

The middle ranges of caves, nine in number, are Brahminical, and all of them sacred to Shiva.

The groups sculptured on the walls of the first of them, the Dûmar-lena, bear a strong resemblance to many of those at Elephanta; and it is remarkable that from different sculptures at Ellora perhaps every figure at Elephanta could be renewed†.

Above the Dumar-lena are the singular chapels of the Triads, so well illustrated by Captain Sykes. They prove, beyond all manner of doubt, that the grand three-headed figure at Elephanta does not represent the three chief gods of the Hindus, or what has been denominated the Hindu Trinity. In all of these busts, two heads have the third eye: the remaining head seems to be Parvati, who is sculptured in conjunction with her husband; and in most instances she holds up a round hand-mirror, and the antimony needle for dressing and colouring her eyelids and eyebrows.

Passing over the intermediate excavations, we come to the superb Kailas, a noble temple dedicated to Shiva. Most of the compartments * which cover the walls of the different * 525 halls and stages of this excavation with a wonderful and fatiguing variety, refer to his avatars and those of his wife Bhowani; but many of them represent the different incarnations of Vishnu. The chief gods of the Hindus are all sculptured in it.

It may even be doubted whether some of the sculptures do not contain traces of Buddh. Much of the ornamental sculpture generally found in the temples of Buddh appears in these excavations: there is a frequent use both of the simple and of the triple umbrellæ over persons and venerable objects. Several figures have the contemplative position that belongs to the

† Different figures, and among others that in Captain Sykes's Sketch No. 3, prove that Niebuhr's engraving of the Virbhuder compartment at Elephanta, of the accuracy of which I had entertained doubts (*Trans. Lit. Soc.*, vol. i.), was perfectly correct; the figure of a child being held suspended by the foot in one of the right hands of the god, who does not, however, strike the elephant. The figure transfixing on his spear, and that with the head hanging down, are the objects of his wrath. From numerous corresponding representations at Ellora, some of them extremely well executed, I have as little doubt that the opposite compartment at Elephanta represents the marriage of Shiva and Parvati.

Buddhs; the large figure that fronts the entrance into Kailas in that posture, with two elephants pouring pots of some liquid over her head, can hardly be Lakshmi, though it may be Parvati, and, with several others of a similar description, has much the air of a Bouddhist figure. The fine column or obelisk in the court has also a Bouddhist semblance; and the small arched excavation on the right of the entrance looks like a Bouddhist chapel from which the Dagop had been removed.

Several of the sculptures in the Brahminical caves are more spirited and better grouped than any in Elephanta. The miniature sculptures in the mouldings, which contain chiefly love and battle pieces, are worthy of attention, and some of them are well executed.

The walls of Ellora might furnish a Hindu Pantheon; but it would be particularly necessary for any one who wished to illustrate the Brahminical excavations there to study, with some care, the Hindu mythology, especially the eleven avatars of Shiva, as all the temples are dedicated to him; and his incarnations, and the events of his history, furnish the subject of the majority of the sculptures.

The four southern excavations are purely Bouddhist. They are filled with curly-headed Bouddhist figures. The cave of Viswakarma, as it is called, presents the Dagop and the vaulted cathedral. The cave opprobriously called the Dehwarra corresponds to the schoolroom of Bouddhist temples. Two benches of stone run up its whole length, with passages between; and there are a number of cells for monks hewn out from the sides of the excavation.

* Inscriptions in the ancient unknown character are found in these southern caves. * 526

The caves at Ellora are beyond comparison the most magnificent in India.

In the hill to the north of Aurungabad is an excavation of no great extent, said to be Bouddhist.

Near Nasik, the very seat of Brahminism in the Dekhan, are extensive Bouddhist excavations. They are vulgarly called Dherm-raj-lena. They run round part of a high

conical hill five miles from the town, and about a hundred yards or more from the base of the hill. They have every character of Bouddhist excavations, without any trace of Hinduism,—the long vaulted cave and Dagop; the huge figures of the meditative "curly-headed Buddh; the inscriptions in the unknown character; the umbrella and snake-headed canopies; the benched halls and numerous cells.

Still further to the south, at Juner, there are very numerous excavations. I visited some of them in a hill, south of Juner, at the distance of a mile and a half. The hill abounds in excavations, most of them mere cells, generally with a bench at the further end, or on one side. There are two sets, however, of rather more importance. The first has the long vaulted excavation, and the huge Dagop at the further end surmounted by a stone umbrella; but it is unornamented, has no pillars, and no veranda surrounding them. The excavations close by abound with the Buddh objects of worship, adorned with the umbrella canopy. There are numerous inscriptions in different places.

There is another set of Bouddhist caves at no great distance, in the same hill, where the hand of the sculptor has evidently been arrested in the midst of his work. The arched oblong cave has the usual large Dagop at the further end. It is, however, evidently unfinished. The usual form of this species of cave is, to have a line of pillars running round it, so as to cut off and divide a veranda from the body of the temple. Here three octagonal pillars on the right have been hewn out, and the passage beyond them, as far as the intended wall; but it has been carried

no * further. Two of the corresponding pillars on the * 527 opposite side have been begun upon, and the flat surface has been hewn into; but the work has been suspended, not only before the pillars were extricated from the rock, but before the hewing had been brought down to the floor, leaving the walls in a rough state. The whole is worthy of the attention of persons curious to know the process employed in excavating the temples. The other sculptures around are also unfinished.

These caves are not in other respects curious, nor comparable to those of Ellora or Kanara.

There is another arched cave on a different hill near Juner, said to be of superior workmanship.

The number of excavations of different kinds around Juner, and even in the wrought scarp of the hill-fort, is surprisingly great. A considerable proportion of them, however, are said to be mere cells.

In a hill near the village of Ekvira is the celebrated cave called Karli, from the name of a village at some distance. The grand cave there is perhaps the finest specimen of the vaulted Bouddhist cathedral. It is in high preservation, the pillars richly carved; the roof has still a ribbing of thin boards, corresponding to the shape of the vault, inserted at small distances from each other, probably to support a drapery. The Dagop of stone at the further end of the excavation is surmounted by an oblong wooden umbrella. A columnar needle in the area before the temple is richly carved, has fourteen sides, and bears three tigers on the top. The inscriptions are numerous. Mr. Salt's drawing affords a correct view of it. There are numerous smaller caves, and much sculpture around.

The excavations on Salsette, especially those of Kanara, have been well described by Mr. Salt. They are probably the most perfect specimens in India of a genuine Bouddhist temple, college, and monastery. The great temple is not equal in beauty to that of Karli, but it exceeds that called Viswakarma at Ellora, and every other on this side of India. It has no single excavations so extensive as the Tin-tala or Dehr-warra at Ellora; but its colossal statues; the number and variety of its schools, cells, and chapels, many of them containing the Dagop, which rise range above * range, and extend to both sides of the ravine that separates the hill; the flights of steps hewn * 528 out of the rock to connect the different stages; the superfluity of reservoirs supplied with the finest water; and the general adaptation of its parts to the purposes of a retired body of religious men or collegiate students, render it perfect in its style†. The inscriptions are numerous.

† The excavations at Kanara have been described by Gemelli Carreri in his *Travels*; by Anquetil du Ferron, in his *Discours Préliminaire* to the *Zendavesta*;

In Guntoor the ruins of Buddh temples have been discovered.

The gigantic statues and other remains at Beligola, and to the southward, seem in general to belong rather to the Jain than the Bouddhist religion; and at a place thirty miles inland from Jaganath in Orissa, Colonel Mackenzie discovered the remains of a Jain establishment, with numerous caverns cut in the rocks, and an inscription in ancient characters.

In Ceylon, Siam, Pegu, and the Birman Empire, we are not surprised to meet with numerous Bouddhist remains: but Mr. Crawford's description of the magnificent temple of Bura-Boodert† proves that the religion extended, at some distant period, into the very centre of Java.

I have ventured to conjecture, that some of the sculptures at Ellora, and especially in Kailas, contain traces of Buddh. This notion, abhorrent as it may be from the doctrines of orthodox Brahminism, will not perhaps, when closely examined, appear altogether improbable.

We must recollect that the Brahmins acknowledge Buddh as an avatar of Vishnu, though a mystery hangs over all their doctrines on the subject; and at the present day he is no longer worshipped by them under that form. "The Brahmins," says Sir William Jones, "universally speak of the Bouddhists with all the malignity of an intolerant spirit; yet the most orthodox among them consider Buddha himself as an incarnation of Vishnu. This," he adds, "is a contradiction hard to be reconciled;

* unless we cut the knot instead of untying it, by supposing, with Giorgi, that there were two Buddhas ‡."

But even that supposition will not solve the difficulty; for the Buddha the incarnation of Vishnu is not the object of worship more than the other. All the present orthodox mythologies of the Brahmins acknowledge Buddh to be an avatar of Vishnu, but represent his appearance under that form to have been for the purpose of temptation, to lead the subjects

by Mr. Hector Macneil in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii.; and by Mr. Salt, *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay*, vol. i.

† *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay*, vol. ii.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii., p. 123.

of the Tripura Raja deeper into error and libertinism, in order to justify a severe punishment of the heretical freedom of their religious opinions. The doctrines he taught, therefore, were, according to the Purāṇs of the Brahmins, only a series of mischievous delusions†.

But though such is their present doctrine, and though the mythological history of the Brahmins is adapted to this theory, its origin is probably modern. It does not correspond with the doctrines in their ancient books, nor with the inscriptions which time has thrown up to expose their inconsistency. In them the Hindu Buddh of older times is a being of very different estimation from the Buddh they now acknowledge. He is not a false teacher and an impostor. He is great, kind, and merciful; the chief of the gods, adorned with every attribute of wisdom and benevolence, receiving and worthy to receive all praise and worship. An appeal may therefore fairly be made from the Hindus of the present day to their forefathers of past ages; and as we know the freedom with which the Hindus treat their sacred books, the more ancient authorities immediately to be given may perhaps seem to justify a conclusion, that the incarnation of Vishnu as Buddh, now treated as a false avatar (the only great avatar that is so considered), was formerly held to be a true one. The mixed passages relating to Buddh are of two classes; those in which the Brahminical ideas prevail, and those in which the Bouddhist are predominant.—Let us examine a few of them.

The inscription at Buddha-Gaya, near Benares, which is so late as * the year 1005 of Vikramaditya (or A.D. 1064), is of the former class, and honours him as “Booddha, * 530 the author of happiness, and a portion of Narayan†.”...

“He who is omnipresent and everlastingly to be contemplated; the Supreme Being, the Eternal One, the Divinity worthy to be adored by the most praiseworthy of mankind, appeared here with a portion of his divine nature.” Amara Deva, be-

† See the *Gunnesh-purāṇ*, sect. 44: *Shiva-purāṇ*, sect. 20: the *Bhagwat*, skand iv., adhiaya 19; and skand v., adhiaya 6, &c.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 284.

ing admonished in a dream, "caused an image of the Supreme Spirit Booddha to be made; and he worshipped it according to the law, with perfumes, incenses, and the like: and he thus glorified the name of that Supreme Being, the incarnation of a portion of Veeshnoo. Reverence be unto thee in the form of Booddha! Reverence be unto the lord of the earth! Reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the Deity, and the Eternal One! Reverence be unto thee, O God in the form of the God of mercy: the dispeller of pain and trouble, the Lord of all things, the Deity, who overcometh the sins of the Kalee-yoog; the guardian of the universe, the emblem of mercy toward those who serve thee: *Om!* the possessor of all things in vital form! Thou art Brahma, Veeshnoo, and Mahesa! Thou art the Lord of the Universe!" After celebrating him in various forms of Vishnu, it adds: "I adore thee who art celebrated by a thousand names, and under various forms, in the shape of Booddha, the God of mercy! Be propitious, O most high God!" No symptom of deception is visible here, nor in the assertion, that at his shrine "even the hosts of heaven worship with joyful service both day and night†." The whole ideas are Hindu, and Buddha is adopted into the Pantheon of the Brahmins, as a holy and adorable incarnation of Vishnu or Narayan.

The Royal Grant of Land found among the ruins of Mongeer‡, though of uncertain date, proves the simultaneous existence of the two religions in India. It is evidently of a Sugata (or Bouddhist) prince, whose dominions included Mongeer and Patna; and abounds with Bouddhist allusions: yet it refers also to the Brahminical gods, Varuna, Ram, &c., to the Veds, except the lands held by Brahmins from the Grant, and is in favour of a learned man of the Brahminical religion.

* The inscription found on a silver plate in a cave near * 531 Islamabad§ is even of a more mixed nature, but belongs to the second class. It relates to the digging of a cave for religious worship; among other articles deposited in which

† *Asiatic Researches*, i. 286.

‡ *Ibid.* i. 123.

§ *Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 883.

are, two bones of *Thakur*, that is, *the Lord*; probably a Buddh. It relates the miraculous birth of Shakyā, a Bouddh avatar, the son of Mahāmāyā. The birth was attended by Brahma, who received the child in a golden vessel, which he delivered to Indra. When a golden temple, thirty cubits high, is afterwards miraculously produced, Brahma holds the canopy over Shakyā's head, Indra attends him with a fan, Naga the prince of serpents carries his shoes, and the regents of the four corners of the universe do him service and reverence. The Grant is dated 14 Maghā 904 (A.D. 847).

The age of Jaya, the great lyric poet of India, is not well ascertained. In his ode quoted by Sir William Jones, he celebrates Vishnu under his form of Buddh, as well as in his other incarnations: "Thou blamest (O wonderful!) the whole Veda, when thou seest, O kind-hearted! the slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice. O Cēsava, assuming the body of Buddha! Be victorious, O Heri, lord of the universe!" And the Bhagwat in the first chapter expressly declares, "that Buddha the son of Jina would appear at Kikata for the purpose of confounding the demons." Both of these belong to the first class.

In the inscription on the plates found near Islamabad, and in the Royal Grant, the Bouddhist ideas prevail; in all the others the Brahminical ideas predominate.

From these passages we seem authorized to conclude,

1. That Buddh was sometimes adopted into the Hindu Pantheon as a god worthy of all adoration; and that his appearance, as the ninth avatar of Vishnu, was considered by good Hindus as a true avatar.

2. That the Bouddhists of India sometimes engrafted Brahminical notions upon their mythology, and, for certain purposes, acknowledged the existence and agency of the Brahminical deities.

- * 3. That the two religions existed at the same time in India, and *that* down to the eleventh century of the * 532 Christian era, on a friendly footing, and with a certain interchange of doctrines and of good offices.

If the first of these conclusions is correct, it comes to be a

question of some curiosity, how the ideas now prevalent regarding the avatar of Vishnu as Buddh, for purposes of temptation and deceit, found a place in the sacred books of the Hindus. Perhaps it would not be going too far to suppose that, on the quarrel of the rival sects, the Brahmins attempted to deprive Buddh of the rank formerly assigned to him, and represented the doctrines formerly acknowledged by them as propagated for the wisest and most benevolent purposes, to have been really only the pride of human reason inculcated to produce misery and ruin. The chief doctrines of Buddh as represented or misrepresented in the Purāns are, that no credit is due to the Veds or Shasters; that it is useless to worship the images of God; that sacrifices of animals are cruel and sinful; that there is no transmigration of souls, but that at death the five elements in the body dissolve, never to reunite; that pleasure is the object of life, and all acts of abstinence, worship, and charity unprofitable; that the body is man's real god, and should alone be attended to; that agreeable food, fine clothes, and handsome women, form the grand felicity of man†. These doctrines of Buddh the avatar of Vishnu are of course represented as attended with the destruction of the unhappy cities where they were taught. They are, however, evidently quite different from the doctrines ascribed to him in the passages previously quoted. A critical examination of the character of the Bouddh avatar of Vishnu, of its antiquity, and of the various passages in which it is mentioned in ancient writings, is still a desideratum, and would form a valuable contribution to the history of the Brahminical and Bouddhist religions. The figure it makes at present in the Hindu mythology is very equivocal.

As to the second proposition, it would appear that the Bouddhists in India admitted the Brahminical mythology at least as an ornament to * their own, preserving throughout an * 533 air of superiority. This still happens where the two religions meet and their votaries mingle, as in the south of India. The Jains also, both in the south of India and in

† See the *Gunesh-purān*, *Shiva-purān*, and *Bhagwat*, as already quoted.

Guzerat, admit the Hindu deities into the courts of the temples of their own saints.

The date of the destruction of the Bouddhist religion in India is not accurately known. From the inscriptions referred to, we find the Bouddhist religion and Bouddhist princes existing in Bengal within the last eight hundred years. From Edrisi we learn that the Belhara, the Sovereign of Guzerat, professed the Bouddhist faith down to a later period†. Upon * the whole, I think it may be doubted whether * 534 too easy credit has not been given to the long and

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 167.—For the following remarks I am indebted to my friend Major Vans Kennedy : “ The passage of Edrisi referred to is in the *Second Climate, Eighth Division*, of the work, and is as follows,—‘ Nehrwareh is eight days’ journey from Baroach, and the king of it is called Balhara بلہرا who is a mighty king, and possesses armies and elephants : his worship is that of the idol Bud. He wears a golden crown, and garments of cloth of gold ; he rides every day on horseback, attended by a hundred women, and none but they accompany him, who, dressed in garments of cloth of gold, and wearing gold and silver bracelets on their arms, their hair flowing loose over their shoulders, proceed along on foot, gambolling and sporting together. But the nobles and viziers do not attend the king, except when he is engaged in war. This kingdom is hereditary ; and the name Balhara, which signifies King of Kings, is common to all the kings.’—The only words relating to religion in this passage are the above *وعبادة صنم البد* and his worship the idol Bud. It is unfortunate that it cannot be ascertained from what materials this work was compiled. This defect is of the greatest importance ; because, I suppose, unless these were good, little attention can be due to an author writing in Sicily in the twelfth century concerning the religion of India. But I am inclined to lay more stress on this circumstance on account of its being mentioned in the *Kamus*, that *بد* is the Arabic form of *بت*. If, therefore, Edrisi derived any part of his materials from Persian writers, it is not unlikely that, though he uses at the same time the proper Arabic word *صنم*, he may have been led, or the author whom he copies may have been led, to suppose that *بت* was the name of the idol, and not merely an idol.

“ But whatever may be thought of this supposition, I think it will be admitted that Edrisi alone is not sufficient authority for concluding that the kings and people of Guzerat, previously to its conquest by the Mahomedans, were Bouddhists. This is a point of importance ; because although there is no sufficient proof that their kingdom ever extended to the south of the Nerbudda, yet they were no doubt powerful princes, and were not finally subdued until A.D. 1299, about 160 years after Edrisi composed his work. When it is also recollected

uninterrupted ascendancy claimed by the Brahmins in India ; and whether the Bouddhists have not really been more powerful in India, and more recently expelled or extirpated, than is generally supposed. The destruction of the Jains in the Dekhan is ascribed to Shanker Acharya, who is honoured as an avatar of Shiva, and of whom many fabulous incidents are related. He is supposed to have lived nine hundred or a thousand years ago. It is not improbable that the religious war gradually extended all over India, and with nearly the same effects.

If the preceding views are just, our surprise at seeing Brahminical, Bouddhist, and even Jain temples in the same range would be considerably diminished. The Bouddhist and Brahminical cave temples which in different parts of India, at Ellora, at Nasik, at Kenara, and Amboli, we find close on each other, may have been frequented and in their glory at the same time, and may even have been both partially visited by the votaries of the rival religions. The feelings of mutual hostility that animate the different sects may owe much of their virulence to persecution. If we allow the origin of the religion of the Bouddhists to have been only five hundred and forty years before Christ†, they must have flourished in India more than fifteen hundred years before their final ruin : during which period they inhabited the same countries as the Brahmins, and during a great part of that time had a certain interchange of mythological

that Dwarka is supposed to have been the abode of Krishna, it seems improbable that the Bouddhists could ever have been prevalent in Guzerat. I have made these remarks on Edrisi from thinking that, if you concurred in them, an error likely to be continued on the authority of D'Anville might be corrected."

Nothing can be more ingenious than these remarks : yet as the mention of Bud is so distinct, and as so many Jain remains and excavations are daily discovered in the north of Guzerat, and in the peninsula, the supposition of a Bouddhist monarchy is not altogether extravagant. It is to be observed, too, that in the Purâns, the Jains are treated as being of the *Bouddh-math*, or Bouddh Faith, which seems to have been a general name for the whole class. The Purâns divide the Bouddh heresy into three sects, the Bouddh, Jain, and Jungum. Perhaps the Ballhara might have been of the Jain faith.

† The Ceylon era commences B.C. 542, that of Burma B.C. 544.

*doctrines. The same circumstances would diminish our surprise at finding Buddh admitted as one of the * 535 innumerable forms of a Hindu god. In some of the passages quoted, disposition is manifest on the part of the Brahmins to include his sect within the pale of their church. It might arise from a politic wish to swallow up a peculiar religion in the mighty and shoreless ocean of their own faith. There would be no reason for surprise, therefore, if in temples finished when Buddh was revered by the Brahmins as an avatar of Vishnu, we discover his image in the group, accompanied of course with Brahminical symbols; and I confess that, in several of the Brahminical caves at Ellora, there are figures which, if found in a different situation, from their posture, their ornaments, and their general air, would generally be acknowledged as Bouddhist.—Though the temples belong to Shiva, the avatar of Buddh may have been admitted in the same way as the other avatars of Vishnu. On a subject of this nature, I would not readily acquiesce in the opinion even of the most learned Brahmin of the present day. An examination of ancient books and ancient sculptures is essential.

In the Bouddhist excavations that I have visited, whether at Ellora or elsewhere, I find no traces of Hinduism; and, if I am not deceived, the figures in Hindu temples and excavations are in general more simple, and possess less of wild and extravagant mythology, in proportion to their antiquity.

Such are the observations that have suggested themselves on the subject of this Paper. I am sensible how far they are from being satisfactory. What we still require is, the translation of some leading books of the Jains and of the Bouddhists, and a collection of the Inscriptions and Grants of Lands that have been discovered in different parts of India. These last are perhaps the only monuments of authentic Indian history that remain to us, and may still throw some light on the ancient condition of the country.

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* NOTES.

NOTE A.

BESIDES the excavations mentioned in the text, there are several others which have been more imperfectly described.

Mr. Harington describes a singular cave near Gaya (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 277), a room of an oval form, with a vaulted roof, 44 feet in length, 18½ in breadth, and 10½ high in the centre. A cave of this form near the seat of Buddha at Gaya, leads to a suspicion that it was connected with his religion.

Within the fort of Gualior are two colossal statues with curled hair, sculptured from the rock. They are probably Bouddhist or Jain.

For the following traces of Bouddhist remains I am indebted to Captain Morgan, of the Madras Establishment, whose extensive acquaintance with the religion and sacred architecture of the Natives of India renders his opinion of the greatest weight :—

“The pagodas at Wunn, visited by the officers of the first division of the army during the late war, when on route to Sindia, are of the pyramidal form, and contain colossal statues.

“Among the ruins of an ancient city, Schajpâr, thirty miles east of Hoshungabad, on the Nerbudda, reported to be the site of Sonitpura, to which Munjah, the uncle of the celebrated Raja Bhoj, is said to have removed the seat of government from Ujeen or Dhar, were discovered several figures with curled wigs, and the remains of a colossal statue with similar decoration.

“At Houndah-Nag-nath, a village south of Bassam, in Berar, is an ancient temple covered with statues and sculpture, evidently belonging either to the Bouddhists or Jains. Among the statues are three large simple figures in a contemplative position, with curled wigs. These figures are placed separately on the several fronts of the building.”

NOTE B.

The caves at Ellora are very numerous. The following are the principal ranges. The vulgar names are given, though in general erroneous :—

1. The Adnath-sabha, the most northern.
2. The Jaghanath-sabha.
3. The Parishram-sabha.
4. The Indra-sabha.
5. The fifth set of caves are some Bouddhist ones south from the Indra-sabha; but they are nearly filled up with earth.

6. There is a very extensive and finely-sculptured excavation at some distance above the Indra-sabha; but it is also nearly filled up with earth washed in during the rains.

All the above are Bouddhist or Jain.

*The caves that immediately succeed to these are Brahminical. * 537

7. The Dumur-lena; and above it the chapels containing the Triads.

8. The Jan-wasi caves, two in number.

9. The Kumur-wara cave.

10. The Teli-ke-Ghan, or Oilmaker's Mill : so called from the hole in the floor. Probably used for the sacrifice of the Hom.

11. Nilkant, or Shiva's Cave : so called from a large Ling in it.

12. Rameshwer : so called, though a cave of Mahadeo, and a very grand one. Above this excavation there are some small caves containing curious busts of the Triad, as described by Captain Sykes. The figure over which the elephants pour water is probably Bhowani.

13. Kailas, the Heaven of Shiva.

14. The Das Avatar, or Ten Avatars.

15. The Rakh Ravan, or Ashes of Ravan.

So far the excavations are Brahminical. Those that follow are Bouddhist :—

16. The Tin-lok or Tin-Tala, the Three Worlds (Heaven, Earth, and Hell) or Three Stories. The first and second stories contain each about twelve cells, with stone benches for repose.

17. The Do-Tala, or Two Stories.

18. The Viswakarma, or Carpenter's Cave,—Viswakarma being the architect of the gods. This excavation at the further end contains the Dagop, in front of which is placed an image of Buddh. The cave is oblong, arched, and in its whole length on each side divided by pillars from a veranda which runs round it.

In the left veranda, in going up the cave, is a small frame-piece cut in the wall, and containing a four-handed figure. I have no doubt that it is modern, like the Ganesh on the pillar at Karli.

19. The cave by the Brahmins opprobriously called 'Dehreh-wara, or Nightman's Quarter. It is the school-room of the Bouddhist excavations.

[NOTE.—The "Observations on the Remains of the Buddhists in India" are excellent, considering the time when they were written, but much which was then conjecturally concluded falls now away as such, and has become certainty, e.g. the relative antiquity of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Jainism. The caves have been not only described, but measured and photographed; works bearing on the three sects have been printed and translated, so that the knowledge of these subjects has in many respects

entirely lost the tentative character it bore half a century ago, and has become positive; still we must admire the caution which characterizes all the articles of W. Erskine, and which has, in spite of the dangers entailed by the absence of positive information, enabled him to steer clear of the rocks and shoals of erroneous assertions, on which so many writers have damaged their reputation by indulging in random conclusions. The Journals of the parent and Bengal Asiatic Society contain papers on Buddhism too numerous to summarize. Entire works on the subject have also appeared. But a great deal yet remains to be done. Scholars may refer to the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Lalitavistara*, S. Beal's *Travels of Fah-Hain and Sung-yun*, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures* (1871), and *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buḍḍha* (1875); Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I., *The Bhāṣa Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India*; and references in the Reports on the Archaeological Survey of India; Hardy's *Christianity and Buddhism Compared*; Buddhaghosha's *Parables*, by Capt. H. T. Rogers, R.E.; Max Müller's *Lecture on Buddhist Nihilism*, delivered before the General Meeting of the Association of German Philologists at Kiel, 28th September 1869; *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese*, with Annotations, by the Right Reverend P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha; *Buddhism in Tibet*, with an Account of the Buddhist Systems preceding it in India, by Emil de Schlagintweit, LL.D.; *Khuddaka Patha*, a Pali Text, with a Translation and Notes, by R. C. Childers; *Buddha and his Doctrines*, by Otto Kistner; *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, by the Rev. E. J. Eitel; *The Wheel of the Law, or Three Phases of Buddhism*, by Henry Alabaster, Esq.; *Three Lectures on Buddhism*, by the Rev. Ernest J. Eitel; *Ten Jatakas, the Original Pāli Text, with a Translation and Notes*, by V. Fausböll; *Notes on Dhammapada*, with special reference to the question of Nirvāṇa, by R. C. Childers, late of the Ceylon Civil Service; *Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, a Review of Max Müller's *Dhammapada*, by James De Alwis, M.R.A.S.; *The Pali Text of the Attanagalu-Vansa* (in the Siṅhalese Character), edited by James De Alwis; *A Full Account of the Buddhist Controversy held at Pantura, Ceylon, in August 1873, with the Addresses revised and amplified by the speakers*; *The Jataka, together with its Commentary*, now first published in Pali, by V. Fausböll, with a Translation by R. C. Childers—to be completed in five vols.; Sir Coomar Swamy's *Sutta Nipata*, and the *Dathavaṇsa*, or *The History of the Tooth-Relic of Gotama Buddha*,—the Pali Text, Translation, and Notes.—[Ed.]

GEOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE STRATA BETWEEN MALWA AND GUZERAT.

[With a Sketch.]

By Captain JOHN STEWART.

Read 31st July, 1821.

The following short Notes were written about two years ago, during the route of the Bombay Detachment from Malwa to Guzerat. They contain a brief description of the strata in descending from Malwa to the western part of Guzerat, and which are in all probability the extremities of those which pervade the great continent of India. In the hope that they may prove of some little interest, I venture to lay them before the Society.

Malwa in its greatest extent is comprehended between the 22nd and 25th degree of N. lat. and 73rd and 79th degree E. long., and is considerably elevated above the surrounding provinces. On the western side it rises very gradually from Guzerat; and on the south it is bounded by a range of horizontally stratified trap hills extending along the northern bank of the Nerbudda. In proceeding from Kandeish to the northward, Malwa is entered by a pass in the above range called the Jamghaut. The country for a short distance slopes very gently, and may be considered as nearly table-land. This quarter, however, gives rise to some considerable streams, including the Chumbul and Mahe rivers. The range of hills here mentioned, after passing the Jamghaut, retires further from the Nerbudda, and takes a direction more to the north-west, when it gradually becomes more broken and dispersed.

The country in the neighbourhood of Mhow has been estimated to be by the barometer 1,700 feet above the level of the sea: it continues on the same level as far as the northern extremity of the range already mentioned,

when a short pass leads to the eastern boundary of Guzerat, and the descent is then very gradual to the western part bounded by the Gulf of Cambay.

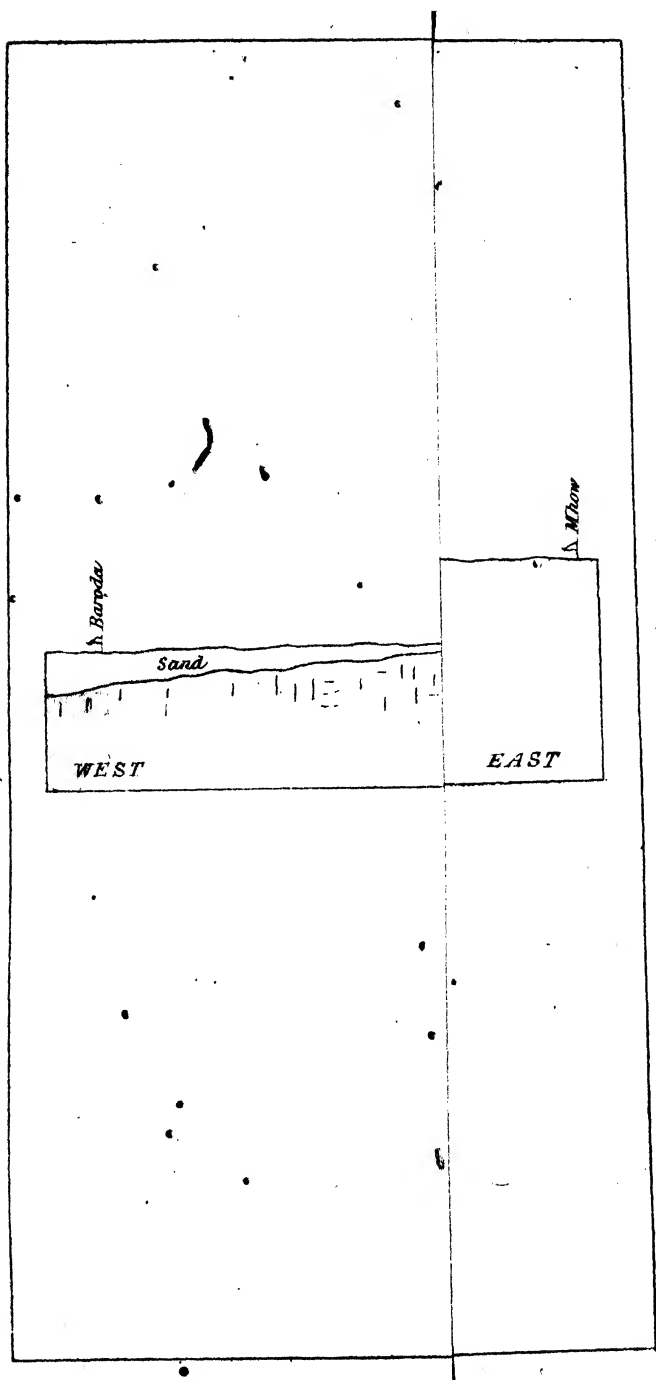
The face of the country around Mhow is generally undulating.—Towards the south-east and south, it rises into hills of rounded and obtusely conical forms of no great height: towards the north-east, the appearance is more level. Rocks of trap formation are chiefly to be found extending over this part of Malwa. The alluvial soil in the low grounds is of a clayey nature, mixed with calc tuff and friable limestone; and at the foot of the hills specimens of various quartz minerals are to be met with in abundance, among which are jasper, common opal, fine crystals of quartz, and amethyst.

Proceeding from Mhow to Guzerat by the usual route, the country presents the appearance just described. At Dhar, specimens of great varieties of rocks are to be found in the ruins of a wall which appears to have surrounded the town at a former period: they consist of different kinds of trap, as greenstone amygdaloid, containing calcareous spar and zeolite, and blocks of quartz rock; all of which have doubtless been brought from the hills in the vicinity. The hills here exhibit to the eye a horizontal stratification.

Advancing from Dhar, the trap formation continues to the bottom of the Ghaut which descends from the village of Tilla or Tilna. At the village of Parrah, where the detachment halted after descending the Ghaut, I found detached specimens of feldtspar porphyry of a deep flesh-red, containing large crystals of quartz: some flinty slate and pieces of mica slate were also to be found. In the bed of a stream near our encampment the trap-rock still continued.

Quitting Parrah, and proceeding to the westward, rocks of red sandstone make their appearance near the village of Kaunass, and continue as far as half-way between that place and Goorah, our next march; when large masses of pure white quartz rock make a very conspicuous appearance in the surrounding country. The face of the country becomes here more rugged, and in general covered with pretty thick jungle.





* At Goorah the quartz rocks begin to disappear. There is here a considerable stream, the western bank of * 540 which is steep, and composed entirely of mica slate: detached pieces of quartz, sandstone, and flinty slate cover the bed.

Between Goorah and Wurree, a distance of about 10 miles, the mica slate is the principal rock to be found; but feldtspar porphyry or red granite is found on the surface of the ground in detached pieces. Some specimens of these are remarkable for the magnitude of the imbedded crystals of quartz and fine colour of the feldtspar; others, although nearly similar in colour, seem different in their internal formation, having the quartz diffused with the feldtspar, and accompanied with a portion of mica: I therefore considered these latter as granite.

The village of Wurree is situated about a mile to the eastward of the Sookur river; and in the bed of this river I found the first appearance of granite rock. Some of it affected a slight degree of schistose structure like gneiss, but in general that structure was wanting.

After proceeding in a southerly direction for some time along the left bank of the Sookur, the road leads across it; and here the bed is entirely filled with large masses of beautiful feldtspar porphyry rocks, which are traversed in different directions by large veins of pure red feldtspar. The masses of porphyry in their external aspect are extremely irregular, being rugged and pointed, and split by parallel rifts running in a direction of about 25° from the perpendicular.

At Rajpoor, about six miles from the ford above mentioned, the red porphyry prevails in the bed of the Sookur river; but extensive masses of grey granite rise through the surface on the western banks. The country in this neighbourhood is rather level, but towards the south and west begins to rise in rugged hills. From the above it would appear, that between Wurree and Rajpoor the granite alternates with, or penetrates, the porphyry.

Continuing the route towards Baroda from Rajpoor, the granite rock obtains as far as a small village named Teajghur, a distance of about 38 miles. The intermediate country presents

a broken aspect, and is elevated into rugged and abrupt hills of considerable height.

*A few miles to the westward of Teajghur the granite *541 entirely disappears, and the sandy soil of Guzerat occupies the whole face of the country towards the west; and from thence to the sea not a rock, or even a vestige of a stone of any kind, can be found.

The above-mentioned stratum of porphyry, which appears remarkable from its position, I was inclined to consider merely as a bed of very partial extent. Since writing the above, however, I have been in the course of my duty led to visit the remote and interesting district of Parkur, to the northward of the great Runn, on the borders of the Desert of Scind; and there, at a distance of 300 miles in a north-west direction from the place noticed above, I found the continuation of the same porphyritic stratum, bearing in every respect the characters of that above described: the only difference I could perceive was, that the Parkur rock was more truly vertical in its fissures. It is the prevailing, if not the only, rock in that district, and near the town of Nuggur Parkur rises in a range of lofty hills to the height of 1000 feet, assuming in its ragged features a regularity equally singular as picturesque.

Accompanying, I have the pleasure to send a Sketch representing a section of the strata above detailed. It is merely intended to illustrate their relative positions, and to show something of their proportional extent at the surface. It comprehends a distance of about 160 miles, in a direction nearly east and west.

(Signed) JOHN STEWART.

Camp Dharee, in Kattiwar, 15th June, 1821.

[NOTE.—Nearly the whole of this tract has now been reported upon by the Geological Survey,—see vol. V., pp. 82, 103, 115; vol. VI., pp. 1, 2, 49; vol. VIII., pp. 49, 55, 65.—ED.]

* APPENDIX.

* 543

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF CAPTAIN MACMURDO.

By JAMES M'ADAM, Esq.,

OF THE BOMBAY MEDICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Since the Paper relating to the Earthquake, which occurred in India in 1819 [No. VI.] was presented to the Society, its amiable and accomplished author has paid the debt of nature; and perhaps no place more appropriate than the present,—at the close of the volume containing his last communication,—could be selected for a short record of his talents and virtues. Had his life been prolonged, his industry and abilities would no doubt have continued to add interest to future volumes; but this boon has been denied to his friends, to whom only now remains the melancholy task of preserving his memory.

Captain MACMURDO was the son of Major Macmurdo of the Dumfriesshire Militia, an old and respectable officer, who in early life had served in the Russian army against the Turks, and afterwards in the revolutionary war in North America. Though he had long left the regular army, he continued till lately to serve his country at home, and with a zeal and energy which were hardly to be expected at his advanced period of life. Major Macmurdo had four sons, all of whom were devoted to the service of their country. The eldest, a Lieutenant in the Navy, died, I think, in the West Indies; the second, a Captain in the 74th regiment, was killed at the battle of Assaye; and the youngest and only survivor, though he has served in the Navy for a considerable time, has not, I believe, attained a higher rank than that of Midshipman.

James, the subject of the present short memoir, entered the

military service of the Honourable East India Company very early in life, and had the good fortune, soon after his arrival in India, to be placed under that eminent public servant Colonel Alexander Walker, now of Bowlands in Mid-Lothian, then Resident at Baroda, whose interest in the future fortune and characters of

those committed to his charge was sincere and unceasing, * 544 and who never lost an opportunity of impressing upon their minds, that the only safe and honourable road to preferment and distinction was through the paths of integrity, industry, and knowledge. It was in this school that the decisive bent was given to his mind; and he used always to acknowledge with gratitude, that his good fortune and success were entirely to be attributed to his having had at his outset in the world worthy objects of ambition constantly presented to his view.

The first years of his life in India were passed in military service, in which he acquired as much distinction as usually falls to the lot of a subaltern. He was zealous and attentive to his duties, and acquired the esteem of his associates, and the good opinion of his superior officers. During his short military career he was fortunate enough to see a considerable share of active service. He was present at the taking of Baroda, Sunkra, Pawaghur, Mallia, and the Isle of France, where he went on the personal Staff of the late Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir John Abercromby, and had the honour to be selected by that officer to carry his despatches detailing the surrender of the island to the Governor-General.

The latter years of Captain Macmurdo's life were passed in the civil and political departments, for which he was in every respect eminently qualified. He possessed an accurate knowledge of Persian and Hindoostanee; and, what hardly any other European has attained to, he spoke and wrote with fluency the Guzerattee language, the universal medium of communication in the countries where he was employed. To these acquirements were added a rich store of knowledge relating to the customs, manners, and prejudices of those among whom he was destined to act, and a deep insight into all the turnings and windings of the Native character. He likewise possessed those habits of

industry and patient inquiry, which are sometimes more valuable qualities in a public servant than talents and knowledge.

In 1812, soon after his return from the Isle of France, Captain Macmurdo was appointed Agent for Cutch affairs, and was for some time employed in conducting negotiations with Futtu Mahomed, who had usurped the government of that state. On their termination, he was employed on a mission to the coasts of Mekran, Sind, and Cutch, for the purpose of endeavouring to put a stop to the frequent piracies at that time committed by the maritime inhabitants of these provinces upon the coasting trade. On one occasion, while thus employed, he was exposed to considerable risk and danger. While on shore making inquiries on the coast of Sind, the cruiser in which he was a passenger was blown off the coast, so that he was left with only two or three boatmen among the rude and lawless inhabitants. He however succeeded, but not without being exposed to threats and insults, in making his way on foot to Luckput, and from thence to Mandavee in Cutch, where he found the vessel lying, which had not been able, from contrary winds, to regain the Sind coast.

During this mission he also visited the small piratical state of Okamundel, rendered famous by containing the celebrated Hindoo temple of Dwarka. While he remained here, endeavouring to reclaim the chiefs from their predatory habits, he took the opportunity of drawing up an historical account of the country, which was forwarded to the Court of Directors, and is noticed in one of the Court's letters to the Government of Bombay in the following terms:—"We were much pleased with Lieutenant Macmurdo's Historical Sketch of the District of Okamundel, which accompanied the Resident's letter: similar productions on the part of our officers will not fail to be followed by our approbation."

In 1814, Captain Macmurdo was appointed Agent of Government on the Jhalawar frontier. This district, with those in its neighbourhood on the borders of the Runn, had been for several years exposed to constant predatory incursions from the banditti of Parkur and Wagur, and which, with the

famine of 1812 and subsequent pestilence, had reduced that part of the country to a state of misery and desolation never before experienced by any people under the British protection. Besides bringing to the notice of Government the state of the country, Captain Macmurdo afforded what immediate protection was in his power to the wretched inhabitants. With a small escort of sepoy, and a few Arab infantry and irregular horse, committed to his charge by the Guicavar Government, he placed himself at the point most exposed to attack : and though, from the smallness of his force, he was seldom able to act on the offensive, yet by keeping constantly in motion, by obtaining accurate intelligence, and by alarming the country on any threatened incursion, he continued for two years to baffle many of the attempts of his opponents, and afforded a comparative degree of security to the districts in his neighbourhood. If he was hailed as a deliverer by the inhabitants of one side of the Runn, he was no less feared by those of the other, whom he compelled in some degree to abandon their lawless means of subsistence, or kept in a state of uncertainty and alarm ; and there is little doubt that rewards were frequently offered to any person who would privately cut him off. Having failed in all their endeavours this way, and being enraged at the frequent obstructions they met with, and at the interest which they knew the Bombay Government,

* influenced by his reports, had already begun to take
* 546 in the unsettled state of the frontier, a body of these depredators during a dark and stormy night made a determined attack, sword in hand, upon his little camp. Luckily his tent was pitched on the opposite side to that on which the attempt was made ; but so desperate was it, that before he got with a few sepoy and Arabs to the scene of action, nearly twenty of his little band of followers had been killed or wounded. The privations and fatigue to which Captain Macmurdo was exposed during this period of his service were very great. He was obliged to be under canvas the whole year, and he was frequently for days and nights together almost continually on horseback, without a regular meal, or even being able to

shift his clothes, the uncertainty and rapidity of his movements preventing him from sending his servants and baggage to any particular point, or keeping them with him, while a little badjeree bread and milk was all that the villages afforded. It was the harassing nature of this service, together with the unhealthiness of the climate, which first gave a shock to a constitution naturally good, and which it never afterwards perfectly recovered.

Besides being thus usefully and actively employed, Captain Macmurdo during his residence in Kattiwar devoted his attention to the history and present state of the province, and to those means by which its prosperity was most likely to be increased and rendered permanent. He not only drew up the faithful description of this district published in the first volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society, but also a Report for the Government of Bombay upon its military resources, and in which were also embodied observations as to the best means of restoring the country to its former state of prosperity—which, he inculcated, could only be effected by exercising towards it a liberal and enlightened policy. This Report was forwarded to the Court of Directors, and was noticed by them to the Government of Bombay in terms of high praise.

Several years had passed in fruitless efforts to persuade the Cutch Government to exert itself in putting down the predatory habits of its subjects. At last, in 1816, a large body of troops was assembled, for the purpose of effecting by force what it was found impossible to obtain by pacific means; and Captain Macmurdo was appointed to accompany the army as the Political Agent of Government. The objects of Government were soon effected, and on the termination of the expedition he was appointed Resident in Cutch, in which situation he remained till his death.

The situation to which he was now appointed was one of great respectability, *and the duties connected with it were both important and difficult,—no less than to restore to * 547 order and peace a country which for twenty years had been a prey to oppression and internal anarchy. This object,

however, was effected by his zeal and talents. The jarring pretensions of turbulent and rapacious chiefs were adjusted, habits of rapine and plunder were eradicated, confidence established, industry protected and encouraged; and before his death he had the satisfaction to see the whole country restored to a state of comparative quiet and prosperity. At no period were his efforts more conspicuous than on the occasion of the earthquake, which he has described in the Paper above mentioned. When almost every town and village in the country was in ruins, when the members of the Native Government and the people were reduced to a state of helplessness and despair, and when they appeared as if they were passively waiting in expectation of some still greater calamity; by the influence he had acquired over them, by explanation, advice, encouragement, and assistance, he roused them from the apathy in which they were sunk; and by impressing upon their minds that the salvation of the country, of their families, and of their property depended upon their own exertions, he soon set every thing in motion. The streets were cleared, temporary sheds erected, the shops again opened; and the traces of that great disaster began gradually to disappear, and confidence and cheerfulness to be re-established.

If the character of a public servant is to be in any degree estimated by the general opinion of those over whom his influence and authority extend, or with whom he is connected by his situation, few will hold a higher place than Captain Macmurdo. There is not at this day a village in Kattiwar or Cutch where his name is not known, and where it is not mentioned with respect and affection. He did not consider it sufficient merely to carry certain measures into effect, or coldly to perform what the regulations of the service or the orders of his superiors prescribed. He entered with warmth into all the duties of his situation. He took a lively interest in the concerns of those over whom his influence and authority extended; and hundreds have been saved from disgrace, poverty, and ruin, by his timely advice, interference, and generosity. It was this constant interest in their happiness and welfare which impressed

the Natives with such respect and attachment towards him. He became their adviser in all their difficulties, and the arbiter of their disputes ; and no punishment was considered so severe as to have incurred his displeasure. The Native character was far from standing high in his estimation ; but, as it was his lot to live and act amongst them, this he at all times carefully concealed.

*If Captain Macmurdo was respected and beloved by the Natives, he was no less fortunate in acquiring the * 548 good opinion of the Government under which he acted, and which frequently expressed its high sense of the value of his services. In the relation in which he stood between an European Government and the Natives of India, few indeed have shown themselves more deserving of trust and confidence. While he served the former with zeal, fidelity, and integrity, he was no less active in promoting the happiness and prosperity of the latter. The interest of the governors and the governed had no separate place in his estimation. He considered the prosperity of a country as the pride, the glory, and the strength of its rulers. To that object all his efforts were directed ; and nothing afforded him such lively happiness, as to trace any improvement in the condition of those over whom his authority extended. To see them happy and contented, was his first and fondest wish : to promote this object, his unwearied industry was applied, and seldom had he the mortification to find that it was applied in vain.

The accounts of Kattiwar and Cutch, published in the former volumes of the Transactions of the Literary Society, display the zeal and industry of the late Captain Macmurdo in acquiring and communicating a knowledge of the countries where he resided, and of the manners and customs of their inhabitants. His mind possessed more of an active than of a speculative turn ; and he delighted much more in acquiring knowledge from personal observation and intercourse with the Natives, than from reading and study. He liked to observe and describe the objects around him as they actually existed. He viewed with curiosity and interest the ancient institutions of India,

and considered them in general competent, if properly administered, to the prosperity and happiness of the people.—In addition to the Papers above noticed, he had, previously to his death, completed a History of Sinde, from the earliest period of which there are any authentic records of that country. This was a work of great labour and expense; and it is to be hoped that it will be given to the public, not only on account of its intrinsic value to those who feel an interest in the history and revolutions of Indian states, but that its Author may obtain that meed of posthumous fame due to his industry and abilities.

His attention was, no doubt, first attracted to the river Indus, from the relation in which that mighty stream stands connected with one of the most splendid and best authenticated of ancient events. At the time of his death he was busily employed in acquiring all the information procurable regarding the course of this * river. This appeared to be a favour-

* 549 ite pursuit, and he spared no pains or expense in its execution; but it is to be regretted that he had not brought his labours to a close. His favourite view in this undertaking appeared to be, to refute those who from etymological researches and analogies have endeavoured to establish the locality of places celebrated in ancient history. How far he would have succeeded in this attempt, it is impossible to say; but there is little doubt that he would have proved some places, to which Dr. Vincent ascribes very high antiquity, to be of comparatively modern origin; while, from the great changes which he would have shown to have taken place within the last thousand years in the course of the river, as it approaches the south, he would have established the unsatisfactory nature of all inquiries regarding the situation of such places in that direction as are mentioned by ancient writers.

In private life Captain Macmurdo was mild and unassuming in his manners, of a candid, open, and communicative disposition, and blest with a constant cheerfulness and serenity of temper. Being modest, and almost shy, he never felt at his ease in large parties, and on that account sometimes appeared to strangers distant and retired. It was when with a few

intimate friends that his character was seen in its true light ; and then the playfulness of his conversation, his simple and unpretending manners, and the cheerfulness of his temper, communicated a charm to his society which those who enjoyed it can never forget. In the relations of a son, a brother, and a friend, he stood pre-eminent ; and nothing ever distressed him so much as to hear even a hint that could affect the character of any of those with whom he was intimate, and particularly those with whom he had associated in early life. Generous almost to a fault, the tale of pity was never told to him in vain, and his hand was ever open to relieve the distresses of his fellow-creatures. If this picture of his private character should appear overstrained, we may safely appeal for its truth to any one of his private friends now living.

Captain Macmurdo's death occurred in the country of which he was the guardian and benefactor. While proceeding on a tour to the frontiers of Wagur for the purpose of establishing a military post, he was attacked by that fatal epidemic which has continued to ravage India for the last four years. Though, unfortunately, no medical assistance was at hand, the medicines usually recommended in the disease were administered by his friend Captain Noble, who had accompanied him. At first they appeared to have some effect, but this was not lasting ; and from the moment he was attacked, he appeared to have a presentiment of the * fatal termination of his complaint, and accordingly prepared to arrange his affairs. He * 550 dictated his will with as much correctness and composure as he had ever in the day of health dictated a public letter. He requested to be buried in the place where he was about to terminate his life, and even pointed out a particular spot on the bank of a tank where he wished to be interred. He then requested not to be disturbed ; and having recommended himself to the mercy of his Creator, he covered his face, and remained quiet and composed till the period of his death, which took place without a struggle a few hours afterwards, on the 28th of April 1820, at Wurnoo, in Wagur, where his private friends have erected a monument to his memory.

Captain Macmurdo was only thirty-three years of age at the period of his death. His life affords a proof how much can be effected by a few years of well-directed talent and industry, and an encouraging instance of a person raising himself to very important situations, entirely by his own merit and exertions.— When his death was announced in the countries with which his situation connected him, it was considered by the Natives as a public calamity, and the disinterested and unaffected sorrow of thousands marked the veneration with which he was regarded. No person, perhaps, ever received greater tributes of regret from his European friends ; and those who only knew him by reputation appeared, in common with his more intimate acquaintances, to participate in the general grief. By his near relations the shock has been still more severely felt : and what consolation is it possible to afford to those whose latter years derived their chief comfort and solace from the affectionate attentions and growing reputation of a favourite son ?

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